

Université de Montréal

**Chinese Modernism: Autonomy, Hybridity, Gender,  
Subalternity: Readings of Liu Na'ou, Mu Shiying, Shi Zhecun,  
Ye Lingfeng and Du Heng**

par

**Sean Macdonald**

**Département de littérature comparée  
Faculté des arts et des sciences**

**Thèse présentée à la Faculté des études supérieures  
en vue de l'obtention du grade de  
Ph. D. Littérature  
option Théorie et épistémologie littéraire**

avril, 2002

© Sean Macdonald 2002



PR

14

US4

2002

V.013

U

100  
100

U



**Université de Montréal  
Faculté des études supérieures**

**Cette thèse intitulée**

**Chinese Modernism: Autonomy, Hybridity, Gender, Subalternity:  
Readings of Liu Na'ou, Mu Shiyong, Shi Zhecun, Ye Lingfeng and Du Heng**

**présentée par :**

**Sean Macdonald**

**a été évaluée par un jury composé des personnes suivantes :**

Terry Cochran

---

**président-rapporteur**

Livia Monnet


---

**directrice de recherche**

Peter Button

---

**membre du jury**

---

**membre du jury**

*représentant des examinateurs externes*

Gregory Lee

---

**examineur externe**

Nicole Dubreuil

---

**représentant du doyen de la FES**

Thèse acceptée le 25 juin 2002

## Résumé

Cette thèse est une étude intertextuelle de cinq auteurs chinois des années 1920 et des années 30: Liu Na'ou, Mu Shiying, Shi Zhecun, Ye Lingfeng, and Du Heng. La thèse se divise en sept chapitres. L'introduction porte sur la critique de ces auteurs et la problématique de l'influence. Ces auteurs sont souvent considérés sous le nom *Xin ganjuepai* (l'École des néo-sensationnistes), d'après un groupe avant-gardiste japonais. Il n'y a pas eu de telle école en Chine, il s'agit tout simplement d'une étiquette convenable proposée par certains critiques et chercheurs. Ceci nous a permis de lire les textes de ces écrivains comme des manifestations proches de l'avant-garde et du modernisme. En tenant compte de la critique chinoise qui considère la production littéraire de ces auteurs comme un exemple de culture shanghaienne (haipai), nous avons adopté le nom des "modernistes shanghaiens" pour discuter ces écrivains.

Le premier chapitre montre l'importance du concept d'autonomie esthétique pour ces écrivains à travers une lecture du soi-disant débat sur la "troisième personne" qui se passe à Shanghai au début des années 1930. Le second chapitre est une critique de quelques textes des modernistes shanghaiens portant sur le sujet de la campagne chinoise. Selon nous, pour les modernistes shanghaiens, l'autonomie esthétique est un concept qui s'inscrit dans le cadre de la modernisation et urbanisation dans la Chine républicaine.

Le troisième chapitre analyse les concepts d'allégorie nationale et du montage. Le montage représente un concept fondamental de production culturelle moderne que présuppose un regard sur l'histoire comme un événement traumatique. Dans le quatrième chapitre, nous cherchons à relever un concept de montage littéraire qui s'articule dans les nouvelles des modernistes shanghaiens comme une forme d'hybridité culturelle, se manifestant surtout comme discours ironique et récit double réflexifs. Dans le cinquième chapitre, nous lisons quelques textes des modernistes shanghaiens dans le cadre de l'espace urbain et des discours sur la sexualité et sur les femmes dans la Chine républicaine.

Le conclusion propose une lecture de l'ironie comme une figure de groupement politique où les modernistes shanghaiens se situent comme des subalternes intellectuels par rapport à l'état.

**Mots clés:** modernisme, autonomie, montage, hybridité, subalterne

## Abstract

This thesis is an intertextual study of five Chinese authors from the 1920s and 30s: Liu Na'ou, Mu Shiying, Shi Zhecun, Ye Lingfeng, and Du Heng. The thesis is divided into seven chapters. The introduction discusses critiques of the authors and the problematic of influence. These authors are often grouped under the name *Xin ganjuapai* (The New Sensation School) after a group of Japanese avant-garde writers. My research shows there was no such school in China; rather, it was simply a convenient title proposed by certain critics and researchers to link these writers to historically contiguous cultural production in other countries. With this in mind, the texts of these authors are considered as manifestations of avant-garde and modernist cultural production. In consideration of critical discourse in China that considers the literary production of these authors as an example of Shanghai culture (haipai), the name "Shanghai modernists" is used throughout this thesis.

The first chapter shows the importance of the concept of aesthetic autonomy for these writers through a reading of the "third type of person" debate that took place in Shanghai at the beginning of the 1930s. The second chapter is a critique of texts by the Shanghai modernists concerning the countryside in China. Accordingly, the concept of aesthetic autonomy is inscribed within the context of modernization and urbanization in republican China.

The third chapter analyses the concepts of national allegory and montage. Montage represents a fundamental concept in modern cultural production which presupposes a view of history as a traumatic event. The fourth chapter is a reading of a concept of literary montage as a form of cultural hybridity which is evidenced in the use of irony and self-referential double plot in stories by the Shanghai modernists. The fifth chapter reads stories by the Shanghai modernists as examples of discourses on gender and women in Republican China.

The conclusion is a discussion of irony as a trope of political affiliation that situates the Shanghai modernists as intellectual subalterns of the state.

**Keywords:** modernism, autonomy, montage, hybridity, subaltern

## Table des matières

Dédicace.....	i
Remerciements.....	ii
Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1: The Writer as a Figure of Autonomy.....	42
Chapter 2: The City in the Country.....	76
Chapter 3: National Allegory, Montage, the Trick.....	117
Chapter 4: Refiguration, Hybridization, and Time.....	153
Chapter 5: The Consuming Body of Shanghai.....	210
A conclusion.....	264
Bibliography.....	299

Dédicace

to my wife  
**Yu Zhihua**  
for all the support  
spiritual and material  
you gave me over these too-long five years  
and to the third person of us  
**Lucian Yu Macdonald**  
(stay out of the arts, son)

## Remerciements

To paraphrase a possibly apocryphal quote attributed to Marx: "Never has anybody written so much about autonomy and had so little autonomy."

Thanks to Département de littérature comparée for their very generous financial help, and to Faculté des études supérieures for making such help available.

Professor Marie Claire Huot was there at the beginning, and I'd like to thank her for allowing me to work on her book, and the opportunity to start on this thesis.

Thanks to Professor Livia Monnet for her very critical readings of my readings. This thesis benefitted immeasurably from her diligent attention. All slippage is the result of my own intransigence.

To the professors I had the opportunity to study with, Professor Amaryll Chanady, Professor Terry Cochran, and Professor Walter Moser: this thesis is the product of a long process in which I was able to develop concepts directly and indirectly acquired at the department.

To Professor Yan Jiayan of Peking University, and for his book that pretty well set the whole thing in motion.

To Dr. Li Jin of the National Museum of Modern Chinese Literature, for all the books she sent me including her own, as well as all those conversations about modernism East and West.

Also, this thing would probably not have been possible if it weren't for my parents' very affordable housing arrangement.

Lastly, more as an *afterword* (houji) than an afterthought, I want to thank Professor Qian Liqun for the lectures he let me attend at Peking University, and for the books he laid on me that afternoon in 1996. Especially for Fengfu de tongku, which is about the best phrase I've ever encountered to describe the life of intellectuals; that is to say, the academic life. It is truly "an abundant suffering."

## Introduction

### Part 1. Some Critical Works and *Haipai*

This thesis focuses on five modern writers from China: Liu Na'ou, Mu Shiying, Shi Zhecun, Du Heng, and Ye Lingfeng. Almost all the fiction by these writers was published from the late 1920s to the late 1930s and most of the fiction that will be discussed falls within this period with some of the most important works produced in the early 1930s. One of the salient aspects of the writers under discussion is the critical silence that surrounded their works, a silence that lasted from around the 1940s and continued until the 1970s, when critics from Hong Kong and Taiwan began to reassess their writing.<sup>1</sup> In Mainland China, reassessment would begin in the 1980s with the work of Beijing University professor Yan Jiayan. The first part of this introduction is a review of some of the critical work on the writers I discuss in this thesis. The critical works introduce some of the major topics and themes in the critical literature to date. I also discuss the notion of *haipai* or "Shanghai School," a category within which Shanghai literature is often discussed, notably by scholars in Mainland China. In the second section of the introduction, I discuss the question of influence with regard to modern Chinese literature and my use of the term "modernism" in this thesis.

In her book Ersanshi niandai zuojia yu zuopin (Writers and Works from the 1920s and 30s), Su Xuelin discusses three of the writers relevant to this study: Shi Zhecun, Mu Shiying, and Du Heng. In a chapter entitled, "Xinli xiaoshuojia Shi Zhecun" (Psychological Novelist Shi Zhecun), Su has high praise for Shi Zhecun's collection

Jiangjun di tou (The General's Head): "If I was asked to make a list of the most outstanding works of new literature coming after May Fourth, Shi Zhecun's The General's Head would certainly find a place."<sup>2</sup> Su considers The General's Head to be Shi's representative work, although she also admits such an assessment may be premature (Su's book was originally published in 1978). Therefore, Su focuses on The General's Head and discusses two main points with respect to this collection of "historical" fiction. Su discusses the notion of "erchongreng" (double personality), the idea that there are conflicts or contradictory motivations in a character, as an example of a common theme of analysis of the self in psychology. Su also discusses "biantai xingyu" (abnormal sexual desire), in particular the question of sado-masochistic themes in the stories. Such claims, including notions of a supposed "Freudianism," are not irrelevant to criticism surrounding Shi's work. Interestingly, these ideas were also interpretive suggestions made by Shi Zhecun concerning his own fiction. Furthermore, the notion of "double personality" is first discussed in an anonymous review in Xiandai zazhi (Les Contemporains), the literary magazine of which Shi was the chief editor.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, Su Xuelin seems to imply that in the case of one story in the collection, "Shi Xiu," when Shi places Freudian reflections into the thoughts of the main character, the attempt is forced and detracts from the historical veracity of the story.<sup>4</sup>

Su's discussion of Mu Shiyong is short yet perceptive.<sup>5</sup> Su first quotes liberally from Mu's work to evidence his use of dialect in the stories about working class characters in Shanghai. She also cites Paul Morand and the Japanese *Shinkankahu ha* as important influences on Mu's writing, claiming Shi Zhecun and Mu Shiyong were representatives of the Chinese New Sensationists, although Mu was the greater writer in



this regard. Within the context of "New Sensationism," Su discusses the sensorial aspects of Mu's writing, his use of colors and how he "[. . .] liked to use overlapping sentences and paragraphs, also a technique of Cubism."<sup>6</sup> However, a cloud hangs over Su's praise for Mu Shiying as the great exponent of "City Literature" when she refers to Mu Shiying's assassination in 1940 as the work of a "noble patriot": "Although he was talented, he didn't understand the importance of national loyalty, and death was his deserved punishment."<sup>7</sup> Such a comment underlines the controversy surrounding these writers, and Su's discussion of Du Heng is merely a politically slanted recapitulation of the "Third Type of Person" debate to the detriment of the Left League.<sup>8</sup>

Su's discussions of Shi Zhecun, Mu Shiying, and Du Heng open up a number of concerns that still accompany discussions of the writers. The formal aspects of their writing are often discussed within a notion of urban literature as an aspect of urban development in China. And Su also introduces the question of politics, a question which can hardly be ignored. Attention would be focused upon the modernism of these writers in Mainland China with the publication of Yan Jiayan's Xin ganjuepai xiaoshuo xuan (A Selection of New Sensation Fiction) in 1985. Yan's introduction focused on three of the writers to be discussed in this thesis: Liu Na'ou, Shi Zhecun, and Mu Shiying.<sup>9</sup> In 1989, Yan followed up the anthology with an historical study in which he discussed the new Sensation School along with several other "schools" in Zhongguo xiandai xiaoshuo liupaishi (Several Schools of the Chinese Modern Novel).<sup>10</sup> Differentiating the New Sensationists from the Creation Society for a perceived romanticism, Yan contends the New Sensationists represent China's first modernist (xiandaizhuyi) school of the novel.<sup>11</sup> Tracing the modernism of the Chinese school through the Japanese *Shinkankaku ha*, Yan cites

Yokomitsu Riichi, Kawabata Yasunari, Nakagawa Yoichi, and Kataoka Teppeï, as well as linking the Japanese writers chronologically to European avant-garde movements such as Expressionism, Surrealism, Futurism and Dadaism.<sup>12</sup> Paul Morand is cited as influential, and Valery Larbaud is also cited as a precursor for having written about the city.<sup>13</sup> As well as the question of influence, Yan deals with New Sensation writing stylistically: "The most important characteristic of this school is the way in which subjective sensations and impressions permeate and dissolve in objective description."<sup>14</sup> Yan's discussion of colour and synesthesia in New Sensation School fiction is not without relevance.<sup>15</sup> In a discussion of Mu's "Shanghai Foxtrot," Yan also highlights the relationship between New Sensation writing and film: "The story has an unusually speeded rhythm, a jumpy filmic structure, [in which] a scene of dazzling confusion unfolds before the reader's eyes, manifesting a half-mad state of mind. These [elements] all contain the characteristics of modernism."<sup>16</sup> For Yan Jiayan, these aspects all amount to important markers for modernist literature: "In summary, the form (xingshi), medium (shoufa), technique (jiqiao) and other aspects of New Sensation School fiction showed an emphasis on producing new ideas (chuangxin) and achieved a great amount of success [. . .]"<sup>17</sup>

Yan also makes a case for what he calls the "psychoanalytic novel" (xinli fenxi xiaoshuo) with reference to Freud, although he primarily focuses on the writing of Shi Zhecun, and later, on Zhang Ailing.<sup>18</sup> It's quite obvious that Yan's grasp of Freudianism, and Freud for that matter, is tenuous. Yan's discussions of concepts such as the id, ego, superego, and the libido are more than a little reductive.<sup>19</sup> At times, Yan's reading is political or ideological.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, Yan's discussion of Freudianism in the context of these writers and their works seems to be bolstered by a particular belief that Freudianism

was a key to understanding the very concept of modernism.<sup>21</sup> For Yan, just as it was for Su Xuelin and the anonymous reviewer of Shi Zhecun's The General's Head, psychoanalytic or psychological fiction are examples of attempts to express a rather vague notion of "double personality" (erchong renge), a notion he finds dangerous in such writing: "[. . .] the tendency to express 'double personality,' and lessen the critique of 'double personality,' simply produces disastrous effects for literary production."<sup>22</sup> However, Yan makes it clear that he isn't against such description, he is merely against reducing all people to one " 'double personality' and selfish" type.

Yan himself claims this notion of "double personality" as a sort of umbrella term to describe all the writing by the so-called New Sensation School writers. Yan's discussion of Freudianism has been noted by later critics: "Yan objects in particular to the idea of representing a conflict *within* a self and to the consequent representation of Shi Xiu not as an upright and moral hero but as a bloodthirsty savage. What disturbs these and other critics is the 'revelation' in Shi's fiction of fragments, hidden contradictions that mar the neat surfaces of an organic realist work."<sup>23</sup> While another critic has suggested "Yan Jiayan's criticism is not literary but ideological. Entrenched in a school of orthodox Marxist criticism, he takes issue with Freudian psychology [. . .]"<sup>24</sup> Yan's criticism is problematically reductive, but this is no excuse to simply reduce it in return as a form of "realist" or "Marxist" discourse. Yan Jiayan was writing from within a particular juncture in Mainland history, and his writing betrays a certain ideological and rhetorical datedness. Nevertheless, for all the limits of his critique, Yan was attempting to contextualize the writers and point out their strengths and limitations. With regard to the "use" of Freudianism, Yan seems to have been conscious of the problem of relying on

any conceptual framework for writing: "If we say a schematic Marxism is out of the question, why should a schematic Freudianism be acceptable?"<sup>25</sup> Yan's concern is fundamentally historical: "From the point of view of literary history, the modern school is actually related to crises. Whenever the modern school is in vogue, society is usually passing through a period of turmoil (such as a great economic crisis resulting in mass unemployment and bankruptcy, or else a war has occurred resulting in many deaths). It's also a period when the people's thinking is at its most confused, pessimistic, and spiritually broken."<sup>26</sup> If Yan is to be faulted here, it would have to be with the problem of accounting for all the other types of writing being produced during the periods of "crisis" of the early twentieth century, of which this "modernist school" was just one example. "Crisis" would certainly seem to have been a much more polyphonic "producer" in China and elsewhere.

Published in the same year as Yan Jiayan's Several Schools, Randolph Trumbull's Ph. D. dissertation "The Shanghai Modernists" (1989), is one of the first studies of Chinese literary modernism in English. Trumbull's study focuses on five writers: Liu Canbo (the given name of Liu Na'ou), Shi Zhecun, the poet Dai Wangshu,<sup>27</sup> Mu Shiyong, and Du Heng. Trumbull's thesis is important both for the biographical and bibliographical information he amassed at such an early date. Trumbull keeps a careful distance from the name "Xin ganjuepai": "Our focus is on the writers of a Shanghainese literary club, sometimes inaccurately referred to as China's 'New Perception Group' [. . .]"<sup>28</sup> Trumbull focuses on the cultural and political context of the period and includes close readings of some of the works by Liu Na'ou, Dai Wangshu, Shi Zhecun and Mu Shiyong. He includes a translation of Mu Shiyong's "Yezonghui li de wugeren" which he translates as "Five in a

Nightclub"<sup>29</sup> With regard to Du Heng, Trumbull concentrates on the "Disanzhongren," the "third kind of person" debate within the Left League, probably the first balanced reading of this debate in any language.<sup>30</sup> Trumbull's dissertation is an important piece of scholarship. However, his main thesis is problematic: "[. . .] Modernist art could not survive in the China of the twenties and thirties because such art offended native tastes in literature and, far worse, posed a threat to the rising political and literary ideologies of the day."<sup>31</sup> Trumbull's contention concerning the politics of the period is persuasive: "To some extent, literary developments in China after 1930 directly paralleled those in the Soviet Union."<sup>32</sup> Unfortunately, his contention is not supported by evidence, and clouds his reading of Liu Na'ou, particularly when he makes the case for Liu's interest (and understanding) of Soviet theory based entirely on a reading of a translation of a Soviet theorist by Feng Xuefeng.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, the difficulty of reading these writers within the context of modern Chinese literature is attributed by Trumbull to a question of reception: "Most Chinese readers were likely to have viewed the literature of Mu Shiying, Liu Canbo, Shi Zhecun, Du Heng and their friends at Les Contemporains as representing an irresponsible and perhaps even anti-Chinese aesthetic."<sup>34</sup> Shi Zhecun points out that the first issue of the magazine Xiandai (Les Contemporains) did quite well, selling out in five days. Even if this is to be attributed to the monopoly position of the magazine after the bombing of the Commercial Press, the magazine had a run of three years and many of the readers seemed to be troubled more by the modern poetry than anything else.<sup>35</sup> In a sense, Trumbull's attempt to account for the uniqueness of the writers and their writing is based on a fallacy: "[t]he Modernists were none of them native to Shanghai [. . .]"<sup>36</sup> Therefore, according to Trumbull, they wrote about what they did the way they did. But such a

contention begs the question: what would account for the myriad styles and ideological bents of all the other writers who "gravitated" to Shanghai?

Anthony Wan-hoi Pak's "The School of New Sensibilities (Xin ganjuepai) in the 1930s: a Study of Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiyong's Fiction," a dissertation from the University of Toronto in 1996, is an attempt to account for the definitive existence of a "New Sensibilities" or New Sensation School. Pak's thesis discusses the works by Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiyong "[. . .] the two major figures of the school."<sup>37</sup> However, from the first page Pak cites a statement by Shi Zhecun claiming that, in fact, there never was a Chinese School of New Sensibilities: "His denial of its existence not only reveals the fact that the School did not have any of the concrete formalities of a literary school (such as membership, manifesto, or constitution) but also manifests the complexity of its reception since the 1930s."<sup>38</sup> Although he states this from the outset, Pak proceeds to discuss topics such as "Stages in the Reception of the Chinese School of New Sensibilities by the Literary Community,"<sup>39</sup> "The Characteristics of the Chinese School of New Sensibilities [. . .]" etc.<sup>40</sup> Pak's scholarship fills in important gaps in understanding the way certain *non-realist* literary forms were received in China in the 1930s, but the argument that there was indeed a formal "school" is contradicted by his own research. Pak's chapter on the "Japanese School New Sensibilities" (Shinkankahu ha) is informative as an introduction to the critical writing by Yokomitsu Riichi, Kawabata Yasunari, and Kataoka Tepei.<sup>41</sup> But the somewhat general statements concerning literature brought out by Pak from these writers isn't very convincing as evidence of influence on the writings of Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiyong. What is clear is that both Liu (Liu had translated stories by some of the Japanese writers) and Mu knew of these writers and their works.

The strength of Pak's work is in his close readings and concentration on new methods or techniques of narrative used by Liu and Mu. Pak carries out analyses of the different types of discourse employed by the writers. According to Pak, one important method used by Liu and Mu was what he refers to as free indirect discourse (FID). FID is somewhere between direct and indirect discourse in that speech is not quoted within quotation marks, so to speak; rather, the character's enunciations are set off in the narrative through intonation within the text indirectly. The problem with this type of analysis is, as Pak points out, such narrative techniques were not specific to Liu and Mu and can be found in Yu Dafu (an example he cites himself).<sup>42</sup> In this regard, Pak's use of the concept of "internal focalization" is much more convincing: "[. . .] internal focalization produces a new type of plot and individualized sensory description in narrative [. . .]" Therefore, through a combination of internal focalization and FID in the works of Liu and Mu "[. . .] plot becomes a secondary element in their narrative."<sup>43</sup> But the most significant discourse analysis by Pak is in his discussion of the "synchronic structures" of repetition and montage.<sup>44</sup> In the end however, the main problem of defining a school through specific examples of discourse and syntactical analysis is weakened because of the dearth of fiction published by Liu Na'ou. Most of Pak's examples for repetition and montage come from the stories of Mu Shiying; perhaps in place of contentions surrounding "Characteristics of the Chinese School of New Sensibilities," it may have been more appropriate to speak of the "Characteristics of the Writing of Mu Shiying."

Clearly, the question of an *origin* for the type of writing produced by these writers has been a concern for critics in and outside of China. Pak even presents an argument

linking repetition in Liu and Mu to a seventeenth century critic writing about Outlaws of the Marsh.<sup>45</sup> The argument is not without interest, as it brings together an important classic text (as I note in chapter four, Shi Zhecun and Mu Shiying both alluded to this text explicitly) with a technique found in some of the writing. Nevertheless, the type of repetition practiced by Mu Shiying differs considerably from the use of repetition for emphasis that Pak cites. And such a search for origin is the fundamental reason for attempts to group the writers within a particular school. The term "Xin ganjuepai" or New Sensation School, as I translate it, seems to have been more of an umbrella term for experimental writing placed on the writers in the 1930s.<sup>46</sup> It could be said the title first of all linked the Chinese writers and their writing synonymically to the work of the Japanese authors of the Shinkankahu ha, and "New Sensation School" further marks the writing in its cultural difference, relating the work to modernist and avant-garde production in the "West" (mostly regarding Europe and the United States). As to question of influence, while there were probably direct and indirect borrowings from the Japanese Shinkankahu ha in Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiying, for example, the "influences" were certainly wider and less clear-cut than those implied by this synonymous association. I return to the question of "influence" in the second part of my introduction.

Leo Ou'fan Lee has offered his own cross-cultural suggestions in an article entitled "Zhongguo xiandai wenxue de 'tuifei' ji zuojia" ('Decadence' and its Writers in Chinese Modern Literature), a sort of genealogy of decadence in modern Chinese literature.<sup>47</sup> Lee first discusses the term and some of the possible notions related to decadence as it first appeared in translation. One key notion for Lee is "youwu," a sort femme fatale (he uses the French term) that he clarifies as a male chauvinistic, derogatory



term. Lee links what he reads as a fin-de-siècle malaise in Hongloumeng (The Story of the Stone) to readings of the novel by turn-of-the-century critic Wang Guowei. Part of Lee's argument is convincing, in particular the use he makes of the notion of decadence as a contrast to the Enlightenment thinking of the May Fourth cultural movement.<sup>48</sup> According to Lee, the May Fourth movement highlighted concepts of modernity such as development and progress, concepts that took the form of a new type of ideological idealism for the intellectuals of the period. Furthermore, according to Lee, one of the most significant shocks (chongji) to traditional Chinese thinking was linear time: "[. . .] from ancient cyclical time to modern Westernized time moving directly forward."<sup>49</sup> Or, as Lee put it in another context: "Thus, we find in this new historical outlook an emphasis on, even a mystical apotheosis of, the moment 'now' as the pivotal point marking a rupture with the past and forming a progressive continuum toward a glorious future."<sup>50</sup> That is to say, a contrast between Chinese cyclical and Western linear time. For Lee, within the context of this new type of historical thinking "[. . .] decadence became an immoral, negative term, because it seemed to represent the opposite of the May Fourth modern main current (wusi xiandai zhuchao de fanmian)."<sup>51</sup> Lee's analysis covers many of the major writers of the period including Lu Xun, Xu Zhimo and Yu Dafu, but he also reads works by several of the writers I am discussing. As part of his discussion of the "femme fatale," Lee cites Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiying (with reference to the paintings of Gustav Klimpt); Shi Zhecun is cited for his interest in the Freudianism, the "grotesque" and the "erotic," the author Arthur Schnitzler, and claims that Shi may have been the first to work with themes from the Marquis de Sade in the story "Shi Xiu."<sup>52</sup> In the midst of a discussion of the poet Shao Xunmei<sup>53</sup> and the Bloomsbury group, Lee cites Ye Lingfeng, mostly for his interest in Western decadents like

Aubrey Beardsley. The article ends with the inclusion of Zhang Ailing, a rather controversial member of Lee's decadent Chinese pantheon.<sup>54</sup>

In his genealogy of decadence in modern Chinese literature, Lee does not limit his readings to the New Sensationists; however, in his most recent study, Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930- 1945, Lee will focus mostly on the so-called New Sensation writers. Significantly, aside from the inclusion of the poet Shao Xunmei, the writers Lee chooses to focus upon in his literary readings correspond to the group established by Yan Jiayan in Several Schools of the Chinese Modern Novel; namely, Shi Zhecun, Liu Na'ou, Mu Shiyong, Ye Lingfeng, and Zhang Ailing.<sup>55</sup> Lee's study of these writers is couched within a larger notion of an historical urban culture, as the subtitle to the book attests. As Lee puts it, he is not so much concerned with theory as working "from the ground up," and he does this by giving readings of urban space, architecture, and popular and educational print culture to describe what he calls the "cultural imaginary."<sup>56</sup> Although, as Lee implies, even popular culture is often produced by elites.<sup>57</sup> Of the six writers discussed, Shi Zhecun and Zhang Ailing certainly occupy more space, as it were, Zhang spreading the historical bracket to include the 1940s and underpinning Lee's own theory of urban culture to include discussions of the relationship between Shanghai and Hong Kong. Ironically, Liu Na'ou and Ye Lingfeng both get short shrift for the perceived formulaic (popular) aspects of their fiction.<sup>58</sup> A notion of decadence still pervades the book, as a foil to "political" readings<sup>59</sup> and, indeed, the *dandy* and the *flâneur*<sup>60</sup> are important backdrops to "a semiotics of *material culture*,"<sup>61</sup> and serve to link, at least thematically, the "elite" cultural producers Lee focuses upon.

Two recent books published in China deserve mention: Wu Fuhui's Dushi

xuanwozhong de haipai xiaoshuo (The Shanghai School Novel in the Whirl of the City), and Li Jin's Haipai xiaoshuo yu xiandai dushi wenhua (The Shanghai School Novel and Modern Urban Culture).<sup>62</sup> Wu Fuhui's book, as the title indicates, is a study of the Shanghai School (*haipai*) novel. Subsumed beneath a notion of *haipai*, Wu discusses the authors under discussion in this thesis, as well as a number of other authors as examples of a specifically regional form. He focuses on a number of elements commonly associated with the term *haipai* and, by implication, with the city of Shanghai: consumer and commodity culture and the proximity to foreign culture (the first two are often considered as effects of foreign presence). Li Jin's study also takes its cue from a notion of *haipai*, but her study also ranges more explicitly into questions of urban culture and modernization, including aspects she links to *haipai* culture such as decadence and the importance of filmic technique in the fiction of Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiyong.<sup>63</sup> *Haipai* is an important descriptive term in China. In a sense, the title of "New Sensation School" is sometimes read as a sub-group of the even more problematic term *haipai*. Although Yan Jiayan steers clear of attempting to detail this notion, he does note in passing that "[t]he New Sensation novel is the only school to achieve some success within the Shanghai School literature of the 1930s."<sup>64</sup> Isabelle Rabut and Angel Pino, in the introduction to a collection of translations of stories by writers from Beijing and Shanghai, mention that Yan "[. . .] in his panorama of the major currents of the literature of the 1930s, only retains 'New Sensationism,' and not the illegitimate term 'Shanghai School,' discredited by too many mediocre failures [. . .]"<sup>65</sup> In China at least, *haipai* is often used as a term to denote regional cultural forms. Indeed, Yan Jiayan's introduction to Wu Fuhui's book highlights what he refers to as the inherent "regional character" (*diyuxing*) of Chinese literature throughout history.<sup>66</sup> Wu Fuhui himself begins

with contentions concerning the multi-dialect and multilingual origins of Pidgin in Shanghai, tracing elements of "Shanghai School" culture to origins that include thousands of years of history and the migrating "Wu-Yue" cultures in the Jiangnan region in southern China, to the transformation of Shanghai from a fishing village and a concept of "pluralistic culture" (*duoyuan wenhua*).<sup>67</sup> In his book, The City in Modern Chinese Literature and Film: Configurations of Space, Time, and Gender, Yingjin Zhang offers a succinct distinction in his delineation of the problematic term *haipai*: "Since the term refers to unspecified groups of Shanghai writers, it hardly designates a unified literary 'school' in its original usage. For this reason, 'Shanghai trends' is used in this study to cover a set of features that characterize certain literary texts and activities in Shanghai, and 'Shanghai types' is retained as a general designation for writers whose works are characterized by those 'trends' (or, in some cases 'trendiness')." <sup>68</sup>

A notion of *haipai* or Shanghai School literature is not easy to avoid, despite the annoyingly vague questions surrounding it. For the writers under discussion in this thesis, an understanding of *haipai* is as good a place as any to begin. The term *haipai* has numerous (mainly negative) connotations and the well-known and the "Shanghai-Beijing Schools controversy" would seem to be the main reason for such a designation. In 1933, Shen Congwen instigated something of a controversy with a critique of "literary attitude." Shen's article, in which he holds up his cook as an analogous example for literary diligence, was not, however, solely an attack on Shanghai writers. Shen first describes his cook as someone who "without tricks, laziness, or self-complacency, carries out his duties to the best of his abilities." <sup>69</sup> Nevertheless, although Shen doesn't use the phrase Shanghai School, he does set up the binary, so to speak, between "a group of wannabe

flunkey (wanpiao baixiang) writers who support the literary scene" and "a group of professors who embrace unrealistic expectations."<sup>70</sup> Shen's critique of diligence seems to imply a lack of authenticity which, as a result of their economic situations, Beijing and Shanghai writers were condemned to produce unserious works: "Among those literati who've already become famous, either they teach in Beijing, or live without steady work (fuxian) in Shanghai. Either they teach in Beijing and receive a fixed income of three to five hundred yuan a month, or those without steady work are obligated to attend meetings three to five times a week."<sup>71</sup> The response by the writer Su Wen was somewhat defensive.<sup>72</sup> Su pointed out that Shanghai writers were under immense pressure by the market: "Shanghai literati have an urgent need for money. This results in the need to produce more and books are written quickly. Once the manuscript is finished it gets sent out immediately and there's no time to leave it in a drawer for a leisurely revision. This kind of unfortunate situation certainly exists, but I don't feel this is cause to be ashamed."<sup>73</sup> Shen's reply to Su Wen was somewhat apologetic and he clarified himself by differentiating between popular forms of literature like the "Saturday School" (libailiupai) and writers like Du Heng, Mao Dun, Ye Shaojun, and Lu Xun.<sup>74</sup> In a sense, Su Wen clarified Shen's critique by using the term "Shanghai School," and Lu Xun's contribution to the debate was characteristically blunt: "[. . .] although the 'Beijing School' are literary hacks for government officials, the 'Shanghai School' merely help out the business men."<sup>75</sup> The debate itself has a certain charm, but more importantly, the debate seems to posit the problematic of literary autonomy by placing the writer in a position between the state and the marketplace.

In a recent article, Angel Pino discusses the term *haipai* as a concept precisely with

reference to this well-known debate. Unfortunately, Pino offers very little to a debate that has been repeated ad nauseum since at least the 1990s in China and elsewhere.<sup>76</sup> Pino's contention that "[. . .] *haipai* isn't another term to discuss Shanghai literature of the thirties (or even afterwards) [. . .]"<sup>77</sup> is contradicted by the actual use of the term by himself and others. Pino suggests that "[f]or the concept of *haipai* to be truly operational, the sociological distinction of Shanghai is presupposed."<sup>78</sup> The statement seems somewhat tongue-in-cheek. But Shen's use of the term was in response to Su Wen's rebuttal, and although he may have used it to "brand with infamy the writers he disliked," Shen was certainly not alone in heaping scorn on *haipai* culture.<sup>79</sup>

The compilers of Jindai shanghai chengshi yanjiu (Modern Shanghai Urban Studies) present an excellent socio-historical reading of the term *haipai*.<sup>80</sup> The term *haipai* probably arose from "haishang huapai," literally, a 'school of painting' (*huapai*) 'on the sea' (*haishang*). The origin of this title was a "condemnation (*bianchi*) from the interior [of China] and not the way locals saw themselves."<sup>81</sup> The term was originally a pejorative designation for traditional painters in Shanghai and the coastal areas in China who sold their paintings to a moneyed clientele, in contrast to traditional literati painters who supposedly painted purely for pleasure and eschewed monetary exchange. The use of *haipai* did not at first designate a particular group of painters but an entire region (and its cultural practices). Ironically, by the late nineteenth century, Shanghai painting represented something of a revival for Chinese traditional painting (*guohua*), and it was apparently thanks to pupils of the painter Wu Changshuo, a well-known painter active in Shanghai and often credited with an important role in the revival, that the term *haipai* would take on the positive connotations of a "school" of art. Wu would be revered by his pupils as the initiator of *haipai*.<sup>82</sup>

Interestingly, in the last years of the Qing Dynasty at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, 'Western' art styles were actually more popular with the Imperial Court in Beijing than in Shanghai.

Chinese opera is still referred to as Jingju, or Beijing Opera, because it developed according to the tastes and institutions of the Imperial Court in Beijing. For performers who had arrived from outside of Beijing and had gained the respect of the Imperial Court, the term *haipai* was a term of disparagement to describe performers from other provinces. The term *haipai*, as a designation for Shanghai Opera specifically, would only gain currency after a relatively long period of development and differentiation from the relatively more staid and traditional Beijing Opera.<sup>83</sup> The association of *haipai* with Shanghai specifically is quite complex, but it's clear that the connotations are more often than not negative. By the 1920s Shanghai was already established as the financial and economic center of China, where even an underworld figure like Du Yuesheng<sup>84</sup> could achieve the social and political prestige once reserved for the traditional elites in China.<sup>85</sup> A sensitive cultural problem related to *haipai* is what is called Yangjingbangyu, or Pidgin. The word "Pidgin" may originally have been a Chinese mispronunciation of the English word "business" and, in China, Pidgin represented the worst possible corruption of Chinese. A hybrid dialect that mingled foreign vocabulary, phonetics and syntax, Pidgin had definite colonial associations. Those who spoke it were often accused of putting on airs, "evinced deference for foreigners and contempt for compatriots," a social attitude that may have contributed to the disdain for things *haipai* in the 1930s.<sup>86</sup> Historically, the problem may also be linked to cultural, social and political changes that took place after the fall of the Qing dynasty. Whereas culture and education were once at the service of the Imperial Court, by the 1930s, loyalties had

fractured and shifted to the service of sundry political and cultural groups.<sup>87</sup> Geographically, *haipai* is a designation for the Jiangnan region, that region below the Changjiang (Yangtze) river associated with the Wu dialect and comprising the southern parts of Jiangsu and Anwei provinces and the north part of Zhejiang. In short, the coastal areas first to undergo commercial, industrial and urban development in China. Clearly, the compilers of Modern China were attempting to reverse some of the negative connotations of the term to the benefit of *haipai*. Nevertheless, such a problematization of the term is welcome, for what it says about the language categories that surround *haipai* in general, and Shanghai in particular.<sup>88</sup>

Liu Na'ou, the pseudonym of Liu Canbo (1900- 1939), is often credited for having introduced the "New Sensation School" style to China. Born in Taiwan and raised in Japan, Liu arrived in Shanghai in 1924 where he enrolled in French classes at Aurora University. Here he would meet up with Dai Wangshu, Shi Zhecun and Du Heng, all of whom graduated from the same middleschool in Hangzhou.<sup>89</sup> According to Shi, Liu spoke Chinese with difficulty as his speech was filled with Minnan (a Taiwanese dialect) sounds, and although he was fluent in English and Japanese (which he spoke like a native Tokyo person); he wrote letters in Chinese like a Japanese person.<sup>90</sup> Liu's family had money and his apartment near the university became a gathering place for some of the students. Liu's interests included new Soviet literature and "capitalist" literature, in particular the new Japanese writers, as well as German, American and Soviet film.<sup>91</sup> After leaving Shanghai for a time, Liu returned from Japan in 1928 with a load of books by Yokomitsu Riichi, Kawabata Yasunari and Tanizaki Junichiro, as well as critical works on literary history, futurism, expressionism, surrealism and historical materialism.<sup>92</sup> In 1928, with Liu's financial backing, Liu, Dai Wangshu and Shi Zhecun opened a bookstore and published a



journal Wugui lieche (Trackless Train). But the journal folded after the bookstore was shut down because it hadn't been registered with the local authorities. So as not to be bothered by the authorities, they soon opened another bookstore, Shuimo Bookstore, in a foreign concession. Shuimo would be more successful and, as a publishing venture, included a new journal Xinwenyi (New Literature and Art). The journal, as Shi describes it, was a "tongren kanwu" (colleague publication), started mostly as a publicity venture for the bookstore, and also as a way to publish their own works. The journal was shut down for political reasons (Shi suggests the journal gradually became more left leaning) after only eight issues. However, the journal seems to have had quite a wide scope, also publishing works by better known writers such as Mao Dun (who was having trouble getting published at the time for political reasons), and Mu Shiyong was also given a start with his first published story "Zanmen de shijie" (Our World). Shuimo Bookstore published critical and fictional works, and the critical works included works on Marxist literary theory (Lu Xun was slated to contribute a translation of Lunacharsky but changed publishers at the last minute). Shi Zhecun published a volume of his early stories, Shangyuan deng (Lantern Festival) at Shuimo. Liu Na'ou would publish a volume of translations of Japanese short stories, Seqing wenhua, (Erotica) and a translation of a Soviet theorist named Vladimir M. Friche, Yishu shehuixue (Sociology of Art). And it would be at Shuimo that Liu published his only volume of fiction, Dushi fengjingxian (City Skyline).<sup>93</sup> By 1931, on account of difficulties in getting payment from distributors and a change in Liu's finances, Shuimo came to an end. Although he did publish short stories and translations in various publications after Shuimo closed, Liu seems to have lost interest in printed fiction by the mid 1930s when he turned instead to writing film criticism and directing films until he was murdered in 1939, either for

political reasons or gambling debts.

Shi Zhecun, the pseudonym of Shi Depu, was born in Hangzhou, Zhejiang province in 1905. By Shi's own account his first literary interests were primarily classical poetry but he began publishing prose at a young age. His first publication was in a popular fiction magazine at the age of 17, and a volume of stories he published at his own expense at 18. He studied first at Shanghai University and then at Aurora where he studied French. While they were students at Aurora, Dai Wangshu, Du Heng and Shi published a literary journal entitled Yingluo (Necklace) that lasted 4 issues. As well as his early volume of short fiction Lantern Festival, Shi published his first "historical" work "Jiumoluoshi" (Kumarajiva, later to be part of the volume Jiangjun di tou or The General's Head) in New Literature and Art, the publicity organ of Shuimo Bookstore. In 1932, Shi took up the position of chief editor of Xiandai zazhi (Les Contemporains), where he would be joined by Du Heng as assistant editor by the third volume (the second year of publication). Shi's statement of non-partisanship in the first issue set the tone for a magazine of considerable importance in Shanghai in the 1930s.<sup>94</sup> During its three year run, Les Contemporains published works by all the writers under discussion in this thesis, as well as most of the major writers of modern Chinese literature from almost every political and aesthetic bent of the period. As a writer of prose fiction, Shi published some nine volumes of short stories until he stopped publishing fiction around 1937.<sup>95</sup> During the Sino-Japanese war, Shi would go first to Yunnan and Xiamen to teach. By 1947 he was back in Shanghai teaching at Jinan University and from 1952 he taught at Huadong Normal University, also in Shanghai. Shi Zhecun is a respected classical Chinese scholar, as well as being a seemingly infinite reference for researchers of the period, and Chinese modernism in particular.

Mu Shiying (1912- 1940) was the youngest member of the group. Born in Cixi, Zhejiang province, Mu's family moved to the city of Shanghai when he was young. According to Shi, Mu wasn't much of a student and his grasp of classical Chinese wasn't much better than a middleschool student's, but his first story, "Our World," was astonishing for its use of working class slang and its depiction of the lower classes.<sup>96</sup> Mu's early work was divided between "proletarian" fiction, where he used mostly first person narratives in "dialect," and wildly experimental work that used repetition, montage, and interior monologue. Mu's so-called "proletarian" fiction was actually praised by left-leaning critics at first for its use of vernacular.<sup>97</sup> But this assessment would soon be reversed and has given rise to rumours of an ideological shift that occurred in his work around the time of the death of his father.<sup>98</sup> Whatever the case may have been, Mu was quite well-known in Shanghai in the 1930s. Somewhat of a man-about-town, Mu attained celebrity status, was reputed to sit in dancehalls with a notepad and pen, and even married a hostess he met at a dancehall. Mu published five volumes of short fiction, although not always of consistent quality. According to Trumbull, Mu held such admiration for Liu Na'ou that, after Mu's father died in 1933, Mu convinced his mother to move the family to a Japanese area of Shanghai in order to be closer to Liu.<sup>99</sup> In 1934, Mu edited a literary magazine, Wenyi huabao, with Ye Lingfeng. Mu edited another magazine with Liu Na'ou, Ye Lingfeng and others entitled Liuyi (Six Skills) in 1936, but he would leave the magazine after only three issues when, according to Pak, Mu left Shanghai that same year for Hong Kong in pursuit of his wife as a result of problems with their marriage. Like Liu Na'ou, Mu turned his interests to film criticism in the mid-thirties, publishing no fiction after 1937. In 1940 Mu returned to Shanghai and started working as manager of the official paper of the collaborationist government of Wang

Jingwei.<sup>100</sup> Then, one night as Mu was taking a ride in a rickshaw, he was shot and killed from behind by a Guomindang agent. Suspicion has surrounded the incident ever since, with claims that Mu Shiyong was a collaborator or a double agent actually sent by the Nationalists to spy on the collaborationist government.<sup>101</sup> Indeed, at his death, Mu Shiyong left a mark in China and Japan. Anthony Pak mentions that shortly after the shooting, the Japanese literary magazine Bungakudai (Literary Circles) published a special issue to commemorate Mu's murder and included a short article written by Yokomitsu Riichi that recalled a meeting the two had had a year before.<sup>102</sup>

Du Heng and Su Wen were both pseudonyms for Dai Kechong (1907- 1964), who was born in Hangzhou, Zhejiang province. Aside from his work as an editor and critic (and a very polemical one at that), Du also published three volumes of short stories and two novels, Pantu (Traitor) 1936, and Xuanwo liwai (Inside and Outside the Vortex), 1937. He also published translations of Oscar Wilde's The Picture of Dorion Gray, and Anatole France's Thaïs. As far as I know his fiction has received no critical attention. The best biographical sketch of his life may be found in the critical compilation edited by Joseph Schyns in the late forties. Du's life reads like a description of a thoroughly embittered figure. He seems to have had his back against the wall in Shanghai, especially after the "third type of person" debate. Shi Zhecun tells two interesting anecdotes about Du Heng. Like Shi, Du Heng had an excellent background in classical Chinese and their Jesuit French teacher at Aurora University used to give them classical Chinese poems to translate into French, as the teacher was working on his own volume of translations. Shi also tells of an incident in 1927 when the Nationalists were rounding up suspected communists just before the purge. Dai Wangshu and Du Heng were both held and questioned in a jail over night until Dai was able

to get in touch with the influential father of one of their classmates to secure their release.<sup>103</sup> According to Shi, Dai Wangshu, Du Heng and himself were simultaneously members of the Communist Youth and the Guomindang. Du Heng is a problematic writer. Although he was affiliated with some of the more experimental writers of the period and shows certain sometimes mildly experimental "tendencies" in some of his writing, the work he published in the 1930s seems to be informed by an almost austere realism (minus the leftist politics). During the Sino-Japanese War, Du Heng went to Hong Kong where he converted to Catholicism, and then to Chongqing to work as a newspaper editor. After 1949 he lived in Taiwan where he continued working as an editor and journalist until his death.<sup>104</sup> It could be said that Du Heng's "third type of person," his work with the primarily Guomindang controlled press, as well as his final decision to leave for Taiwan in 1949, has played a large part in the blanket reading of Du's work as anti-communist.

Ye Lingfeng was the pseudonym of Ye Yunpu (1905- 1975), born in Nanjing, Jiangsu province. Ye started out as student of painting at the Shanghai College of Fine Arts. Apparently he drew and painted many of the covers for publications of the Creation Society of which he was a member.<sup>105</sup> Ye edited and wrote in quite a few magazines in Shanghai in the 1920s and 30s and it's quite difficult to hold him down to any one particular style or movement. He was the author of at least 12 short story collections and novels as well as numerous collections of essays or "suibi" (random notes). More than any of the other authors in this group, Ye Lingfeng seemed to have enjoyed playing along the border between popular and elite literature. Some of his work seems to have been overtly written for the popular market, in particular for young women readers, and some of it for literary journals. In a very well-known attack on Ye Lingfeng published in 1931, Lu Xun

would haul out a number of negative epithets which have stayed with certain types of artistic production of this period. This kind of art, declared Lu Xun, was the type of art produced by "caizi + liumang" (scholars + hooligans). Ye's art was also compared to Aubrey Beardsley, whom Lu Xun charged was inspired by Ukiyoe art, an art of decadents "ashamed around healthy looking women." There is some reason to suppose that Lu Xun's attack on Ye led him to give up art.<sup>106</sup> Yinjing Zhang contends part of the reason for Ye's "marginalization" were his political beliefs and affiliations.<sup>107</sup> Ye Lingfeng had been a member of the League of Left-Wing Writers, from which he was expelled in 1931, supposedly for a lack of active participation and having worked for the Nationalist government.<sup>108</sup> Politics aside, it's quite surprising that few critics have picked up on the sexual ambiguity in Ye's fiction. In his later years he told his friends with a smile how his pseudonym resulted in letters from some of his fans addressed to "Miss Ye Lingfeng."<sup>109</sup> Ye published some important stories in Les Contemporains, where he also held an editorial position.<sup>110</sup> Like the other writers already discussed, Ye seems to have given up writing fiction in the late 1930s when, after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war, he moved to Hong Kong where he edited literary supplements and newspapers until his death.<sup>111</sup>

The reason I discussed *haipai* above was to add one more layer to the difficulties surrounding the writers under discussion in this thesis. The problem starts from problematic definitions of *pai* as a "school" or group of cultural producers who intentionally formed as a collective or, as Yingjin Zhang puts it, as a "trend," a term connoting a broad generalization for particular cultural practices or styles. The polysemic, slippery quality of this character is at the heart of the justification for the writers under discussion. Part of my selection is based on precedents established by other critics. Although such a selective process is somewhat

arbitrary, the writers under discussion do seem to represent one core group of major *minor* writers in modern Chinese literature. New Sensationists, (urban) modernists, decadents, Shanghai writers, or writers of exemplary *haipai* fiction;-- all these terms apply and yet none of these terms are sufficient to tidily define a group of writers who shared very little in common besides the fact that they lived and published in Shanghai (sometimes in the same journals), were all acquainted with each other, and seemed to, on occasion, share similar concerns in their writing. It could be said that what these writers may have held most in common is primarily prosopographical, because except for Liu Na'ou, all the writers were born in or around the Jiangnan region of southern China. However, although a study of these writers as an example of *guanxi* or interpersonal relationships based on region of origin is not within the purview of this thesis, the coincidence is there.<sup>112</sup> I propose to read these writers as a loosely aligned group connected partly through personal and textual relations, and mostly as a result of critical generalizations which have linked them through a process best epitomized as guilt by association.

### **Part 2: Against Influence**

There are many possible paths I could have taken with this study of the writers under discussion. However, if there is one major concern in this thesis, it is the problem of influence. Under the term *haipai*, notions of modernism, the avant-garde, decadence, the market, and foreign cultural proximity are aspects of attitudes concerning the city of Shanghai. As Leo Lee put it concerning the question of decadent literature in twentieth century China: "The modern culture of 1930s Shanghai had already reached an international level [. . .] and formed two different worlds [with] China's vast countryside (*xiangtu*),

therefore only within this comparatively modernized urban center could literary works having a decadent flavour be produced."<sup>113</sup> Indeed, in Shanghai Modern, Lee's "decadent" readings of these authors remain firmly within the scope of the problem of *influence*, and Yan Jiayan's bibliography of influence on these writers "generally known as urban modernists" is expanded: Shi Zhecun is read with reference to Arthur Schnitzler, Freud, and "uncanny" literature; Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiyong with regard to the Morand, film culture, and the "femme fatale"; and Ye Lingfeng is read as a sort of minor dandy to Shao Xunmei and the European decadents.<sup>114</sup> The question of influence is important to the history of modern Chinese literature and cannot be ignored. However, the problem of foreign (that is to say, European, Anglo-american, or Japanese) influence is quite problematic in a locale such as Shanghai, which was a city of foreign concessions or territories that functioned somewhat separately in legal, social and even political senses.

The problem of influence in modern China has even been posed in the context of the very concept of nation in China. In her study, Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity--China, 1900-1937, Lydia Liu links various concepts in modern Chinese to linguistic and conceptual borrowings from non-Chinese culture. Liu's readings are immensely important as a questioning of concepts of national culture, but in my opinion, she still poses her questions from a position that finds the very fact of such borrowing as problematic. As she notes in her discussion of the word *wenhua* (culture): "The new ethnographic notion of *wenhua* did not enter the Chinese language until after *bunka*, the Japanese *kanji* translational equivalent of 'culture,' was borrowed back at the turn of the twentieth century. What this history means is that the changing meaning of *wenhua* in twentieth-century China has to be investigated in light of its



specific historical ties to other languages and discourses and cannot always be traced to its original Chinese etymology."<sup>115</sup> Although Liu deconstructs these borrowed terms and concepts to evidence a hybridity inherent in modern Chinese culture, her contentions also speak from within an "anxiety of influence" concerning modern Chinese concepts and discourses of culture and the nation, which are read within a circular logic that always situates "origin" as problematically Western or Japanese.

Shu-mei Shih's recent study The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in Semicolonial China, 1917- 1937 reintroduces the concept of "modernism" to modern Chinese literature within a similar problematic. Starting from a notion of China's semicolonial status, Shih reads modernism in China as an aspect of Homi Bhabha's concept of "mimicry," in which Chinese intellectuals suffered from an "inferiority complex.": "This inferiority complex resulted from the negation of what is Chinese, and a desire to be accepted as equals with the powerful West and Japan."<sup>116</sup> That such an "inferiority complex" existed is certainly plausible. However, Shih's critique of Chinese modernism is centered on her assertion of "Modernity Without Rupture," a reading of certain writers from the so-called "Beijing School" who supposedly solved the problem of modernity as an historical rupture in China through inscriptions of culture informed by notions of "locale" and, recalling Leo Lee's contentions concerning Chinese and Western time I cited above, a cyclical "non-linear" approach to history, as an alternative to concepts of "Western" linear evolutionary history. Moreover, Shih's argument hinges on a question of "derivative" concepts, which she claims certain Chinese "neotraditionalist" authors seem to have overcome.<sup>117</sup> Indeed, one of the key texts she cites is Zhou Zuoren's The Origin of Modern Chinese Literature, in which "he would expound his notion of

cyclical literary history as a way to link the present with various moments in the past [. . .] experienced as variety in repetition or repetition in variety [. . .]"<sup>118</sup> Shih's reading is obviously an attempt to find a purely "non-derivative" assertion of culture in modern Chinese literature. Unfortunately, even Zhou's binary of "literature as self-expression" (*shi yan zhi*) and "literature as a carrier of the Way" (*wen yi zai dao*), despite the obvious resonance in classical Chinese poetics, was critiqued at the time as a derivative translation of Thomas De Quincey's "Literature of Knowledge" and "Literature of Power."<sup>119</sup>

More importantly, questions of influence with regard to the writers under discussion in this thesis overshadow the writers and their fiction. Leo Lee seems more concerned with enumerating Shi Zhecun's library than reading his fiction. Shu-mei Shih is more precise in this regard. For example, she reads Shi's fascination with supernatural themes with reference to the Japanese genre "*ero-garu-nansensu*" ("erotic-grotesque-nonsense").<sup>120</sup> However, in one instance, Shih cites an interview she had with Shi Zhecun in which he notes that the books alluded to in Shi's "Modao" (The Demonic Way) "were actually known to him through the work of Tanizaki Jun'ichiro."<sup>121</sup> Shih's notion of "textual mediation," in my opinion, aside from producing new bibliographical lists, doesn't aid to an understanding of the story itself. Indeed, Shi Zhecun has given many interviews to researchers over the years, and I would question the use of some of the information because it is contradictory from interview to interview and was obviously dependent upon the questions posed. Even attempts to link Chinese modernism to specific Western texts encounter problems. In an important reading of some of Shi Zhecun's fiction, William Schaefer notes "an anxiety of transmission in Shi's fiction must be seen in the context of the cultural unease regarding the

past and its memory that is characteristic of modernity."<sup>122</sup> But Schaefer proceeds to cite the opening of Sir James Frazer's The Golden Bough to read some of Shi's concerns in "The Demonic Way," and it is almost as if Shi Zhecun would have had to read a particular text to understand the "troubled binary between the 'civilized' and the 'savage.'"<sup>123</sup> That is to say, a writer in China would need the mediation of a canonical text from "Anglo-American modernism" to understand such a generalization.

Xiaobing Tang's discussion of modernism is informed by a sensitivity to the problem of influence in modern Chinese literature. "[. . .] the term *modernism*, when applied to a Chinese context, cannot be taken simply as a periodizing concept. It should not be forced to suggest a facile repetition, in the historiographical sense, of Western modernism as either a literary movement or a cultural experience."<sup>124</sup> Tang's contentions are important, particularly his comments regarding the imposition of a modernist pattern or stage on Chinese literary history based on the Western analogue. Nevertheless, the "historiographical sense" of modernism cannot be shunted aside so easily. Gregory Lee's, Dai Wangshu: The Life and Poetry of a Chinese Modernist, as well as being one of the first published books in English on Chinese modernism, is also an important attempt to come to terms with the problem of Western modernism in the context of modern Chinese literature.<sup>125</sup> Although a notion of influence still pervades Lee's study, his approach is comparative, in particular in his discussion of the concept of modernism itself: "Modernism is not a monolithic, unitary school or structure either stylistically, nationally or linguistically. For instance, there are many differences between what we might term European Modernism and Anglo-Saxon Modernism."<sup>126</sup> Nevertheless, as Lee points out, modernism has often been seen as "opposed and contradictory to Realism."<sup>127</sup> As Lee makes clear, the question of whether or

not a work is "modernist" is not without its formal aspect.<sup>128</sup> Moreover, Lee's contention that modernism represents "[. . .] a reaction against the past and a perceived necessity for renewal [. . .]" is not without relevance in a European, Anglo-Saxon or Chinese context.<sup>129</sup>

I contend the invocation of terms such as "modernism" or the "avant-garde," as well as the term "decadent," *does* imply a "periodization" of history and literature. The problem is how to separate an understanding of the periodic significance of modernism and the avant-garde from discourses of influence that overstate the "borrowings" or allusions that occur in the texts. In my opinion, the terms "modernism" and "avant-garde" are best understood as terms which have been attached to forms of cultural production which were and have been determined "inductively" within the context of a particular periodization. Raymond Williams describes this periodization as part of his definition of the word "Modern": "**Modernism** and **modernist** have become more specialized, to particular tendencies, notably to the experimental art and writing of c.1890- c.1940 [. . .]"<sup>130</sup> Also, what is called "modernism" and "avant-garde" may be related as much to linguistic and cultural practices than to any concrete particularities. The reasons why James Joyce is often declared a modernist writer and Pablo Picasso an avant-garde painter may have as much to do with the discipline within which a particular writer or artist is being discussed. Sometimes, for example, it is the novelist or the poet who is given the modernist tag. And there is also the question of writers and artists who formed a group, sometimes even sharing certain ideological programmes. In this regard, Thomas Crow's contentions may serve as a partial definition: "Modernism as a word carries connotations of an autonomous, inward, self-referential and self-critical artistic practice; our usual use of the term avant-garde is on the other hand much more inclusive,

encompassing extra-artistic styles and tactics of provocation, group closure, and social survival. We might choose to see the record of avant-garde appropriation of devalued or marginal materials as part of the latter, extrinsic and expedient in relation to the former. Yet, time and again low-cultural forms are called on to displace and estrange the deadening givens of accepted practice, and some residuum of these forms is visible in many works of modernist art."<sup>131</sup> Moreover, as Crow's formulation indicates, and especially with regard to the writers under discussion in this thesis, I have avoided resorting to notions of "high" or "low" culture. Indeed, criticism has been levelled at the writers under discussion as a result of the fluidity in their writing between elite and popular forms of literature.<sup>132</sup>

I do not pretend to have resolved the problems I have discussed in my introduction. With regard to the writers under discussion, I have chosen to take Randolph Trumbull's lead and refer to them as the "Shanghai Modernists," a term preferable to the problematic title of "New Sensation School," which, as Anthony Pak noted, never actually existed. The phrase "Shanghai modernists," also retains a notion of *haipai*, because although the Shanghai modernists never declared themselves as a group, it could be said their writing evidences similar concerns and strategies which I read into the works throughout my thesis. One of these concerns was writing the city of Shanghai, as a singular space in China that represented modernization, the market, and semicolonial extraterritoriality. These Shanghai writers were "modernists" because their work must be read as "coeval" with Western and Japanese modernist and avant-garde cultural production.<sup>133</sup> My assertion of "coevalness" stems from the simple realization that, although a nation state may exhibit certain signs of technological or infrastructural belatedness, this does not immediately assume the cultural field needs to be placed within the same "stage" as the material. As to the Shanghai

modernists, living in Shanghai certainly helped, a city where one could have access to the latest literature, art, and film from all over the world. But that doesn't justify the originality of the Shanghai modernists in modern Chinese literature. Indeed, as Walter Benjamin noted, cultural production not only implies changes in the modes of production brought about by technological innovations, it also implies a certain amount of "intent": cultural production always implies that choices are made within all the possible variations of a given historical moment.<sup>134</sup>

My methodology in this thesis has been to concentrate on readings of the critical essays and fiction by the Shanghai modernists. The first chapter begins from the concept of autonomy in aesthetic theory to read the "liberal" and "third type of person" debate that took place within the League of Left-Wing Writers in the early 1930s. The second chapter is an attempt to show the way in which ideas of modernization and urbanization determined certain "structures of feeling" in fiction by the Shanghai modernists about rural China. The third chapter is a discussion of montage as a form of modernist and avant-garde cultural production linked to national allegory and historical trauma. Chapter four is a comparative analysis of the problematics of "realism" and "modernism" in modern Chinese literature. My contention is that fiction by the Shanghai modernists must be read as examples of intertextuality and hybridity evidenced in their use of montage as a literary technique of cultural duosemy. Chapter five is a reading of the problem of gender in the Shanghai modernists, where the confluence of various historical discourses about women in modern China served to turn women into figures of social, political, and aesthetic subalternity. My conclusion reads the Shanghai modernists as subalterns in the modern nation state.

One short story by Mu Shiying entitled "Shanghai de hubuwu" (Shanghai Foxtrot)

appears throughout this thesis. In particular, "Shanghai Foxtrot" is read closely in chapters four and five, in contrast to Mao Dun's Ziye (Midnight) in chapter four, and as an introduction to historical concerns in chapter five. My reasoning relates to the amount of attention this story has received by critics of Chinese modernism. The story is perhaps the most popular and most republished story by the Shanghai modernists. At the same time, "Shanghai Foxtrot" is neither exemplary of the fiction by these writers nor of Mu Shiying himself, who used many different styles and techniques in his writing. Nevertheless, the story has accumulated a significantly large amount of critical attention as an unambiguous example of a Chinese "modernist" short story with possible links to John Dos Passos, Ernest Hemingway, Kawabata Yasunari, Azorin, Franz Masreel, and even Mao Dun.<sup>135</sup> It could be said that the problem of influence represents a paradoxical legitimation and delegitimation of Chinese modernism in general and of the Shanghai modernists in particular. Influence is claimed to prove the contiguity of Chinese writers to foreign literature, while relegating the writers to being mere epigones of Western and Japanese literature. Therefore, my intertextual readings of Mu Shiying's "Shanghai Foxtrot" are an attempt to remedy this problem somewhat by rereading and *relocating* this problematic text within modern Chinese literature and history.

---

<sup>1</sup> Anthony Pak cites two Hong Kong critics, Liu Yichang and Huang Jundong, writing in 1972. See, Anthony Wan-hoi Pak, "The School of New Sensibilities (Xin ganjuepai) in the 1930s: a Study of Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiying's Fiction," diss., University of Toronto, 1995, 23- 24.

<sup>2</sup> See, Su Xuelin, Ersanshi niandai zuojia yu zuopin (Writers and Works from the 1920s and 30s) (Taipei: Guandong, 1980) 362. I've translated *xiaoshuojia* here as novelist; however, Shi's output consisted mostly of short stories. *Xiaoshuo* is a blanket term in Chinese for fictional prose.

<sup>3</sup> See, "Ping <<Jiangjun di tou>>" (Review of <<The General's Head>>), in Xiandai zazhi (Les Contemporains) 1.5 (Sept. 1932) 734- 735. The review begins by citing Shi's introduction to the book The General's Head. See, "<<Jiangjun di tou>> zixu,"

(Introduction to <<The General's Head>>), in Shinian chuanguzuo: Shizhecun wenji (Ten years of Creative Work: the Collected Works of Shi Zhecun) (Shanghai: huadong shifan daxue: 1996) 793. For a discussion by Shi Zhecun of his "Freudism" (sic), see "Wo de chuanguzuo shenghuo de licheng" (The Career of My Creative Life) in Shi Zhecun sanwenji (Collected Essays of Shi Zhecun) ed. Ying Guojing (Tianjin: Baihuawenyi, 1994) 96- 104. The article is dated 1933.

<sup>4</sup> A story that draws its name from a hero in the Ming Dynasty novel Shuihu zhuan (Outlaws From the Marsh) by Luo Guanzhong and Shi Nai'an. I discuss Shi's "Shi Xiu" in chapter four.

<sup>5</sup> See, "Xin ganjuapai Mu Shiying de zuofeng" (The Style of New Sensationist Mu Shiying) in Su Xuelin, Writers and Works from the 1920s and 30s 421- 427.

<sup>6</sup> See, Su Xuelin, Writers and Works from the 1920s and 30s 426. The term used here is "chongdie," which has the sense of overlapping or piling-on (die) through repetition (chong).

<sup>7</sup> See, Su Xuelin, Writers and Works from the 1920s and 30s 427.

<sup>8</sup> See, "Wentan shang disanzhongren" (The Third Type of Person in the Literary Arena) in Su Xuelin, Writers and Works from the 1920s and 30s 579- 581.

<sup>9</sup> See, Yan Jiayan, Xin ganjuapai xiaoshuo xuan (A Selection of New Sensation Fiction) (Beijing: Renmin wenzue, 1985) 1- 38. The selections are considerably wider including works by Ye Lingfeng, Xu Xiaocun, Hei Ying, and Zhang Ailing.

<sup>10</sup> For the section on the New Sensation School specifically, see, Yan Jiayan, Zhongguo xiandai xiaoshuo liupaishi (Several Schools of the Chinese Modern Novel) (Beijing: Renmin wenzue 1989) 125- 174. Since much of the material from the introduction to A Selection is repeated in Several Schools, I concentrate on the later work.

<sup>11</sup> See, Yan Jiayan, Several Schools of the Chinese Modern Novel 125.

<sup>12</sup> See, Yan Jiayan, Several Schools 126.

<sup>13</sup> See, Yan Jiayan, Several Schools 127; 143.

<sup>14</sup> See, Yan Jiayan, Several Schools 147.

<sup>15</sup> See, Yan Jiayan, Several Schools 149- 150.

<sup>16</sup> See, Yan Jiayan, Several Schools 144.

<sup>17</sup> See, Yan Jiayan, Several Schools 152- 153.

<sup>18</sup> See, Yan Jiayan, Several Schools 152- 155; 166- 174.

<sup>19</sup> See, Yan Jiayan, Several Schools 154; 160.

<sup>20</sup> "Freud considered that people had the instinctual desire for 'violation' (qinfan) and 'possession' (zhanyou), and this shows the profound stamp of the capitalist class." See, Yan Jiayan, Several Schools 157- 158.

<sup>21</sup> See, Yan Jiayan, Several Schools 87. This contention comes in the midst of a discussion of Freudianism in the works of the Creation Society. Yan cites a line from Franz Kuna in which he introduces "[ . . . ] a figure without whom much Modernist thought is inconceivable, Sigmund Freud." See, Franz Kuna, "Vienna and Prague 1890- 1928," in Modernism: a Guide to European Literature 1890- 1930, ed. Malcolm Bradbury and James McFarlane (London: Penguin, 1991) 120- 133.

<sup>22</sup> See, Yan Jiayan, Several Schools 155.

<sup>23</sup> William Schaefer, "Kumarajiva's Foreign tongue: Shi Zhecun's Modernist historical Fiction," in Modern Chinese Literature, 1&2, 10 (Spring/Fall, 1998) 25- 70; 67.



- <sup>24</sup> See, Pak, "The School of New Sensibilities" 26.
- <sup>25</sup> See, Yan Jiayan, Several Schools 161.
- <sup>26</sup> See, Yan Jiayan, Several Schools 165- 166. Yan also makes claims for suicidal tendencies, as well as attempting to claim the Shinkankahu ha was born from the Tokyo and Yokohama earthquakes of 1923.
- <sup>27</sup> Dai Wangshu (Dai Meng'ou, 1905- 1950) was an important poet and translator associated with the other writers. For a study of Dai Wangshu, see Gregory B. Lee, Dai Wangshu: the Life and Poetry of a Chinese Modernist (Shatin, N.T. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1989). Gregory Lee's study of Dai Wangshu also represents an important addition to the study of Chinese literary modernism in English.
- <sup>28</sup> See, Randolph Trumbull, The Shanghai Modernists, diss. Stanford University, 1989 (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1989) 2.
- <sup>29</sup> See, Randolph Trumbull, The Shanghai Modernists 259- 288.
- <sup>30</sup> See, Randolph Trumbull, The Shanghai Modernists 209- 234. This debate is discussed in the first chapter of the present thesis.
- <sup>31</sup> See, Randolph Trumbull, The Shanghai Modernists 2.
- <sup>32</sup> See, Randolph Trumbull, The Shanghai Modernists 199.
- <sup>33</sup> Trumbull 53- 54. Trumbull compares a translation made by Feng Xuefeng of the Soviet writer V.M. Friche with his own translation. Aside from evidencing his own understanding of Russian, the argument seems quite arbitrary since Trumbull is discussing Liu Na'ou (Liu Canbo).
- <sup>34</sup> See, Randolph Trumbull, The Shanghai Modernists 203.
- <sup>35</sup> See, Shi Zhecun, "<<Xiandai>> zaji" (Random Recollections of Les Contemporains), in Shashang de Jiaoji (Footprints in the Sand) (Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 1995) 26- 57; 53- 54.
- <sup>36</sup> See, Randolph Trumbull, The Shanghai Modernists 204.
- <sup>37</sup> See, Anthony Wan-hoi Pak, "The School of New Sensibilities (Xin ganjuepai) in the 1930s: a Study of Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiyang's Fiction," diss., University of Toronto, 1995, 1.
- <sup>38</sup> See, Anthony Wan-hoi Pak, "The School of New Sensibilities" 1.
- <sup>39</sup> See, Anthony Wan-hoi Pak, "The School of New Sensibilities" 10- 38
- <sup>40</sup> See, Anthony Wan-hoi Pak, "The School of New Sensibilities" 38- 40.
- <sup>41</sup> See, Anthony Wan-hoi Pak, "The School of New Sensibilities" 41- 47.
- <sup>42</sup> See, "FID in modern Chinese literature," in Pak, "The School of New Sensibilities" 138- 156. Leo Lee contends a better example of the use of this type of discourse can be found in Shi Zhecun. See, Leo Ou'fan Lee, Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930- 1945. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999) 167.
- <sup>43</sup> See, Anthony Wan-hoi Pak, "The School of New Sensibilities" 218.
- <sup>44</sup> See, "Two Synchronic Structures in the School of New Sensibilities-- Repetition and Montage," in Pak, "The School of New Sensibilities" 219- 290.
- <sup>45</sup> See, Pak "The School of New Sensibilities" 221- 224, where he discusses the critic Jin Shengtan.
- <sup>46</sup> Pak discusses this question himself in "Stages of the reception of the Chinese School of New Sensibilities by the Literary Community." See, Pak, "The School of New

Sensibilities" 10- 23.

<sup>47</sup> See, Leo Ou-fan Lee (Li Ou-fan), "Zhongguo xiandai wenxue de 'tuifei' ji zuojia" ('Decadence' and its Writers in Chinese Modern Literature), in Dangdai (Taiwan) 93 (Jan. 1994) 22-47.

<sup>48</sup> May Fourth, or Wusi in Chinese, refers to student demonstrations that took place in Beijing in 1919 to protest the Treaty of Versailles and the territories ceded to Japan. The term "May Fourth," however, is often used to designate the social, political and intellectual climate of the whole period at the beginning of the twentieth century, as well as a generation of intellectuals active during this time.

<sup>49</sup> See, Leo Ou-fan Lee (Li Ou-fan), "'Decadence' and its Writers in Chinese Modern Literature" 26.

<sup>50</sup> See Leo Ou'fan Lee, "In Search of Modernity: Some Reflections on a New Mode of Consciousness in Twentieth Century Chinese History and Literature," in Ideas Across Cultures: Essays on Chinese Thought in Honor of Benjamin I. Schwartz. Paul A. Cohen and Merle Goldman, eds. (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University Press, 1990) 109- 135; 111.

<sup>51</sup> See, Leo Ou-fan Lee (Li Ou-fan), "'Decadence' and its Writers in Chinese Modern Literature" 27- 28.

<sup>52</sup> See, Leo Ou-fan Lee (Li Ou-fan), "'Decadence' and its Writers in Chinese Modern Literature" 32- 34.

<sup>53</sup> Shao Xunmei (1906- 1968), a poet and essayist and publisher of the period heavily interested in European late-nineteenth century "decadent" literature.

<sup>54</sup> Zhang Ailing (1920- 1995) an important Shanghai novelist who began publishing in the 1940s.

<sup>55</sup> See, Yan, Several Schools of the Chinese Modern Novel 131- 141, and Yingjin Zhang, The City in Modern Chinese Literature and Film: Configurations of Space, Time, and Gender (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996) 166- 174. See, Leo Ou'fan Lee, Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930- 1945. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999) xiv.

<sup>56</sup> "My strategy in the search for a concept of urban modernity is based on the assumption that, contrary to the elitist approach of conventional intellectual history, which tends to discuss only the essential ideas of individual thinkers, the task of the cultural historian is to explore what may be called the 'cultural imaginary.'" See, Leo Lee, Shanghai Modern 63.

<sup>57</sup> See, Leo Lee, Shanghai Modern 51 *et passim*.

<sup>58</sup> See, Leo Lee, Shanghai Modern 209; 262.

<sup>59</sup> See, Leo Lee, Shanghai Modern 4 *et passim*.

<sup>60</sup> See, Leo Lee, Shanghai Modern 41.

<sup>61</sup> See, Leo Lee, Shanghai Modern 74.

<sup>62</sup> See, Wu Fuhui, Dushi xuanwozhong de haipai xiaoshuo (The Shanghai School Novel in the Whirl of the City) (Hunan: Hunan jiaoyu, 1995); also, Li Jin, Haipai xiaoshuo yu xiandai dushi wenhua (The Shanghai School Novel and Modern Urban Culture) (Hefei: Anwei jiaoyu, 2000).

<sup>63</sup> I discuss Li Jin's book in greater detail in chapter four.

<sup>64</sup> Yan Several Schools 155.

<sup>65</sup> Although, as the writers point out, Yan does dedicate a chapter to the Beijing School.

See, Isabelle Rabut and Angel Pino, "Avant-propos: Écrivains shanghaiens et conteurs pékinois des années trente," in Le Fox-Trot de Shanghai et autres nouvelles chinoises, trans. Isabelle Rabut et Angel Pino (Paris: Albin Michel, 1996) 7- 16; 12. Nevertheless, this did not stop Rabut and Pino from publishing a collection of essays centered around *jingpai* (Beijing School) and *haipai*. See, Isabelle Rabut and Angel Pino, Pékin- Shanghai: Tradition et modernité dans la littérature des années trente (Paris: Éditions Blue de Chine, 2000).

<sup>66</sup> See, Yan Jiayan, "Zongxu" (General Introduction) in Wu Fuhui, The Shanghai School Novel in the Whirl of the City 1-8.

<sup>67</sup> See, "Yangjingbang wenhua-- Wu- Yue Wenhua-- xinxing wenhua" (Pidgin Culture-- Wu-Yue Culture-- Newly Emerging Culture) in Wu Fuhui, The Shanghai School Novel in the Whirl of the City 41- 59.

<sup>68</sup> See, Yingjin Zhang, The City in Modern Chinese Literature and Film 21- 22.

<sup>69</sup> See, Shen Congwen, "Wenxuezhè de taidu" (The Literati's Attitude), in Shanghai: Jiyi yu xiangxiang (Shanghai: remembrances and images) ed., Ma Fengyang (Shanghai: Wenhui, 1996) 1- 7; 3. Most of the texts of this debate are gathered in this book, as well as more recent articles about the notion of "haipai."

<sup>70</sup> See, Shen Congwen, "The Literati's Attitude" 5. It's fairly clear who the Shanghai and who the Beijing writers are. The use of the "baixiangren," the Shanghai expression for hoodlums or immoral people, spells it out.

<sup>71</sup> See, Shen Congwen, "The Literati's Attitude" 7.

<sup>72</sup> Su Wen and Du Heng were both pseudonyms for Dai Kechong. Besides the Shanghai and Beijing Schools debate, Su Wen also appears as a major participant in the "third type of person" debate, which I discuss in the next chapter.

<sup>73</sup> See, "Wenren zai shanghai" (Shanghai Literati) Shanghai: remembrances and images (Shanghai: Jiyi yu xiangxiang) 8- 10; 9.

<sup>74</sup> See, Shen Congwen, "On the 'Shanghai School'" (Lun "haipai"), in Shanghai: remembrances and images (Shanghai: Jiyi yu xiangxiang) ed. Ma Fengyang: 11- 15.

<sup>75</sup> See Lu Xun article, "The 'Beijing' and the 'Shanghai' Schools" ("Jingpai" yu "Haipai"), Shanghai: remembrances and images (Shanghai: Jiyi yu xiangxiang) ed. Ma Fengyang (Shanghai: Wenhui, 1996) 29-30.

<sup>76</sup> Wu Fuhui discusses this debate, see 283-291. Yingjin Zhang contends that the debate started with Su Wen's piece, but I think it may have actually been instigated by Shen Congwen. See, Zhang 21- 27. See also, Yang Dongping, Chengshi jifeng (Urban Monsoon) (Beijing: Dongfang, 1995) 108-117. Yang's book is a comparative urban study of Beijing and Shanghai.

<sup>77</sup> See, Angel Pino, "*Haipai et jingpai*: une querelle littéraire dans les années trente," in Rabut and Pino, (eds.) Pékin- Shanghai 61- 90; 80. My translation.

<sup>78</sup> See, Angel Pino, "*Haipai et jingpai*: une querelle littéraire dans les années trente" 81.

<sup>79</sup> See, Angel Pino, "*Haipai et jingpai*" 82.

<sup>80</sup> See, " 'Haipai' ---- jindai shimin wenhua zhi lanshang" ("Shanghai School"---- The Source of Modern Urbanite Culture) in Jindai shanghai chengshi yanjiu (Modern Shanghai Urban Studies), ed. Zhang Zhongli et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin, 1991) 1131- 1159.

The volume was prepared by a research collective at the Shanghai Social Science Institute.

<sup>81</sup> Modern Shanghai Urban Culture 1131

<sup>82</sup> Wu Changshuo (1844- 1927), painter, seal-engraver, calligrapher and poet. He began studying painting in Shanghai in the late nineteenth century and was an important figure in the so-called Shanghai School. However, The 'commercialization' of art in China did not begin in Shanghai. The "Yangzhou baguai" (Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou), a group of artists centered in the commercial city of Yangzhou and active from the late eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries, is a well-known example of artists who relied on local patronage as opposed to the support of the Imperial court (Modern Shanghai 1141).

<sup>83</sup> Modern Shanghai 1132- 1135.

<sup>84</sup> Du Yuesheng (1888- 19510) started out as an uneducated vegetable seller to become leader of the infamous Green Gang. Opium trafficker, crime boss, political figure, Du looms large over the history of the period. Du Yuesheng was sometimes the arm and the bane of the Nationalist government.

<sup>85</sup> Modern Shanghai 1136.

<sup>86</sup> Modern Shanghai 1150.

<sup>87</sup> Modern Shanghai 1142.

<sup>88</sup> In the text, this is referred to as a Wittgensteinian "language-game" (Modern Shanghai 1139- 1140).

<sup>89</sup> See, Trumbull 12. Trumbull cites sources indicating that Liu was actually born in Japan of Taiwanese parents.

<sup>90</sup> See, Shi Zhecun, "Zhendan ernian" (Two years at Aurora), in Shashang de Jiaoji (Footprints in the Sand) (Liaoning jiaoyu, 1995) 2- 11; 2.

<sup>91</sup> See, Shi, "Women jingyingguo sange shudian" (We Managed Three Bookstores), in Footprints in the Sand 12- 25; 13.

<sup>92</sup> See, Shi, "Zuihou yige lao pengyou-- Feng Xuefeng" (The Last Old Friend-- Feng Xuefeng), in Footprints in the Sand 122- 130; 127.

<sup>93</sup> The most detailed information about Liu's publishing activities comes from Shi, "We Managed Three Bookstores," in Footprints in the Sand 12- 25.

<sup>94</sup> See, Xiandai zazhi (Les Contemporains) 1. 1 (May 1932) 2.

<sup>95</sup> Most biographical information on Shi comes through his own accounts. See, see "Wo de chuangzuo shenghuo de licheng" (The Career of My Creative Life), in Shi Zhecun sanwenji (Collected Essays of Shi Zhecun) 96- 104. On his days at Les Contemporains, see "<<Xiandai>> zaji" (Random Recollections of Les Contemporains), in Shashang de Jiaoji (Footprints in the Sand) (Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 1995) 26- 57. Most of Shi's short stories have been collected in Shinian chuangzuo: Shizhecun wenji (Ten years of creative Work: the Collected Works of Shi Zhecun). This 805 page volume also includes some of the prefaces to the original volumes. Also, see, Leo Lee, Shanghai Modern 130- 137.

<sup>96</sup> See, Shi, "We Managed Three Bookstores" 22.

<sup>97</sup> See Zhu Ziqing, "Lun baihua-- du Nanbeiji yu Xiao bide de ganxiang" (On vernacular-responses to North Pole, South Pole and Little Bide) in Zhu Ziqing sanwen (Essays of Zhu Ziqing) (Beijing: Zhongguo guangbo dianshi, 1994) 492-497; also, see Qu Qiubai, "Puluo dazhong wenyi de xianshi wenti" (Practical Problems of Proletarian Popular Literature and Art) in Qu Qiubai wenji (The Complete Works of Qu Qiubai) (Beijing: Renmin wenzue, 1985) 461- 485.

<sup>98</sup> See, Yan Jiayan, Several Schools 138. Pak has discussed this problem raised by Yan in Mu's work with convincing biographical details in "The School of New Sensibilities" 64-

69. I discuss this question in chapter three.

<sup>99</sup> See, Trumbull The Shanghai Modernists 29.

<sup>100</sup> Wang Jingwei (1888- 1944), head of the collaborationist faction of the Guomindang government in Nanjing.

<sup>101</sup> See, Yan, Several Schools 139- 140. Pak opens up the question even further in "The School of New Sensibilities" 60- 64.

<sup>102</sup> See, Pak "The School of New Sensibilities" 48- 50.

<sup>103</sup> See, Shi, "Two years at Aurora" 8- 9. Also see, Trumbull The Shanghai Modernists 21- 23.

<sup>104</sup> See, Chao Yen-sheng, "Tai K'o-ch'ung" in "Short Biographies of Authors," in 1500 Modern Chinese Novels and Plays, ed. Joseph Schyns et al (1948, Hong Kong: Lung Men Bookstore, 1966) 90- 91. Some of the information for this paragraph comes from this source. Wu Fuhui also has a short biographical sketch in the appendix to The Shanghai School Novel in the Whirl of the City 330- 331.

<sup>105</sup> The Creation Society was a somewhat loose affiliation of writers active in the 1920s and 1930s, including such important figures as Yu Dafu, Guo Moruo, and Chang Fangwu. I have been unable to find reproductions of Ye's artwork, except for reduced photographic reproductions of a number of magazine covers he did.

<sup>106</sup> See, Lu Xun, "Shanghai wenyi zhi yi pie" (A Glance at Shanghai Literature and Art), in The Complete Works of Lu Xun (Lu Xun quanji) vol. 4 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue, 1995) 291- 307; 293. I discuss Lu Xun's article in my conclusion.

<sup>107</sup> See, Yingjin Zhang, The City in Modern Chinese Literature and Film 207- 208.

<sup>108</sup> See, Yingjin Zhang, The City in Modern Chinese Literature and Film 316, note 43.

<sup>109</sup> See, Zhang 209. Yingjin Zhang's reading of Ye Lingfeng is the most positive I've read so far. Zhang is citing an introduction from a posthumous selection of Ye's *suibi*. See, Shen Wei, "Fengxi, fengxi" (Oh Feng Oh Feng) in Dushu suibi (Reading Notes) eds., Si Wei et al, vol 1 (Beijing: Sanlian, 1995) 6- 11; 6.

<sup>110</sup> Shi mentions that Ye was in charge of collecting the pictures for Les Contemporains in "Recollection of Les Contemporains" in Footprints in the Sand 26- 57; 57.

<sup>111</sup> For a brief biographical note and a bibliography see the appendix in Wu Fuhui, The Shanghai School Novel in the Whirl of the City 323- 324. There is also a biographical sketch in in 1500 Modern Chinese Novels and Plays 110- 111.

<sup>112</sup> Christian Henriot has described such a method: "Prosopography is concerned with the study of a social or professional milieu determined by the collection and analysis of the biographies of the members of this milieu of which traces remain." See, Christian Henriot, Shanghai 1927-1937: Elites locales et modernisation dans la Chine nationaliste (Paris: Editions de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1991)125, note 1. My translation. Also, see, Marie-Claire Bergère, Noël Castelino, Christian Henriot, Pui-yin Ho, "Essai de prosopographie des élites Shanghaiennes a l'époque républicaine, 1911- 1949" in Annales ESC 4 (July-August 1985) 901- 929. For Henriot, the notion of *guanxi* becomes a basis for analysing the power relations between the elites in the municipal government of Shanghai. Pak criticizes Trumbull for this very problem: "In labelling the five as modernists and studying them together, Trumbull recognizes something in common among them, but he gives no details of what joined them together besides their personal relationships." See, Pak, "The School of New Sensibilities" 37. In modern

Chinese historiography, prosopography represents a turning point in analysis from older class based readings. In literature of course, it's an old standby.

<sup>113</sup> See, Leo Ou-fan Lee (Li Ou-fan), "'Decadence' and its Writers" 30- 31.

<sup>114</sup> Only Zhang Ailing seems to stand on her own, as a literary mediator between Shanghai and Hong Kong.

<sup>115</sup> Lydia H. Liu, Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity-- China, 1900-1937 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995) 239- 240.

<sup>116</sup> See, Shu-mei Shih, The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in Semicolonial China, 1917- 1937 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001) 24. Shih reads Liu Na'ou, Mu shiying, and Shi Zhecun in the last section of her book 231- 370.

<sup>117</sup> See, Shu-mei Shih, The Lure of the Modern 151- 189.

<sup>118</sup> See, Shu-mei Shih, The Lure of the Modern 181- 182.

<sup>119</sup> See, Zhong Shujun, "Zhongguo xin wenxue de yuanliu" (The Origin of Modern Chinese Literature) in Zhou Zuoren, Zhongguo xin wenxue de yuanliu (The Origin of Modern Chinese Literature) ed., Yang Yang (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue, 1995) 81- 87.

<sup>120</sup> See, Shu-mei Shih, The Lure of the Modern 356- 357.

<sup>121</sup> See, Shu-mei Shih, The Lure of the Modern 357. Moreover, such a contention is made only to be passed over in silence without specifying how Shi derived such a list from Tanizaki.

<sup>122</sup> See, William Schaefer, "Kumarajiva's Foreign tongue: Shi Zhecun's Modernist Historical Fiction," in Modern Chinese Literature, 1&2, 10 (Spring/Fall, 1998) 25- 70; 40.

<sup>123</sup> See, William Schaefer, "Kumarajiva's Foreign tongue" 47.

<sup>124</sup> See, Xiaobing Tang, Chinese Modern, the Heroic and the Quotidian (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000) 50.

<sup>125</sup> Gregory B. Lee, Dai Wangshu: the Life of and Poetry of a Chinese Modernist (Shatin, N.T. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1989).

<sup>126</sup> Gregory Lee, Dai Wangshu 100.

<sup>127</sup> Gregory Lee, Dai Wangshu 111. A point that Tang would seem to agree with in the context of modern Chinese literary history as well. See, Xiaobing Tang, Chinese Modern, the Heroic and the Quotidian 52.

<sup>128</sup> Gregory Lee, Dai Wangshu 111- 112, *et passim*.

<sup>129</sup> Gregory Lee, Dai Wangshu 113.

<sup>130</sup> Raymond Williams, "Modern," in Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society (London: Fontana, 1988). Of course the phrase "experimental art and writing" is rather general. Lee's discussion of "a new linear consciousness" is significant in this regard. See, Leo Lee, Shanghai Modern 43. Also, see Leo Lee, "In Search of Modernity: Some Reflections on a New Mode of Consciousness in Twentieth Century Chinese History and Literature," in Paul A. Cohen and Merle Goldman (eds.), Ideas Across Cultures: Essays on Chinese Thought in Honor of Benjamin I. Schwartz (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University Press, 1990) 109-135, for a discussion of "shidai" (epoch) and "xiandai" (modern).

<sup>131</sup> See, Thomas Crow, "Modernism and Mass Culture in the Visual Arts," in Modernism and Modernity, ed. Benjamin H. D. Buchloh et al. (Halifax: The Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1983) 215- 264; 216.

<sup>132</sup> As I noted above, Leo Lee derides Liu Na'ou and Ye Lingfeng for what he considers as formulaic (popular) aspects of their fiction. See, Leo Lee, Shanghai Modern 209; 262. One Mainland critic also dismisses so-called New Sensation School writing because of perceived links to the popular fiction of the period. See, Wang Xiangyuan, "Xin Ganjuepai wenxue ji qi zai zhongguo de bianyi: zhongri xinganjuepai de zai bijiao yu zai renshi" (New Sensation School Literature and its Variation in China: Comparing and Rereading Chinese and Japanese New Sensation School Literature Once Again) Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yanjiu 4 (1995) 46- 62; 60- 61. I note this aspect of Shi Zhecun, Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiyong in chapter five of the present thesis.

<sup>133</sup> See, Shu-mei Shih, The Lure of the Modern 344- 345. See, also, See, William Schaefer, "Kumarajiva's Foreign tongue" 30.

<sup>134</sup> I am indebted to Peter Bürger's critique of Benjamin where he notes a passage in "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction": "the loss of aura is not traced to a change in reproduction techniques but to an intent on the part of the makers." See, Peter Bürger, Theory of the Avant-Garde, trans. Michael Shaw (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984) 29. The passage Bürger cites is: "[. . .] What they [the Dadaists] intended and achieved was a relentless destruction of the aura of their creations, which they branded as reproductions with the very means of production." See, Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in Illuminations, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1955) 219- 253; 239- 240.

<sup>135</sup> Yinjing Zhang cites an interview with Ye Lingfeng where he discusses repetition in "Foxtrot" in relation to Hemingway, and the "strange" narrative form to Dos Passos. See, Yingjin Zhang, The City in Modern Chinese Literature and Film 308, note 33. Shu-mei Shih cites Yan Jiayan who cites Zhao Jiabi with regard to Mu's interest in John Dos Passos' 1919. As well, Shih adds her own possible link; namely, Kawabata Yasunari's Asakusa Kurenaidan. See, Shu-mei Shih, The Lure of the Modern 316. Isabelle Rabut claims a "striking" resemblance between "Foxtrot" and a passage in Azorin's Surréalisme- pré-roman. See, Isabelle Rabut, "École de Pékin, école de Shanghai: un parcours critique," in Pékin-Shanghai: Tradition et modernité dans la littérature des années trente, eds., Isabelle Rabut and Angel Pino (Paris: Éditions Blue de Chine, 2000) 13- 59; 58, note 113. Leo Lee cites Frans Masreel, claiming that, in "Foxtrot," "the characters are drawn as cartoon figures." Lee notes that "Foxtrot" was written as a fragment of a longer novel and Mu Shiyong "may have intended the novel to be a direct challenge to Mao Dun's novel." My reading of "Foxtrot" and Midnight in chapter four disputes the chronology of Lee's contention. See, Leo Lee, Shanghai Modern 222- 223. "Shanghai Foxtrot" has been translated into French. See, Isabelle Rabut and Angel Pino, (trans.) "Le fox-trot de Shanghai, un fragment" in Le Fox-Trot de Shanghai et autres nouvelles chinoises, trans. Isabelle Rabut et Angel Pino (Paris: Albin Michel, 1996) 191- 206.

## **Chapter 1: The Writer as a Figure of Autonomy**

"[. . .] the first one to take up the challenge was Mr. Lu Xun. Venerable grandfather said 'We need theory' [. . .]"

Su Wen

Invocations of terms such as "modernism" and "avant-garde" carry with them a certain amount of baggage, certain cultural resonances need to be considered, what could be called an aesthetic ideology. One of the most important concepts for modern aesthetic ideology is autonomy. This chapter is a discussion of autonomy in modern Chinese literature through a reading of the "liberals" and "third type of person" debate that took place in Shanghai in the early 1930s. In my introduction I noted one prosopographical coincidence with regard to the Shanghai modernists, that except for Liu Na'ou, the other writers all came from the Jiangnan region of China. However, there is another coincidence that goes to the heart of the question of "periodization" for these writers within Chinese modern history. Much of the fiction by the Shanghai modernists was published within the Nanjing Decade (1927- 1937). During the Nanjing Decade, the city of Nanjing served as a capital for the Nationalist government. Yet this short period of ten years was important for many reasons. In the cultural field, the Nationalist government, the Guomindang, would launch a quasi-fascistic movement called the New Life Movement which was purported to modernize Chinese modern culture down to the most minute quotidian details. As well, this period is also referred to as the "Decade of the Left League," for that loose affiliation of writers called the League of Left-Wing Writers which promoted a radicalization of culture based on



Marxist-Leninist theory. As Wen-hsin Yeh notes: "During this decade of the New Life Movement and the League of Left-Wing Writers, culture was itself politicized. The full significance of the political disenchantment of the Nanjing years must be assessed, therefore, not only in terms of the quest for particular political alternatives and specific solutions; the climate of the decade calls for a fundamental reexamination of the relationship between culture and politics."<sup>1</sup> Thus, first and foremost, my discussion of autonomy in this chapter must be understood as an element of modern history in China.

The first year of the Nanjing Decade was also the year the city of Shanghai was given special status as a locally autonomous municipality. Philip A. Kuhn discusses an interesting aspect of that other use of the word "autonomy" in Late Imperial China; that is, autonomy as "self-government" (*zizhi*). As Kuhn notes, the Chinese term was introduced into Chinese by Huang Tsun-hsien who drew the term from the use from the scholar Yamagata Aritomo's term in Japanese *jichi*, which in turn was borrowed from the German legal scholar Rudolf Gneist, who had used the word in English "thus emphasizing its unique and culturally specific nature."<sup>2</sup> This is not the place to discuss the particular nuances of each use of the term, by the individual writers, or the cultures and disciplines they wrote within. However, Kuhn's example serves well as evidence of the incapacity to reduce questions about "modernity" to a simple binary between "East" and "West." For the "West" just as the "East," modern history is no more and no less than the moment when terms, concepts, and practices, become subsumed under a process sometimes referred to as modernity, a process in which recollections of origins often serve as reminders of the differences that have occurred with each transmission, and

which establish new origins that reinscribe the "original" origins as terms, concepts, and practices with their own cultural specificity.

In this chapter I discuss the concept of artistic autonomy, a concept which underpins late nineteenth and early twentieth century cultural production. Most discussions of the Shanghai modernists tend to ignore Du Heng.<sup>3</sup> However, reading some of the critical writing he produced under the pseudonym Su Wen,<sup>4</sup> I attempt to give a critical context to writing by the Shanghai modernists through a reading of the "liberal" (ziyouren) and "third type of person" (disanzhongren) debate, perhaps one of the most important debates in the League of Left-Wing Writers.<sup>5</sup> This chapter is not an attempt to find a theoretical framework to account for all the writing by the Shanghai modernists, but I do believe the autonomous figure of the writer, as it was presented in this debate, does account for the specific aspects of some of their writing. My discussion begins with readings of the concept of autonomy in Theodor Adorno, Peter Bürger, and Gregory Jusdanis. I will also discuss discussions of autonomy made by critics in modern Chinese literature, notably Lydia Liu and Michael Hockx. My strategy here is primarily an attempt to develop a theoretical foundation for autonomy while avoiding the pitfall of citing "textual mediations" as sources. This is not to say the problem of "influence" is done away with. Indeed, as I note, it was a problem the Shanghai modernists were very much aware of.

One of the first theorists to develop the concept of autonomy with regard to modern art was Theodor Adorno. Adorno's theory of aesthetic autonomy is informed by a critique of European enlightenment thinking, but his aesthetics probably grew from his theory of avant-

garde music. Adorno's theory carries the most weight in the modern period. Adorno considers modern art to be a form of opposition or revolt against society:

Previously, styles and artistic practices were negated by new styles and practices. Today, however, modernism negates tradition itself. In so doing, it extends the sway of the bourgeois principle of progress to the field of art. The abstractness of that principle is tied up with the commodity character of art. Hence modernism in its earliest theoretical articulations, with Baudelaire, takes on a fatalistic ring. The new is intimately related to death. In this sense, Baudelaire's satanism is an identification with the negativity of social conditions, although he himself thought of it as a critical motif.<sup>6</sup>

For Adorno, art is autonomous and not autonomous, because art intertwines dialectically with the empirical world it revolts against. Moreover, because of its relation to the world, art is rational:

In the eyes of the existing rationality, aesthetic behaviour is irrational because it castigates the particularity of this rationality in its pursuit not of ends, but of means. Art keeps alive the memory of ends-oriented reason. It also keeps alive the memory of a kind of objectivity which lies beyond conceptual frameworks. That is why art is rational, cognitive. It is the gaze which transforms empirical being into imagery.<sup>7</sup>

Therefore, autonomy is a problematical concept. Art, and the artist, shouldn't be considered as autonomous in any absolute sense. While art may revolt against society, art inevitably gets caught up in the society it rejects.

Peter Bürger will locate autonomy within the European Enlightenment and the founding of the discipline of Aesthetics: "With the constitution of aesthetics as an autonomous sphere of philosophical knowledge, this concept of art comes into being. Its result is that artistic production is divorced from the totality of social activities and comes to confront them abstractly."<sup>8</sup> Taking a sociohistorical approach, Bürger will trace the history of art through three stages: the sacral, the courtly and the bourgeois. Thus, the concept of

autonomy (and I would say, in a similar manner as the concept of nation), is projected back from the present to the past: "[...] the *autonomy of art* is a category of bourgeois society. It permits the description of art's detachment from the context of practical life as an historical development -- that among the members of those classes which, at least at times, are free from the pressures of the need for survival, a sensuousness could evolve that was not part of any means-end relationships."<sup>9</sup> But it is clear that, for Bürger, autonomy becomes a concept as bourgeois culture and the avant-garde come to blows: "The European avant-garde movements can be defined as an attack on the status of art in bourgeois society. What is negated is not an earlier form of art (a style) but art as an institution that is unassociated with the life praxis of men."<sup>10</sup> Bürger is selective and schematic; however, as an attempt to pinpoint the particularities of avant-garde opposition, his critique is quite effective.<sup>11</sup>

Autonomous art could be considered as "Eurocentric," but care should be taken when discussing the "location" of autonomy. Gregory Jusdanis, in a study of national culture in Greece, makes the claim for autonomous art as an integral aspect of cultural modernity: "The Greek case indicates that the dichotomous thinking underlying the whole argument for Third World modernization has been present right from the beginning. The initial encounter with modernity launched Greek society on a cataract of ideological oppositions (East-West, traditional-modern, purist-demotic, classical-contemporary, ethnicity-state) which lead to instability and sometimes to violence. To resolve these tensions, if only in an imaginary way, another modern construct was imported, the autonomous aesthetic."<sup>12</sup> And more importantly, autonomous art is, above all, indication of an institutionalization of culture. As Jusdanis remarks of the changing role of music in Europe beginning in the eighteenth century: "People paid for it as for any other commodity. It became autonomous and secular

when, separated from the background noise of the festival, court ceremony, or church, it emerged as an autotelic form to be appreciated for itself. No longer in the air, part of the life-praxis, music became an art."<sup>13</sup> Jusdanis' approach is sociological, and Habermas' concept of the public sphere is never far away: "[. . .] the purposeful introduction of cultural and political institutions was not accompanied by similar transformations in society and the economy. A parliamentary democracy was installed and an autonomous literature constructed without a bourgeois civil society."<sup>14</sup>

Much work is needed to account for the concept of autonomy with respect to the context of modern China. Lydia Liu's contention that the (autonomous) aesthetic is "a domain of symbols and representations that determine the meaning of the national culture" covers part of this problem.<sup>15</sup> Michel Hockx's recent work on the Literary Association (Wenxue yanjiuhui) is significant in this regard. Hockx discussion of autonomy is an attempt to apply Pierre Bourdieu's concept of the "literary field" within the context of modern Chinese literature: "The method of study employed in this article is inspired by the work of the French social scientist Pierre Bourdieu, especially by his conceptualization of literary practice as a relatively independent space ('the literary field'), providing agents with possibilities to distinguish themselves from other agents in terms of at least one shared principle. The advantage of this view in comparison with other theories of literature is that it makes no prior assumptions about the nature of this so-called 'autonomous principle.'"<sup>16</sup> On the contrary, I would contend that Bourdieu's theory of the autonomy of the literary field does rely upon a certain number of assumptions, not the least of which is the question of autonomy itself. Hockx is clearly aware of the cross-cultural limitations of Bourdieu's literary field when he refers to a notion of "collectivity" in Modern Chinese literary

practice.<sup>17</sup> Another assumption in Bourdieu is the "generative principle" of what he refers to as a "double rupture." The "double rupture" was a "double rejection" of social art and bourgeois art by writers like Flaubert and Baudelaire, which Bourdieu contends was a significant aspect of "position taking" in nineteenth century French literature.<sup>18</sup>

Unfortunately, such a category would seem to reproduce itself as a narrow structural model when applied within the Chinese context: "The writers of the 1920s were students, professional educators or professional editors, who wrote literary work mainly in their spare time. By writing so-called new literature, they adopted a position within the literary field of the time, which was dualistically structured around an opposition between high and low literature."<sup>19</sup> However, it is clear that Bourdieu's dualistic category quite unambiguously encompasses more than solely cultural production: "I am thinking, for example, of their political neutrality, which shows itself in the complete eclecticism of their relationships and friendships and which is associated with the refusal of any engagement in action [ . . . ] of any official consecration [ . . . ] and above all of any kind of ethical or political preaching, whether glorying bourgeois values or instructing the masses in republican or socialist principles."<sup>20</sup> The specificity of the "double rupture," therefore, can hardly be treated as a universal category.<sup>21</sup>

As a theory of elite competition, Bourdieu's concept of the literary field is perhaps the most sociologically rigorous description of European aesthetic autonomy to date. Moreover, Bourdieu's chronological location of the assertion of autonomy occurs at that moment often associated with the emergence of an historical avant-garde in the late nineteenth century.<sup>22</sup> In its most generalized sense, autonomous art represents the differentiation and privileging of culture for particular ends, even if those ends are

something as vague as "artistic appreciation." That is to say, autonomy for art occurs the moment the concept of art itself is invoked and separated into a discipline.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, a distinction must be made between autonomy as a *concept* and as an *institution*. In the same way that Habermas' public sphere fades off into the utopian distance of male coffeehouse patrons in seventeenth and eighteenth century England, autonomy is also a theoretical fiction, which may have disappeared with the modern period.<sup>24</sup> As Marx Wartofsky put it rather succinctly: "[the institutional theory of art] is an *ad hoc* theory, since the problem it addresses is a problem which first appears in nineteenth-century art, and then, more sharply, in the twentieth century. It is just the problem of that art whose purpose it is to challenge all previous standards or criteria of art."<sup>25</sup>

The founding of the League of Left-Wing Writers (or the Left League for short) in 1930 signalled a further politicization of culture in China. But literature also maintained a certain amount of autonomy, because literary production was being separated as an entity within society for its function, more specifically as a (political) pedagogical tool. Yet despite the obvious political implications of its formation, the Left League was formed to function as an inclusive common front in spite of particular party affiliation.<sup>26</sup> Su Wen's category of the "third type of person" was a challenge to the openness of the League of Left-Wing Writers, a challenge to political over artistic commitment. The "liberal" and "third type of person" debate started with Hu Qiuyuan's critique of nationalist literature and art (*minzu wenyi*), which he read within the context of contemporary world fascist movements, and arising in China as the result of an "internal disorder" (*neiluan*).<sup>27</sup> Setting the historical context, Hu cites examples in Italy, France, and Japan, as well as China's "National Essence" (*guocui*): "Although art is 'not

predominant' (feizhishang), it is certainly 'not subordinate' (feizhixia). To degenerate art into some kind of political gramophone (liushengji) is simply artistic treachery."<sup>28</sup> Hu denounces contemporary nationalism having already by this point declared himself as "[. . .] of the class of liberal intellectuals (ziyou de zhishi jieji), coming from an objective standpoint [. . .] not affiliated with any party or school."<sup>29</sup> Naturally, Hu's appropriation of "historical materialism" was not welcome by certain leftist writers and will come under attack as being false, and Hu was asking for trouble when he wrote his critique of Qian Xingcun, a former member of the Sun Society who had virulently attacked Lu Xun a few years before. Nevertheless, Hu's critique of Qian is as much a defense of May Fourth figures like Mao Dun and Lu Xun as it is a denunciation of Qian's Marxist literary critique.<sup>30</sup> What should be kept in mind is that this debate arose within the context of an evaluation of the May Fourth period through a Marxist-Leninist historiography, an evaluation which dated the May Fourth period, in a sort of generational *aufheben*, as one link in a causal chain of revolutionary teleology.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, Hu Qiuyuan's "free man" or "liberal," as I've translated it, carried a May Fourth resonance. As Qu Qiubai put it in his critique of the "liberal" position: "The 'liberal's' position [. . .] is the poisonous legacy of 'May Fourth' bourgeois liberalism [. . .] the poisonous legacy of "May Fourth" bourgeois liberalism must be eliminated!"<sup>32</sup>

Su Wen's critique of Hu Qiuyuan is, to put it lightly, sarcastic. Hu Qiuyuan will be accused of being a bookworm or bookish Marxist. Su Wen opens with a joke and continues by citing Confucius: "Confucius' thought wasn't very penetrating, so there's no reason to haul him into Marx's ancestral hall. Nevertheless, he did say a few clever things: 'There is no point in people taking counsel together who follow different ways' (dao butong buxiang



weimou)."<sup>33</sup> The reference to "Marx's ancestral hall" is revealing here because it undercuts the leftist critique of feudal culture as the "clan system" (zongfa). Of course, through his critique of Hu, Su Wen will also have a chance to criticize the Left League program: "They regard the workers as having nothing to read, only finding old-fashioned comic strips and song books filled with a feudalistic flavour (that's too say, harmful). Therefore, they want writers to simply write beneficial comic strips and song books to give the workers something to read. Critics such as Mr. Hu are of course opposed to this; and not only Mr. Hu, but I'm afraid any person who clings to literature for dear life would be opposed [to this type of work]. Certainly, comic strips will never give birth to a Tolstoy or a Flaubert."<sup>34</sup> Su Wen's remark is elitist, but as he asks rhetorically in "The Way out for the 'Third Type of Person.' ": "You say you still have to learn from the masses, but are you qualified to teach the masses to improve themselves!" A great part of the Left League's project was, after all, educational.<sup>35</sup> Significantly, Su Wen makes it clear that the debates concerning revolutionary literature had already taken place in the Soviet Union, only to be repeated in Japan. The Left League debate was, as it were, "imported": "As a result, the same discourse gets borrowed in Tokyo and then comes over to Shanghai where, all you need to do is use square, four-cornered characters, and it's just as if the theory belonged to the Chinese people to begin with."<sup>36</sup> And Su Wen's sarcasm concerning "influence" isn't without a certain generational bite:

But the Leftist Literary arena's own "aufheben" is not something that happened over night. From the time it started beating the drum in China, the first one to take up the challenge was Mr. Lu Xun. Venerable grandfather said "We need theory," and Plekhanov and Lunacharsky were translated. True, the translations weren't very intelligible, but Mr. Lu Xun was satisfied. Then Mr. Mao Dun leapt to the challenge saying "We don't want to hear any eighteen line itinerant rhymes, we want to see the

goods." There is still no sign of the goods, but the problem of art and technique got some attention, so Mr. Mao Dun was satisfied.<sup>37</sup>

Su Wen doesn't seem to attach any special meaning to the term *aufheben* here, he seems to mean simply "Marxist theory." But that the term comes within a discussion of translation and theory is important. Su Wen is again casting doubt on the educational value of the work of the Left League, making light of the quality of the translations of the period, and suggesting that theory was being written at the expense of literary works. Su Wen doesn't show himself to be very knowledgeable of "Marxist theory." Nevertheless, since he was a member of the Left League, his criticism shows an intimate understanding of what was going on within the League. This is the reason I contend the "third type of person" category must be read as an internal critique of the Left League by a member: "As the 'liberal intellectual class' and the 'non-liberal, party affiliated' class battle for hegemony in literary circles, the most miserable is actually a third type person who is affiliated to neither. This third type of person is simply the society of writers (*zuozhe zhi chun*)."<sup>38</sup> Su Wen would seem to be taking a position here somewhat in line with Bourdieu's "double rupture," except that in another instance, he will also distance himself from modernism, or any "ism" for that matter, claiming that he is no more modernist than Shi Zhecun is New Sensationist.<sup>39</sup> The rhetorical claim of dissociation (I am/ we are neither this nor that) could be read as merely an argumentative tactic, part of a game of "catch-me-if-you-can." In Su Wen's case, he positions himself within the local debate, as well as distancing himself from foreign influence.

Moreover, Su Wen isolates a concept of the writer, both as a social and metaphorical figure: "To be frank, all writers to some extent exhibit what I referred to above as an

inclination to cling to literature for dear life; otherwise, from the thousands of possible causes (shiye) to choose from, they certainly wouldn't have chosen such an unpromising cause (or perhaps [the word] vocation (zhiye) would be better)."<sup>40</sup> And, part and parcel with the social figuration of the writer (zuozhe) is the personification of literature as a woman, a feminization of literature as a woman of easy virtue, as it were:

At first, ever before the concept of class-literature impinged upon the mind of the writer; the writer still dreamed that literature was a pure virgin. But shortly thereafter someone told him that not only was literature not a virgin, she was actually a wife willing to sell herself to the highest bidder, one day selling herself to the bourgeoisie, the next day to the proletariat. Upon hearing this, the writer would seem to be somewhat taken aback; however, this is alleged to be a fact, so he has no way to repudiate it. As a result, literature, this prostituted wife, isn't that bad looking and, consequently, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat both want to possess (zhanyou) her. Thereafter, literature has no choice but to give up the dissolute life (congliang). And after [literature] gives up the dissolute life? The writer "[her] lover, from this moment on is a stranger." Haven't many famous and obscure writers already given up the pen? Doubtlessly, some writers still want to pull her out from the depth like an ocean of those mansion doors, while others simply want a cut of her dowry.<sup>41</sup>

Su Wen was basically concerned that politicized literature would lead the writer to "give up the pen" (geqile bi); that is, to give up writing altogether. Therefore, he rejects all political influence, claiming that with political alignment "It goes without saying that the first type of writer is 'undesirable' at present. As to the second type, if he is desirable, it's only according to very strict rules, and you're expected to be someone you're not. In the end, literature is no longer literature, but a kind of comic book, and the writer is no longer a writer but an agitator (shandongjia)." <sup>42</sup>

Qu Qiubai's response to Hu Qiuyuan and Su Wen is in a sense representative of the Left League response.<sup>43</sup> His article "Literary and Artistic Freedom and the Writer's Lack of Freedom," was published under the pseudonym Yi Jia, and takes aim at both Hu Qiuyuan

and Su Wen. Hu's citations of Plekhanov bring him in for accusations of being a Menshevik, and his position as a "liberal" disallows him from becoming a true Marxist, and from criticizing a Marxist like Qian Xingcun. More important though is Qu's critique of Hu's concept of art (yishu): "Fundamentally his position is still that he believes art should have noble sentiments and it shouldn't serve as a political 'gramophone.' Therefore, he believes art is autonomous (duli) [. . .] What he is endorsing isn't a type of Marxist theory or art; rather, it seems to be an autonomous, noble art."<sup>44</sup> Qu's attack of Su Wen opens with the epigraph of a poem recited by Lin Daiyu in The Story of the Stone and continues with a slightly altered citation from The Analects "Sorrow without resentment, joy without wantonness." Su Wen's style is mocked in turn as an example of "artistic value" (yishu de jiazhi), and Su Wen's "society of writers" (zuozhe zhi qun) as a "flock" of sheep.<sup>45</sup> Qu links Su to classical writers like Yuan Mei and Li Bai as part the "aristocratic world of the 'salon.'" <sup>46</sup> Finally, Qu picks up on Su's metaphor of a prostituted literature to close his critique of value based literary theory: "Look: in this world there are women who consider beauty something to die for, and they'd rather sell themselves for this cause (yuangu). Beauty is good-looks, and beauty is also 'artistic value,' an abstract beauty, a beauty which will tolerate no attachments. Sacrificing all for 'beauty,' that's the way out for the 'third type of person.'" <sup>47</sup>

In "The Way out for the 'Third Type of Person,'" Su Wen will first of all reply to Qu Qiubai by saying that, at any rate, being a sheep is better than being a dog. Su Wen contends that Qu Qiubai believes in the idea of literature as a weapon to agitate for social change. In his critique of the inevitability of class based writing, Su cites writers as diverse as Byron, Shelley, George Sand, Turgenev, and Zola to show that, although these writers were in fact bourgeois, in no way were they "representatives" (daiyanren) of their class, that

in actuality they "reacted negatively" (*xiaoji de fandong*) towards their own class. As Wang-chi Wong notes " [ . . . ] neither Hu Qiuyuan nor Su Wen considered themselves enemies of the Left League."<sup>48</sup> In his reply to Qu Qiubai, Hu Qiuyuan makes it clear that he was not against proletarian literature *per se*, merely that he didn't want proletarian literature to "monopolize" (*duzhan*) the literary field.<sup>49</sup> Denying any ulterior political motive besides the wish to open up the debate surrounding the problem of proletarian literature, Hu also defends himself of charges that he was secretly working in cahoots with Su Wen, that Su Wen's articles were actually clever attempts to help his political cause.<sup>50</sup> On the one hand, the arguments presented by Hu Qiuyuan and Su Wen are more subtly formulated than those of their detractors. On the other hand, when Hu Qiuyuan and Su Wen resort to vague notions of "value" (*jiazhi*), such notions remain undefined except as aspects of implicitly class-based cultural values critiqued with good reason by the leftists.

Both Hu Qiuyuan and Su Wen modify their positions, or rather, their positions are formed through the debate. Whether or not Su Wen and Hu Qiuyuan were acting together in the debate is open to historical conjecture, but by the end they will "give in" to each other's position: Hu will make concessions to the "third type of person" and Su Wen will, borrowing Hu's metaphor, discuss "literature as a political gramophone." Perhaps the clearest statement of both the "liberal" and the "third type of person" positions comes in Su Wen's "On Literary Interventionism."<sup>51</sup> Su's article opens with a general argument about the relationship between literature and life: "All problems start from the mode of correspondence (*lianxi fangshi*) between literature and life, if this [problem] isn't resolved, we'll never find a way to approach our problem."<sup>52</sup> Su contends that there are many "concrete modes of correspondence" which can lead to an understanding of the

connection between literature and life "and those who don't understand literature's diverse nature will grab one and suppress all the others."<sup>53</sup> Su attempts to show the incapacity of the writer to understand either the artistic value or the goal oriented aspect of his own writing: "Tolstoy thought the non-utilitarian idea of art did not exclude a sermonizing aspect, and although Ibsen considered his own works as pure poetry, the result was that the influence of Ibsen on modern life was in no way less significant than Tolstoy's."<sup>54</sup> Su's argument extends from the problem of goal oriented literature to a rejection of any historic teleology, since "the evolution of history has no ultimate aim," Su claims that "social order (shehui zhixu) has no ultimate aim." In what is a rather vague reference to culture as a type of artefact, Su will posit what he calls a "mirror of contradictions" which can be analysed historically. Social thinkers use this mirror of contradictions to analyse society but "the critique and analysis of pure reason is insufficient, we still need our senses to experience these contradictions intimately."<sup>55</sup> Therefore, for Su Wen, the "eternal task of literature" is to "point out social contradictions from the point of view of intimate sensations (qieshen de ganjue) and, either through a period, or directly, to improve [society]."<sup>56</sup> From a generalized abstract language Su gets down to specifics by describing the writer in Chinese history, where attempts to point out contradiction were suppressed in place of the defense of traditional morality and the maintenance of social order: "Not only was it like this in China, but in Europe it was the same. In feudal society, the patronage (jiangye) of aristocratic literature only allowed the writer to say what the aristocratic class wanted him to say."<sup>57</sup> The term "patronage" is Su Wen's, all I've done is reverse the bracketed English. Interestingly, when Su uses the term "feudal society" it's not clear whether Su is referring to China, Europe, or both. I noted the way

Hu Qiuyuan's "liberals" read as a defence of May Fourth figures like Lu Xun and Mao Dun. As I said, this debate occurred within a context of a reappraisal of the May Fourth movement within a Marxist-Leninist historiography. Indeed, such historic discourse had even more wideranging effects in the 1920s and 1930s as Su Wen's recourse to a term like "feudal society" attest. D. W. Y. Kwok describes one polemic on the history and nature of Chinese society that began in 1928 in which "[t]he participants expected to make Chinese history and society conform to the laws of the dialectical development of society, thus merging it with universal history and lending it cosmic meaning."<sup>58</sup> It could be said that if Su Wen has anything to contribute to the discourse of Marxist-Leninist historiography, it would be in his assertions of "reform" over "revolution."

Nevertheless, for Su Wen, the idea of pointing out contradictions is also intertwined with a notion of historic progress so that "those who represent (daibiao) a particular class interest" renounce the historic task of literature and "become an impediment to historic progress."<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, according to Su Wen, the revolutionary does nothing more than "remove this impediment."<sup>60</sup> Su Wen's argument is contradictory here, he criticizes the idea of goal oriented literature and then proceeds to set up an alternative goal not much different from the first. However, Su Wen is more concerned about what he calls "literary interventionism" (wenxueshang de ganshezhuayi), and he will first enumerate a few salient examples, such as the political imprisonment and execution of authors, the inspection of publications, and official criticism.<sup>61</sup> Su's argument is that, as a result of literary interventionism, literary works no longer originate in the "author's own [. . .] autonomous (dandu) decision" but are the result of "decisions made during a meeting of official critics."<sup>62</sup> Su Wen (Du Heng), would seem to be speaking as Shi Zhecun's soon-to-be co-

editor of *Xiandai zazhi* (*Les Contemporains*). Su Wen's critique, written in the context of a debate within the Left League, reads quite easily as a possible example of reactionary, that is to say, anti-leftist discourse. However, it should be noted that Su Wen's discussion of "interventionism" came at a time when the Guomindang, through the Public Security Bureau, was involved in a series of raids and arrests at bookstores and printers, directed against Communists and other "reactionary" elements opposed to the Chiang Kai-shek regime.<sup>63</sup>

Su Wen's concerns then turn to the problem of proletarian literature and the writer. He cites Demyan Biedny as an example of "purely political" (*chunzhengzhi*) literature and points out what he considers to be the Leftist position, that by exhibiting a party affiliation the writer will be closer to the truth (*zhenshi*).<sup>64</sup> Su Wen's contention is simply that what may be considered politically or ideologically correct (*zhengque*) is not necessarily realistic (*xianshi*) when it comes into the hands of what he calls "official critics" (*guanfang de pipingjia*).<sup>65</sup> Su's notion of "truth" (*zhenshi*) here is not very clear, and it may be more accurately translated as "a true depiction," because he does seem to be referring to a writerly depiction of reality.<sup>66</sup> However, Su Wen is more concerned here with the place of the writer in society and he does this by playing off notions of "correctness" and "truth": "When official critics use correct or incorrect ideology (*yishi*) to evaluate (*pingheng*) works, they very rarely inquire into the truth or untruth (*zhenshi bu zhenshi*) [of those works]."<sup>67</sup> The idea that writers could be responsible for the evaluation of literary works simply by upholding certain political ideas is phrased in terms which imply an historic foreshadowing:

Actually, one hundred percent correct ideology simply doesn't exist in present day China; it goes without saying that most writers don't possess [correct ideology], and it won't necessarily be found in the ranks of the proletarian [writers]. Such an



absolute ideological correctness will simply never appear amongst the upper echelons of social organizations; rather, [ideological correctness] is molded (suzao chulaide) by theorists (lilunjia). They foretell (yuyanzhe) that a future proletarian literature will be this way, and so they sell tickets for this rendezvous to the writer: which is to require of the writer to write idealistically (xie lixiang), and to not write realistically (xie xianshi).<sup>68</sup>

Su Wen's writer/producer, or, to use a more contemporary term, cultural producer, would nevertheless still have to take the burden for filling the void left by politics: "The condition for composing excellent works of art (yishu pin) means the complete union (zhengge ronghe) of the producer and the work (zuopin), not the union between the producer and politics. In this way, concerning those works described as gramophones for politics, it would be just as well to say they are gramophones for the writer himself."<sup>69</sup> Nevertheless, it could be argued that Su Wen's answer to an absence of "literary interventionism" showed a certain idealism, because the implication was simply to "let the market rule": "Capitalist society isn't so hypocritical and fraudulent [. . .] writers can take their works as commodities (shangpin) into the marketplace and compete freely [. . .] and even in a barbaric country like China, like minded (zhugong) leftists can take their anti-bourgeois works and exchange them for a contribution fee."<sup>70</sup> So the "third type of person" would seem to float somewhere between politics and the market.

Ideas surrounding the Su Wen's "third type of person" can be found in the works of his alter ego, Du Heng, in the humorous story entitled "Unemployment," in which the protagonist, Ke Ping, a bookish writer of sociological articles, is incapable of showing any sympathy for his landlord, Gan Yangwu and his family. After Mr. Gan loses his position as a minor official at the local tax office, Mr. Ke lends him a book about unemployment and economic relief which Mr. Gan returns at the end of the story admitting that he really didn't

understand the book.<sup>71</sup> Du Heng's "The Death of Esenin," about the Russian poet's suicide, a *bête noire* of the leftists, is another more provocative example.<sup>72</sup> Of course, Du Heng was being his own gramophone here, but perhaps one of the best examples of a problematization of the "third type of person" figure is Mu Shiyong's self-censoring writer in "Shanghai Foxtrot," who, musing about which magazine will accept his story, worries about being accused of humanitarianism (*rendao zhuyi*) while finding the perfect material in a young woman forced into prostitution.<sup>73</sup> But I want to make it clear here that I am not speaking of an influence on writing by a certain critical tendency. If anything the "third type of person" debate may be read as an articulation of a particular attitude which was "in the air" at the time.

Shi Zhecun's claims for non-affiliation in the opening issue of Les Contemporains is another example of a "theoretical" or critical statement which would have been in agreement with Su Wen's. The contention that Shi Zhecun "seemed to have no choice but to lend tacit support to Du Heng" is debatable, especially in light of the preface to The General's Head, where, disappointed by some of the criticism of the stories, he states: "[. . .] some said that in these stories I was criticizing proletarian ideology, some that my goal (*mudi*) was to promote nationalistic literature [. . .] even I myself am sceptical of their methods (*fangfa*) and goals [. . .]"<sup>74</sup> Yan Jiayan's contention that this "modernist school and China's proletarian literary revolution" were both "products" of the same period certainly has credence.<sup>75</sup> Liu Na'ou's wavering leftist protagonist in "Flow" is an earlier example.<sup>76</sup> Although Mu Shiyong's "PIERROT" "may have inherited the French tradition" because of its title,<sup>77</sup> the story could be read as a triptych, a three panel portrait of the figure of the writer: part one: the writer and his market, including witty banter with his intellectual friends

and those redundant interior monologues about the gap between his own intentions and reception by his readers; part two, the writer under colonialism, and it wouldn't be too difficult to read a national allegory into the protagonist's jealousy of his Japanese girlfriend's Philippino lover; and finally, part three, in which the writer throws his hat in with the revolutionary masses only to have the masses forget his name (the writer as celebrity).<sup>78</sup>

Ye Lingfeng's "Forbidden Territory" has been read as an example of decadence, but what is even more fascinating about this story is the way in which the writer becomes a kind of celebrity, almost approaching the status of a movie star.<sup>79</sup> Ye Lingfeng is a problematic writer, and his story "Female no. 7" is a considerably indirect novelization of the "third type of person" controversy. A perverse and somewhat masochistic well-known writer takes the same bus every day during a tramway strike where he leers at women and describes them in his journal. Fully aware of the danger that the bus may be attacked by strikers at any moment, he wears a helmet and declares at one point: "[. . .] I have become the third type of person. My only wish is that the buses keep running, I don't care which side wins."<sup>80</sup> Finally, the bus is attacked and the writer will end up with a bandaged head, and exhibiting symptoms of traumatic neurasthenia, in the hospital. Yet, the story's self-referential irony doubles back upon itself as a possible critique of Lu Xun.<sup>81</sup>

The problem of autonomy in the "West" is complex, and perhaps even more so within the context of modern Chinese literature. The contention that, unlike their European counterparts, the Chinese practitioners of "aesthetic modernism" lacked "[. . .] tangible masses of the bourgeoisie to shock [. . .]" is problematic.<sup>82</sup> Ironically (as Su Wen put it so snidely) it was the Left League who were "anti-bourgeois" by definition, and in this they would seem to share something with the European avant-garde.<sup>83</sup> But, as Wang-chi Wong

points out, this did not necessarily mean that Hu Qiuyuan and Su Wen were taking the side of those in power, that they were "exponents of reactionary bourgeois literary theories."<sup>84</sup> The "liberal" and, more especially, the "third type of person" debate of the Left league were significant as assertions of autonomy within the context of modern Chinese literature. One aspect of this is the privileging of the writer as a figure of autonomy and, by the same token, literature and art (*wenyi*) are discussed in the abstract, consistently referred to as *ta* with the *niu* (cattle) radical.<sup>85</sup> In this way, literature and the writer are "theorized" as autonomous.

Autonomy often expresses itself as social and political opposition, and one of the best descriptions of this in modern China is what Lin Yü-sheng referred to as the anti-traditional iconoclasm in May Fourth thought.<sup>86</sup> One member of the Left League in 1930s Shanghai, "Venerable grandfather" Lu Xun, was perhaps a little ambivalent about the "third type of person."<sup>87</sup> And well he should have been, with the young liberal and individualistic "May Fourth" Lu Xun standing behind him in the shadows. Lu Xun's "On the Power of Mara Poetry" has been read as "a romantic manifesto in which Lu Xun proclaimed his new role as a writer," and an example of the use of a "rhetoric of (in)authenticity with regard to individualism to criticize the constitutionalists for their worship of wealth and power."<sup>88</sup> Both readings are possible, it all depends on where you want to put the emphasis. With Lu Xun's privileging of the writer, in this case the exemplary figure of the poet Lord Byron and what could be called a poetics of social opposition, one of the key notions in Lu Xun's discussion is the word "duli," which I translate here as autonomy. And for the young Lu Xun of "On the Power of Mara Poetry" there are three types of autonomy (not necessarily in this order): the autonomy of the poet and his works in opposition to society, the national-political autonomy of a

country, and last but certainly not least, the autonomy of the writer in relation to other writers of influence.<sup>89</sup>

Thus in Shi Zhecun's "The Demonic Way," as the paranoid narrator fears the "impressions" (yinxiang) made upon him by an old woman sitting across from him on the train, he also wonders whether or not his fear is nothing more than an "influence" (yingxiang) of the fantastic and psychological reading material he has packed with him for his trip, only to quip at one point: "I don't eat very much, just give me a glass of water and some well buttered bread [. . .] who's that, Lord BYRON? The poet? Haha, have I only learned his eating habits?"<sup>90</sup> The seats which the narrator "monopolizes" (duju) with the old woman signify an absence which signifies death, a death which appears at the end of the story as a traumatic sign with no referent, an autonomous floating signifier. Like money devoid of a gold standard, this trauma is a symptom of a crisis of representation, but I don't think this problem was solely a question of the "traumatic choices that the coming of West presented China."<sup>91</sup> As well as the question of this or that "imported" theory or mode of representation, a significant part of the trauma for intellectuals in the twentieth century is precisely a newfound autonomy. As Leo Lee put it some thirty years ago: "Behind the facade of decadence, escapism, and self-pity lurks a larger problem, the significance of which can only be seen from an historical perspective. Perhaps for the first time in Chinese history, Chinese intellectuals have become intelligentsia, in that the majority of them are alienated from the seat of political power."<sup>92</sup> Lu Xun's madman, then, will reappear again: a repetition of an earlier trauma.<sup>93</sup>

Without making any grand claims of a zero hour for modernity in China, what needs to be considered are the ruptures and continuities forming the background to the

modern period. The logic of cultural autonomy in China is perhaps best linked to the new intelligentsia of the coastal port cities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the abolition of the examination system being just one among many examples of changing relationships to the state.<sup>94</sup> But more importantly, as an assertion of autonomy, the "third type of person" remains fundamentally constructive. In the end, Su Wen's autonomous gesture is socially responsible and literature is viewed as an agent of social reform. Cross-cultural potential aside, Bourdieu's autonomous figures are far too *disinterested* to be held as any type of model for Chinese writers in the Republican period, where literature always maintains a *utilitarian* position.<sup>95</sup> As Michel Hockx points out: "The relationship between the new education and the new literature is an intimate one [. . .]"<sup>96</sup> While groups and individuals competed for positions within the literary field of the 1920s and 30s in Shanghai, the "third type of person" debate, as one of the shrillest rhetorical ruptures in modern Chinese literature, occurs from a position which is fundamentally pedagogical, even didactic. Literature, and the writer, is defined within a context of social function.<sup>97</sup>

We are a long way from the autonomous gestures of European modernism and the avant-garde. Popular culture was perceived with disdain by elite intellectuals of the period, but whether this can be attributed simply to a model such as the convenient division between elite and popular culture is problematic. First of all, such a model may arise from a reading prevalent in recent postmodern art history concerning the modern period and, as a theory "imported" into field of modern Chinese literature, it tends merely to smooth over cultural nuances and specificities.<sup>98</sup> That a large proportion of writers in China were "students, professional educators or professional editors" (with, I would

contend, an emphasis on the educator) should help to differentiate the concept of autonomy for Chinese writers with respect to their European counterparts at least.<sup>99</sup> And the 1930s, it would appear, represents an interesting confluence. While literature, according to Michael Hockx, "became so lucrative that most well-known writers needed no other source of income," the 1930s also saw what Yue Daiyun has called the "third great shockwave" to Chinese national culture: "[. . .] the dissemination of Marxism throughout China."<sup>100</sup> Perhaps, as it has been suggested, Hu Qiuyuan and Su Wen, while attracted to the leftist cause, were unwilling to subordinate themselves to it.<sup>101</sup> It is also possible that, beneath their defense of artistic autonomy, both Hu Qiuyuan and Su Wen are rejecting the potential revolutionary negation of the role of the intellectual in society. When Su Wen asks: "You say you still have to learn from the masses, but are you qualified to teach the masses to improve themselves!"<sup>102</sup> The apparent extremism of the "third type of person" position remains part of a tradition in which the well-being of the "masses" remains a moral duty of the elite as cultural guardians.<sup>103</sup> If there are "no literary equivalent for traditional kinship organizations," literary associations of the period may have more in common with earlier educational associations.<sup>104</sup>

Nevertheless, Su Wen's trenchant critique of political intervention remains relevant. Whereas his detractors, from a Marxist-Leninist perspective, criticized Su Wen for maintaining a fundamentally bourgeois position, Su Wen's critique of feudal patronage (*jiangye*) and the role of theory in official criticism were clear reminders that the concept of revolutionary literature would need the support of the legitimating institutional powers of the state.<sup>105</sup> Moreover, Su Wen's critique did rest upon a certain attitude towards the market. While it would be too much to say that he embraced the market unconditionally, as Su Wen

and his friends "played the field," it would be just as well to say they "played the market" as well.<sup>106</sup> The "third type of person" is an example of an assertion of autonomy which had, for various reasons, lost all legitimacy, but which may have much to speak to the present, precisely because of the way the debate offers a unique self-image of certain writers of the period, despite its subsequent illegitimacy. What Lydia Liu calls the discourse of legitimation was also the legitimation of discourse, but as the discourse legitimizes the canon and the canon legitimizes the discourse, both still need to be grounded in social institutions including those cultural producers and consumers such as publishers, editors, distributors, readers, educators, theorists, and of course we can't forget our old friends the "official critics."<sup>107</sup> Legitimation is a process, and Bourdieu's contention is quite applicable here: "It is not enough to say that the history of the field is the history of the struggle for a monopoly of the imposition of legitimate categories of perception and appreciation; it is in the very *struggle* that the history of the field is made; it is through struggles that it is temporized."<sup>108</sup> In the end, it could be said that legitimation is simply an historical process, and autonomy is a loophole in that process.

Although it was an attempt to depoliticize literature, Su Wen's "third type of person" ended up further politicizing certain writers and modes of writing. If anything, for the Shanghai modernists, the "third type of person" has remained only tainted trace in the literary field of modern Chinese literature, and may have even contributed to the critical silence that surrounded their work in China for some fifty years. However, autonomy as a rhetorical gesture, is also an indication of institutional realities. In contrast to the earlier May Fourth generation, intellectuals in 1930s China may be distinguished as part of an "emerging 'class' of modern professionals" that included specialists in the



technical, legal, financial and political fields in the urban centers of China, and most evidently in the autonomous municipality of Shanghai.<sup>109</sup> How did the Shanghai modernists look out at the rest of China from their historically autonomous space in the city? In the next chapter, I will show the way in which the autonomy of the Shanghai modernists only extended as far as the limits of the city.

---

<sup>1</sup> See, Wen-hsin Yeh, The Alienated Academy: Culture and Politics in Republican China, 1919- 1937 (Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1990) 232.

<sup>2</sup> See, Philip A. Kuhn, "Problems of Control, Autonomy and Mobilization," in Conflict and Control in Late Imperial China, ed., Frederic Wakeman, Jr. and Carolyn Grant (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975) 257- 298; 270- 271.

<sup>3</sup> Actually, Randolph Trumbull is one of the few critics to focus on Du Heng, see The Shanghai Modernists, diss. Stanford University, 1989 (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1989) 209- 225.

<sup>4</sup> Su Wen and Du Heng were both pseudonyms of Dai Kechong. Su Wen was used as a pseudonym for critical, and Du Heng for novelistic, works.

<sup>5</sup> See, Wang-chi Wong, Politics and Literature in Shanghai: The Chinese League of Left Wing Writers, 1930- 1936 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991) 147. Wang cites Tang Tao.

<sup>6</sup> See, Theodor W. Adorno, Aesthetic theory, trans. C. Lenhardt (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984) 31. Adorno discusses autonomy within an historical continuity reaching back to Kant's concept of disinterestedness and the aesthetic idealism of Hegel and Schiller, among others. Although Adorno eschews questions of origins, he will, for example, make claims for autonomous art in Greek antiquity.

<sup>7</sup> See, Theodor W. Adorno, Aesthetic theory 453.

<sup>8</sup> See, Peter Bürger, Theory of the Avant-Garde, trans. Michael Shaw (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984) 42.

<sup>9</sup> See, Peter Bürger, Theory of the Avant-Garde 46.

<sup>10</sup> See, Peter Bürger, Theory of the Avant-Garde 49.

<sup>11</sup> See, Hal Foster, The Return of the Real: The Avant-Garde at the End of the Century (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1996) 8. Foster criticizes Bürger for his selectiveness and the way in which he "[. . .] projects the historical avant-garde as an *absolute origin* whose aesthetic transformations are fully significant and historically effective in the first instance."

<sup>12</sup> See, Gregory Jusdanis, Belated Modernity and Aesthetic Culture: Inventing National Literature (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991) xiv.

<sup>13</sup> See, Gregory Jusdanis, Belated Modernity 98.

<sup>14</sup> See, Gregory Jusdanis, Belated Modernity 81.

<sup>15</sup> See, Lydia H. Liu, Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity--China, 1900-1937 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995) 183. Liu is responding to Jusdanis here. Although Liu doesn't use the term "autonomy," it is an implicit aspect of her argument surrounding what she refers to as the "discourse of

legitimation" and the formation of a "canon" of modern literature in the 1930s in Shanghai. In particular, see Liu, Translingual Practice 183- 238.

<sup>16</sup> Michel Hockx, "The Literary Association (*Wenxue yanjiu hui*, 1920-1947), and the Literary Field of Early Republican China," in The China Quarterly 153 (March) 49-81; 51.

<sup>17</sup> Michel Hockx, "Playing the Field: Aspects of Chinese Literary Life in the 1920's, in Michel Hockx (ed.), The Literary Field of Twentieth Century China (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999) 61- 78; 76.

<sup>18</sup> See, Pierre Bourdieu, The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field, trans. Susan Emmanuel (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995) 77 *et passim*.

<sup>19</sup> Hockx, "Playing the Field" 75- 76.

<sup>20</sup> See, Bourdieu, The Rules of Art 79.

<sup>21</sup> "The degree of autonomy of the field (and thereby, state of relations established there) varies considerably according to periods and national traditions." See, Bourdieu, The Rules of Art 221. Also, one wonders whether a category such as "sector" is any less "transhistorical" than "genre."

<sup>22</sup> To be more precise, for Bourdieu, it is the 1880s. See, Bourdieu, The Rules of Art, 113- 140.

<sup>23</sup> Something which continues to this day in varying degrees in universities around the world.

<sup>24</sup> Thus, Bourdieu's concept of autonomy may be appreciated not merely for its scientific, but also its polemical value. See, Bourdieu, "Postscript: For a Corporatism of the Universal," in The Rules of Art 337-348. My sweeping comment concerning Habermas' is perhaps an overgeneralization. Nevertheless, there is a sense in The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere that Habermas' historical argument follows a trajectory from the almost nostalgic example of the coffee houses of seventeenth and eighteenth century England (see 42 *et passim*) to end somewhat pessimistically in front of television sets of twentieth century America (see 163 for a contrast between the two). See, Jürgen Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society, trans. Thomas Bürger and Frederick Lawrence (Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1989).

<sup>25</sup> Marx W. Wartofsky, "Art, Artworlds, and Ideology," in Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism 38 (1980) 239- 47; 244.

<sup>26</sup> The complex circumstances around the formation of the Left League deserve much more space than I can give it here. For an excellent treatment of Left League history, see, Wang-chi Wong, Politics and Literature in Shanghai: The Chinese League of Left Wing Writers, 1930-1936 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991).

<sup>27</sup> See, Hu Qiuyuan, "Yishu feizhixia" (Art is not Subordinate) in Wenyi ziyou lunbianji (The Debate on Literary and Artistic Freedom Anthology) ed., Su Wen (1933, Hong Kong: Sun Chau, no date) 4- 9. The translations in this paper are mine, although I have consulted translations of key articles from this debate in Kirk A. Denton, ed., Modern Chinese Literary Thought (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996) 363-386.

<sup>28</sup> Hu 7. Denton notes that 'Hu is alluding here to Guo Moruo's call during the revolutionary literature debate for literature to become a gramophone for the revolution'. See, Kirk A. Denton, Literary Thought 360, note 1. Interestingly, citing Plekhanov as

support, Hu dissociates his critique from the 'art for art's sake' position as well as attacking nationalist literature for "cruelly tyrannizing (cannue) the free development of culture and literature." Hu 8.

<sup>29</sup> Wenhua pinglunshu [Hu Qiuyuan], "Zhenli zhixi" (A Call to truth) in Su Wen (ed.), Debate 302- 305.

<sup>30</sup> As to the initial attacks on Lu Xun, Wang-chi Wong contends it was a type of "Fukomotoism," an attempt by Japanese communists in the 20s to "break away before unite (sic)," to separate the "fellow travellers" from the true revolutionaries. In Wong, Politics and Literature in Shanghai 19. Wong also gives a good reading of the debate under discussion in chapter five: 120-151. For an important personal account of this debate, see Shi Zhecun, " 'Xiandai' zayi" (Random Recollections of "Les Contemporains") in Shi Zhecun, Shashang de Jiaoji (Footprints in the Sand) (Liaoning jiaoyu, 1995) 26-57. Randolph Trumbull is perhaps the first critic in any language to have discussed the debate. See, Randolph Trumbull, The Shanghai Modernists 209- 225.

<sup>31</sup> The term *aufheben* has an important place in Chinese Marxist criticism before and certainly during the debate under discussion. In her discussion of Cheng Fangwu, Marián Gálík noted that, Cheng seemed to translate this hegelian term as "to cancel" and "to lift up," leaving out the first definition of "to preserve." See, Marián Gálík, The Genesis of Modern Chinese Literary Criticism (1917-1930) (London: Curzon Press, 1980) 99. The term is no less alive in Hu Qiuyuan's defense of May Fourth figures. As Wang Chi-wong notes: "[Hu] denied the charge that he wanted to revive the May Fourth. What he wanted to do was to *surpass* the May Fourth" (emphasis mine). See Wong, Politics and Literature in Shanghai 129. With regard to the attacks on May Fourth thinking, and on Lu Xun in particular, it seems that Bourdieu may be useful, especially in his discussion of generational competition: "The new entrants are bound to *continually banish to the past* [. . .] those consecrated producers against whom they measure themselves [. . .]" Bourdieu, The Rules of Art 157.

<sup>32</sup> Qu Qiubai. " 'Ziyouren' de wenhua yundong" (The 'Liberal' Cultural Movement), in Qu Qiubai wenji (The Complete Works of Qu Qiubai) vol. 1 (Beijing: Renmin wenzue, 1985) 498-503; 502.

<sup>33</sup> See, Su Wen, "Guanyu Wenxin yu Hu Qiuyuan de wenyi lunbian" (On the Literary News and Hu Qiuyuan's Arguments Concerning Literature and Art) in Debate, ed., Su Wen, 62-76; 64. For a full English translation of this article see, Su Wen, "Regarding the Literary News and Hu Qiuyuan's Literary Arguments," trans., Jane Parish Yang, in Literary Thought, ed., Kirk A. Denton 367-375. For citations from the Analects, I've used Confucius, The Analects, trans., D. C. Lau (London: Penguin, 1979). This phrase appears in XV. 40, 137.

<sup>34</sup> Su Wen 67. Su Wen was, according to Wang-chi Wong, a member of the Left League, so he would have known about the Association for the Study of Cartoons (Manhua yanjiuhui), a study group founded by the League at its inaugural meeting. Concerning the Association for the Study of Cartoons, see Wong, Politics and Literature in Shanghai 63; and, concerning Su Wen's membership 130. Lu Xun took him to task for this comment in " 'Lianhuanhua' de bianhu" (In Defense of 'Comic Books') in Lu Xun quanji (The Complete Works of Lu Xun) vol. 4 (Beijing: Renmin wenzue, 1995) 445- 450.

<sup>35</sup> See, Su Wen, " 'Disanzhongren' de chulu" (The Way out for the "Third Type of Person") in Su Wen (ed.) Debate 112-136; 124. Su Wen's charge would have carried weight

considering the high educational requirements for membership in the league, requirements which, until they were modified, would have excluded the possibility of admitting illiterate members. See, Wong, Politics and Literature in Shanghai 65-67.

<sup>36</sup> Su Wen "On the Literary News and Hu Qiuyuan's Arguments Concerning Literature and Art" 64-65.

<sup>37</sup> Su Wen "On the Literary News and Hu Qiuyuan's Arguments" 65.

<sup>38</sup> Su Wen 73. For a full English translation of this article see Su Wen, 'Regarding the Literary News and Hu Qiuyuan's Literary Arguments', Jane Parish Yang (trans.), in Denton (ed.) Literary Thought, pp. 367--75. I've translated Su Wen's "zuoja zhi qun" by "society of writers," because I think this is what Su Wen had in mind. Jane Parish Yang's use of "flock" (373) is closer to Qu Qiubai's use of this polysemic word.

<sup>39</sup> Su Wen 135-136. As Michel Hockx shows, "position-taking" sometimes came down to an attempt to differentiate one position from all the other (perceived) positions. Hockx cites a list by Xu Zhimo of no less than "thirteen vendors selling their goods," thirteen different "pai." See, Michel Hockx, "Playing the Field" 68-69.

<sup>40</sup> In, Denton (ed.) Literary Thought 374, Yang translates *shiye* as "enterprise," which is also possible here. However, as Su Wen describes the writer as "clinging for dear life" (sibaozhu wenxue buken fangshou), the word "cause" seems more appropriate.

<sup>41</sup> My translation is literal here. Su Wen is quoting the only poem left by a Tang poet named Cui Jiao. The poem is entitled "To a Servant-girl" and he quotes the last two lines of the poem: "The mansion doors once entered [are] a depth like the sea, from this moment on the lover is a stranger." Su seems to allude to the story surrounding the poem in which Cui Jiao's family, in need of money, was forced to sell a servant-girl for 40 000 in currency. Deeply in love with the girl, Cui Jiao presents her the poem. The master of the house, upon reading it, was so moved that he declared the poem to be worth far more than the money he'd paid for the servant-girl. Therefore, he gives the servant-girl back to Cui Jiao, with her "dowry." See, "Cui Jiao," Zhongguo wenxuejia da cidian (Major Dictionary of Chinese Writers), ed., Tan Jiading (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1985). Su Wen takes up this theme in the novel Pantu (The Traitor), which will be discussed in my conclusion.

<sup>42</sup> Su Wen 74.

<sup>43</sup> He was, after all, an ex-secretary of the CCP and his opinion would have carried a certain amount of weight. Nevertheless, as Wang-chi Wong points out, the Left League response wasn't completely monolithic, as in the case of Feng Xuefeng. See Wong, Politics and Literature in Shanghai 134- 135.

<sup>44</sup> Yi Jia (Qu Qiubai), "Wenyi de ziyou and wenxuejia de buziyou" (Literary and Artistic Freedom and the Writer's Lack of Freedom), in ed., Su Wen, Debate 77-99; 80-81. For a full English translation of this article see, Qu Qiubai, "Freedom for Literature but not the Writer," trans., Kirk A. Denton, in Denton (ed.), Literary Thought 376-382. In my use of the word autonomy for *duli*, I am in agreement with Denton.

<sup>45</sup> Yi Jia (Qu Qiubai) 87-88. See, D. C. Lau, (trans.), The Analects, III. 20, 70. where the phrase is "[. . .] joy without wantonness, and sorrow without self-injury." Qu's citation of Confucius is a reminder of Su Wen's use of the word "qun" and the famous passage in the Analects where Confucius declares to his student: "An apt quotation from the *Odes* may serve to stimulate the imagination, to show one's breeding, *to smooth over difficulties in a group* and to give expression to complaints" (emphasis mine). See, D. C. Lau (trans.), The

Analects, XVII. 9, 145.

<sup>46</sup> Yi Jia (Qu Qiubai) 97.

<sup>47</sup> Yi Jia (Qu Qiubai) 99. Qu Qiubai is appropriating the metaphor of a woman prostituting herself from the Su Wen article "On the Literary News and Hu Qiuyuan's Arguments Concerning Literature and Art." Su Wen takes up the literature-as-woman metaphor again in "The Way out for the "Third Type of Person" 112- 136; 130- 131.

<sup>48</sup> Wong, Politics and Literature in Shanghai 132.

<sup>49</sup> Hu Qiuyuan, "Langfei de lunzheng" (A Wasteful Debate), in Su Wen (ed.), Debate 196-258; 209. Hu 's tone is conciliatory in this article when he states that he had unintentionally "offended friends." See, Wong, Politics and Literature in Shanghai 132. According to Denton, Hu Qiuyuan had quit the Left League earlier on. See, Denton (ed.), Literary Thought 360.

<sup>50</sup> Hu Qiuyuan " A Wasteful Debate" 218-219.

<sup>51</sup> See, Su Wen, "Lun wenxueshang de ganshezhuayi" (On Literary Interventionism), in Debate 179-194.

<sup>52</sup> Su Wen "On Literary Interventionism" 179.

<sup>53</sup> Su Wen "On Literary Interventionism" 179.

<sup>54</sup> Su Wen 180.

<sup>55</sup> Su Wen 181.

<sup>56</sup> Su Wen 181.

<sup>57</sup> Su Wen 182.

<sup>58</sup> See, D. W. Y. Kwok, Scientism in Chinese Thought: 1900- 1950 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965) 163.

<sup>59</sup> Su Wen 184.

<sup>60</sup> Su Wen 185.

<sup>61</sup> Su Wen 186.

<sup>62</sup> Su Wen 186.

<sup>63</sup> Su Wen's critique would seem to inhabit a "double" context, so to speak. See, Frederic Wakeman, Jr., Policing Shanghai 1927- 1937 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995) 169- 181.

<sup>64</sup> Su Wen 186-187.

<sup>65</sup> Su Wen 188-189. Again, the English term "official critics" is Su Wen's (186).

<sup>66</sup> Su Wen does touch upon the problem of representation in passing when he discusses "individualistic" aspects of the character Kozhukh in Alexander Serafimovich's The Iron Flood. See, Su Wen 189-191.

<sup>67</sup> Su Wen 188.

<sup>68</sup> Su Wen 188. Su Wen's critique here comes in the midst of a discussion of the Soviet example: "[The Soviet proletariat] already [. . .] has a class-based concept of morality and aesthetics, and they've already consecrated (zongjiaohua) class idealism." See, Su Wen 185.

<sup>69</sup> Su Wen 189.

<sup>70</sup> Su Wen, "The Way Out for the 'Third Type of person' " 121.

<sup>71</sup> Du Heng, "Shiye" (Unemployment) in Xiandai zazhi (Les Contemporains) 4. 6 (April 1934) 1000-1012.

<sup>72</sup> Du Heng, "Yesaining zhi si" (The Death of Esenin) in Huaixiangji (Homesickness) (1933, Shanghai: Shanghai shudian 1986) 236-250. Du Heng calls it an "unpromising

work appended at the end of the collection." For a "leftist" reading of Esenin's suicide see Lu Xun, "Duiyu zuoyi zuojia lianmeng de yijian" (Suggestions for the League of Leftwing Writers) in Lu Xun, Complete Works, vol. 4, 233- 239. Trumbull reads this story, perhaps the only reading of Du Heng's fiction, in relation to Su Wen's "third type of person" in Randolph Trumbull, The Shanghai Modernists 221- 225.

<sup>73</sup> Mu Shiyong's "Shanghai de hubuwu" (Shanghai Foxtrot) and Su Wen's "Lun wenxueshang de ganshezhuayi" (On Literary Interventionism), appeared in the same issue of Xiandai zazhi (Les Contemporains) 2. 1 (November 1932) 112- 120 and 128- 136.

<sup>74</sup> See, Leo Lee, Shanghai Modern 136; Shi Zhacun, 'Zixu' (Preface), in Jiangjun di tou (The General's Head). (1933, Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1986) 1-2.

<sup>75</sup> Yan, Several Schools of the Chinese Modern Novel 125.

<sup>76</sup> Liu Na'ou, "Liu," (Flow) in Dushi fengjingxian (The City Skyline) (1930, Shanghai: Shanghai shuju, 1988) 37- 66. Wang Xiangyuan critiques Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiyong precisely because they mixed up New Sensation and proletarian styles, unlike their Japanese counterparts who, according to Wang, wrote a pure form of individualistic writing directly opposed to any concept of proletarian realism. See, Wang Xiangyuan, "Xin Ganjuepai wenxue ji qi zai zhongguo de bianyi: zhongri xinganjuepai de zai bijiao yu zai renshi" (New Sensation School Literature and its Variation in China: Comparing and Rereading Chinese and Japanese New Sensation School Literature Once Again) in Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yanjiu 4 (1995) 46- 62; 47- 49.

<sup>77</sup> See, Leo Lee, Shanghai Modern 229.

<sup>78</sup> Mu Shiyong, "PIERROT," in Jia Zhifang et al. (eds.), Mu Shiyong xiaoshuo quanbian (The Complete Novels of Mu Shiyong) (Shanghai: Xuelin, 1998) 410- 438.

<sup>79</sup> See, Yingjin Zhang, The City in Modern Chinese Literature and Film: Configurations of Space, Time, and Gender (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996) 211; Leo Lee, Shanghai Modern 258- 262. For Yingjin Zhang's discussion of Ye's use of film titles in this story, see, Yingjin Zhang 317, note 57.

<sup>80</sup> See, Ye Lingfeng, "Jindi (duanpian)" (Forbidden Territory-- fragment), and "Diqihao nüxing" (Female No. 7), in Jia Zhifang et al. (eds.), Ye Lingfeng xiaoshuo quanbian (The Complete Novels of Ye Lingfeng) (Shanghai: Xuelin, 1998) 259- 291 and 335- 343.

<sup>81</sup> I discuss this story in my conclusion.

<sup>82</sup> See, Leo Ou'fan Lee, Shanghai Modern 147.

<sup>83</sup> In the case of the European avant-garde, to attack the "bourgeoisie" meant very often to simply attack tradition, but the motives behind such totalizing gestures were often irrelevant to the results. Bourdieu notes the futility of "reconciling political vanguardism and avant-gardism." See, Bourdieu, The Rules of Art 386, note 58.

<sup>84</sup> See, Wong, Politics and Literature in Shanghai 132. Concerning this "prevailing idea in mainland China," Wong cites Tang Tao: "One of the arguments is that both Su Wen and Hu Qiuyuan shortly turned to and worked for the GMD." Most discussions about Su Wen and Hu Qiuyuan usually take place as footnotes to the Left League and its members.

<sup>85</sup> Lydia Liu discusses this character in the context of Lu Xun's work: "[. . .] Lu Xun began to adopt another neologism, *ta* with the *niu* (cattle) radical, to refer to animals, as in 'Regret for the Past.'" See, Liu, Translingual Practice 37.

<sup>86</sup> See, Lin Yü-sheng, The Crisis of Chinese Consciousness: Radical Antitraditionalism in the May Fourth Era. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1979).

<sup>87</sup> Besides " 'Lianhuantuhua' de bianhu" (In Defense of "Comic Books"), Lu Xun also discussed "the third type of person" in "Lun 'disanzhongren' " (On the "Third Type of Person") and "Youlun 'disanzhongren' " (More on the "Third Type of person"), see The Complete Works of Lu Xun, vol. 4, 438- 444 and 531- 536 respectively. For a complete English translation of "Lun 'disanzhongren,'" see "On the 'Third Category,'" in Denton (ed.), Literary Thought 383-386. Concerning Lu Xun's silence regarding Hu Qiuyuan, and his "willingness to accept different viewpoints," see, Wong, Politics and Literature in Shanghai 133.

<sup>88</sup> See, Leo Ou-fan Lee, Voices From the Iron House: a Study of Lu Xun (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987) 21, and Liu, Translingual Practice 85.

<sup>89</sup> See, Lu Xun, "Moluo shili shuo" (On the Power of Mara Poetry), in Lu Xun, Complete Works, vol. 1, 63-115. Lu Xun uses the notion of "duli" when, within the context of a Byronic poetics of opposition, he first discusses Byron's involvement in Greek independence (79); when discussing Ibsen's An Enemy of the People (79); with respect to independence for Greece and Italy (80--81). With regard to Byron's influence on Pushkin, Lu Xun discusses this in his reading of Eugene Onegin: "Thereafter, the form changes (waiyuan zhuanbian) and [he] gradually parts ways with Byron, his writing day by day tending to stand on its own (duli) [. . .]" (88). He also discusses this with regard to the influence of both Byron and Pushkin on Lermontov as well (89).

<sup>90</sup> See, Shi Zhecun, "Modao" (The Demonic Way), in ed., Yan Jiayan, A Selection of Fiction by the new Sensation School 109-126; 119. I discuss this story in chapter four.

<sup>91</sup> Theodor Hutters, "Ideologies of Realism in modern China: The Hard Imperatives of Imported Theory," in eds., Liu Kang and Tang Xiaobing, Politics, Ideology, and Literary Discourse in Modern China (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1993) 147-173; 149. The reference to the "autonomous floating signifier" and the "gold standard" owe a debt to Jean-Joseph Goux's The Coiners of Language, trans. Jennifer Curtiss Gage (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994). I discuss this notion in chapter three.

<sup>92</sup> Leo Ou-fan Lee, "The Romantic Temper of May Fourth Writers," in ed., Benjamin I. Schwartz, Reflections on the May Fourth Movement: a Symposium (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973) 69- 84; 73.

<sup>93</sup> I am borrowing the idea of repetitive trauma from an argument developed by Hal Foster with respect to the avant-garde and neo-avant-garde. See, Hal Foster, The Return of the Real 1- 32.

<sup>94</sup> See, Marie-Claire Bergère, L'age d'or de la bourgeoisie chinoise (Paris: Flammarion: 1986) 48- 49. The phrase "ruptures and continuities" is Bergère's. In the case of May Fourth intellectuals and those who came after, urban centers were also a common destination for students after they had returned from studying abroad. There is an interesting parallel here with Bourdieu's "inflow of of a substantial population of young people without fortunes"; namely, the bohemians. See, Bourdieu, The Rules of Art 54- 57. See also, Qu Qiubai's extraordinarily subtle critique of the Lu Xun, the May Fourth generation, and the Chinese "bohemians" in " 'Lu Xun zagan xuanji'xuyan" (Introduction to "A Selection of Lu Xun's Random Thoughts") in Qu Qiubai xuanji (Selected Works of Qu Qiubai) (Beijing: Renmin, 1985) 524- 555.

<sup>95</sup> Zola might make for a better comparison. See, Bourdieu, The Rules of Art 129. The Creation Society's "art for art's sake" would be one important but shortlived exception.

<sup>96</sup> See, Hockx, "Playing the Field" 63.

<sup>97</sup> In my opinion, the same can be said of the autonomy of the Literary Association, whose programme, aside from promoting itself and its writers, included such activities as "studying and introducing foreign literature." See, Hockx, "The Literary Association" 54-55.

<sup>98</sup> For a critique of this problem see, Thomas Crow, "Modernism and Mass Culture in the Visual Arts", in Modern Art in the Common Culture (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996) 3- 37.

<sup>99</sup> See, Hockx, "Playing the Field" 75. Earlier on Hockx asks: "Was the continued antagonism between the representatives of pulp fiction and the proponents of new literature really nothing but the rivalry between competing editors working for the same bosses [. . .]?" Hockx, "Playing the Field" 71. Hockx is quite right to ask this question because this is the only way to clarify the specific historical pressures underlying the reductive "double rupture." The high/low binary was probably quite fluid, and may have had to do with very specific pressures.

<sup>100</sup> See, Hockx, "Playing the Field" 63, and Yue Daiyun, "Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yanjiu zai guowai" (Chinese Modern Literature Abroad), in Bijiaowenxue yu zhongguo xiandai wenxue (Comparative Literature and Chinese Modern Literature) (Beijing: Beijing Daxue, 1987) 77-87. In particular, see 79- 81, where Yue discusses the "three shockwaves (chongji)" and subsequent assimilation within Chinese culture of Indian Bhuddism during the Wei-Jin period, of bourgeois scientific and democratic thought during the May Fourth period, and Marxism in the 1930s. Despite the generalizing and possible contemporary political ramifications of Yue's argument, the importance of Marxist discourse to this period and after occupy an historical position which no amount of revisionism can erase.

<sup>101</sup> See, Vera Schwarcz, The Chinese Enlightenment: Intellectuals and the Legacy of the May Fourth Movement of 1919 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986) 205.

<sup>102</sup> See, Su Wen, "The Way Out for the Third Type of Person" 124.

<sup>103</sup> See, Christian Henriot, Shanghai 1927-1937: Elites locales et modernisation dans la Chine nationaliste (Paris: Editions de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1991) 269. Henriot describes this as an aspect of the Confucian tradition.

<sup>104</sup> See, Hockx, "The Literary Association" 53.

<sup>105</sup> And it would seem as if Su Wen (Du Heng) fared no better under the Guomindang in Taiwan. See, Ye Lingfeng, "Yige disanzhongren de xialuo" (The Fall of a Third Type of Person) in Si Wei et al. (eds.), Dushu suibi (Reading Notes) vol. 2 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1995) 69- 71.

<sup>106</sup> A term such as *haipai* (Shanghai School) is no doubt overly vague to account for this problem; nevertheless, Leo Lee's remarks concerning the "love triangle" formula in Liu Na'ou and Ye Lingfeng, as well as Wang Xiaoyuan's attempt to dismiss New Sensationist work as examples of the Mandarin Duck and Butterfly writing may be considered as examples of the way in which writers were prepared to write in the "vernacular"; that is, as a linguistic vernacular (*baihua*) and literary vernacular (*tongsu*), the "vernacular" as a sector incorporating many genres, or a genre incorporating many sectors. See, Leo Lee, Shanghai Modern 209; 262. Also, see, Wang Xiangyuan, "New Sensation School Literature and its Variation in China: Comparing and Rereading Chinese and Japanese



---

New Sensation School Literature Once Again" 60- 61. It is well known that Shi Zhecun's stories are filled with classical *minjian* themes. In one interesting example of "bundling," an advertisement for Du Heng's Huaixiangji (Homesickness) appears on the last page of his story "Shiye" in Xiandai zazhi (Les Contemporains) 4. 6 (April 1934) 1012.

<sup>107</sup> See, Liu, Translingual Practice 183- 238. Liu's contention that the compilation of a May Fourth "canon" represented a type of "self-colonization" is interesting. However, as she notes, a great deal of effort on the part of leftist writers of the time went into this compendium. Furthermore, as Qian Liqun has noted, May Fourth literary figures like Zhu Ziqing and Wen Yiduo would not only become part of the literary canon, they would be (to use a loaded word) canonized, by a "revolutionary and nationalistic discourse." See, Qian Liqun, "Changchang de beiying" (A Long, Long Shadow) in Dushu 1 (1997) 111-118. For my general reference to social institutions, see Gregory Jusdanis, Belated Modernity 122- 159.

<sup>108</sup> See, Bourdieu, The Rules of Art 157.

<sup>109</sup> See, Jerome B. Greider, Intellectuals and the State in Modern China: A Narrative History (New York: The Free Press, 1981) 338. Also, see, Christian Henriot, Shanghai 1927-1937: Elites locales et modernisation dans la Chine nationaliste (Paris: Editions de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1991).

## **Chapter 2: The City in the Country**

This chapter is a discussion of images of the countryside in stories by the Shanghai modernists. I first read critical discussions of the problem of modernism in China as directly related to a question of urbanization. In my readings in this chapter, I have referred to Raymond Williams' book The Country and the City, especially to Williams' notions of "knowable communities." Through a reading of the sociologist Hsiao-tung Fei, I attempt to narrow the concepts of country and city in China. As Williams' notes "[t]he problem of knowable communities is [. . .] a problem of language."<sup>1</sup> In my readings of stories by the Shanghai modernists, one theme becomes apparent of a notably consistent representation of the countryside as the site of an historic past that contrasts to an urban present. Moreover, the countryside is mediated by literary and linguistic conventions, allusive of traditional literary conventions and proverbs. Finally, perhaps as a result of, or a cause for such mediation, the countryside, as a site representing the past, is also a site of trauma, which I read within personal, historical and formal levels in these texts.

Yan Jiayan cites a 1926 postscript to a translation of Alexander Blok's "The Twelve" in which Lu Xun discusses Blok as a "modern metropolitan poet" (xiandai duhui shiren). At the time Lu Xun declared: "China doesn't have this sort of metropolitan poet. We have teahouse and pavilion poets, mountain and forest poets, flower and moon poets [. . .] but no poets of the metropole." For Yan Jiayan, such a declaration would be contradicted by the late 1920s: "If it could indeed be said that the first half of the twenties saw no 'metropolitan poets' or 'metropolitan writers,' well, the last half of the twenties and the beginning of the

thirties could be said to have already produced [such writers]-- and furthermore, more than one type had been produced."<sup>2</sup> Yan Jiayan divides the writers up into those who wrote about the metropole from an "advanced class position" (*xianjin jieji lichang*) (Mao Dun, Lou Shiyi) and those "influenced by Japanese New Sensationism" (Liu Na'ou, Mu Shiyi).<sup>3</sup>

Yan also cites a letter written by Liu Na'ou on November 10, 1926 to the poet Dai Wangshu:

"I want to FAIRE DES ROMANCES, I want to dream, but I can't. The trolley is too noisy. Originally there was a verdant sky, now ash has overspread it with fine soot, and the skylark's song is heard no more. The muses who once took up lyres, who knows where they've flown to. Is there no beauty in modern life? There is, but the form has changed. We don't have ROMANCE, no sound of the ancient city's bugle call, but we do have THRILL, CARNAL INTOXICATION. This is what I mean when I speak of modernism (*jindai zhuyi*) [. . .]"<sup>4</sup>

Whether or not 1926 represents a significant historic moment is open to debate.<sup>5</sup> Citing economic and architectural development, Wu Fuhui lays emphasis on the mid-thirties when "Nanjing Road as a modern commercial cultural street came to fruition."<sup>6</sup>

The idea behind such a periodization is perhaps to find a more or less historical cause for the development of urban literature and modernism in China. For Wu Fuhui it's a question of *haipai* (Shanghai School) literature, whereas Yan Jiayan limited himself to a slightly more focussed notion of modernism (*xiandai zhuyi*). Su Xuelin, like Yan Jiayan would after her, claims the Japanese New Sensationists were heavily influenced by Paul Morand's work: "Of the Chinese writers of this school, Shi Zhecun and Mu Shiyi were representative. However, Mu was much more accomplished in this regard." According to Su: "[t]he New Sensation style originally approached that of Futurism." And her description of Futurism is worth citing: "The Futurists extolled (*zanmei*) the machine, sang the praises (*gesong*) of modern material civilization, took pleasure in

expressing commotion, noise, speed, conflict, violent confusion (jiluan), and fanaticism. Since these sorts of things are to be found in the metropole, there arose in the West a school of CITY LITERATURE (dushi wenxue). Futurist literature worships "power" (li) and "speed" (sudu), making use of factories, airplanes, insurrections, war, and revolution, as well as great bloodshed and destruction as [its] themes." For Su, a notion of "city" or urban literature represents a contrast to China as a whole: "Furthermore, City Literature pays attention to the bustle, splendour, seductive charm, lasciviousness, degradation, change and complexity of life in the metropole. But the spirit of a Chinese person, recently liberated from the peace and quiet of agricultural society and thrown into the multifariousness (wuguan shise), the luxury and dissipation, the now up now down of the modern metropole, like Grandma Liu dazzled and flustered in the Splendorous Garden, not only would he find [the metropole] difficult enough to get used to, but he'd have little hope of being able to describe [what he saw]."<sup>7</sup>

In his discussion of the "femme fatale" (youwu), Leo Lee will later echo Su Xuelin when he contrasts Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiyong's use of the "female form" (nüxing de xingxiang) to Gustave Klimt's paintings: "They [Liu and Mu] use the female form to sing the praises (gesong) of material civilization, and promote (yonghu) modernization (xiandaihua) [. . .]"<sup>8</sup> Whereas Su starts from an impressionistic definition of "City Literature" and Futurism, Lee seeks origins in a notion of decadence. As Raymond Williams put it in one of his last essays: "It is now clear that there are decisive links between the practices and ideas of the avant-garde movements of the twentieth century and the specific conditions and relationships of the twentieth-century metropolis. The evidence has been there all along, and is indeed in many cases obvious."<sup>9</sup> However, with regard to the

Shanghai modernists, the question remains somewhat tautological: modernism is urban and the Shanghai writers wrote about Shanghai; therefore, their writing is modernist. Very often a short story, by Liu Na'ou or Mu Shiying especially, will be trumpeted as being "modernist" or "New Sensationist" (a sort of coded "sinified" modernism, although the title "originated" in Japan), and then an explanation proceeds from this nomination to show the way in which the writer wrote about Shanghai, the great treaty port and metropolis of twentieth century China. But as many critics have pointed out, Mao Dun, the penultimate realist of modern Chinese literature, also wrote about Shanghai. But (so the argument goes) the New Sensation writers were modernist *not* realist. Nevertheless, if "modernist" writing was merely a depiction of the *sensations* or *perceptions* of the city, why differentiate such writing from so-called realist work?

The writers, realist or modernist, may share more than one aspect in writing about Shanghai. What Su Xuelin called "[. . .] the multifariousness (wuguan shise), the luxury and dissipation, the now up now down of the modern metropole [. . .]" bears a striking similarity to Raymond Williams' description of nineteenth-century London when he states "[. . .] its miscellaneity, its crowded variety, its randomness of movement, were the most apparent things about it, especially when seen from inside."<sup>10</sup> With regard to Williams' The Country and the City, Leo Lee contends that : "Raymond Williams traces the transition in English literary representation from the pastoral 'knowable communities' to the 'cities of darkness and light.' It would be hard to trace a similar transition in modern Chinese literature. Rather, both city and countryside existed side by side as contrasting images and value systems in the modern Chinese consciousness during the first half of the twentieth century."<sup>11</sup> However, although his historical study was primarily limited to

England, Williams was well aware that the logic of the country and the city certainly had broader implications: "In current descriptions of the world, the major industrial societies are often described as 'metropolitan.' At first glance this can be taken as a simple description of their internal development, in which the metropolitan cities have become dominant."<sup>12</sup> Williams' argues that the country and the city are more than mere descriptive terms for internal formations within a country, they were (and are) transnational: "The 'metropolitan' states, through a system of trade, but also through a complex of economic and political controls, draw food and, more critically, raw materials from these areas of supply, this effective hinterland, that is also the greater part of the earth's surface and that contains the great majority of its peoples. Thus a model of city and country, in economic and political relationships, has gone beyond the boundaries of the nation-state, and is seen but also challenged as a model of the world."<sup>13</sup> Williams' language is rather generalized, but some of what he has to say has a direct bearing on this study, in particular the question of the place of Shanghai within twentieth century China:

In the most general sense, underlying the description of imperialist nations as "metropolitan," the image of the country penetrated, transformed and subjugated by the city, learning to fight back in old and new ways, can be seen to hold. But one of the effects of imperialist dominance was the initiation, within the dominated societies, of processes which then follow, internally, the lines of the alien development. An internal history of country and city occurs, often very dramatically, within the colonial and neo-colonial societies. This is particularly ironic, since the city, in Western thought, is now so regularly associated with its own most modern kinds of development, while in fact, on a world scale, the most remarkable growth of cities in the twentieth century has been in the "underdeveloped" and "developing" continents.<sup>14</sup>

Perhaps within a *postcolonial* context, certain aspects of Williams' language read as dated. For example, the implicit binary in notions of imperialist dominance and

dominated societies leads to a suggestion of alien development implanted, as it were, from without, and carries with it questionable concepts about an actual site or location of domination. Such generalizations have not made much headway in discussions about Shanghai writing, at least not in the discussions I've read concerning modernism.<sup>15</sup> But, despite the generalizations implicit in Williams, an "internal history of country and city" may be read in the stories by the Shanghai modernists. Part of the problem with these writers occurs when their writing is read to find unambiguous political positions for or against particular political and social questions. Perhaps in an effort to distance these writers from leftist discourse of the period, and more importantly, the monolithic ideology of the modern Chinese literary canon, these Shanghai writers have been turned in celebrants of decadent urban China. But was this the case? Was Shanghai's privileged position as an urban center taken for granted by these writers?

Henri Lefebvre reads urban development as part of an all encompassing answer to the problematic of "Western" culture: "It is indeed curious in more than one respect that 'we' Westerners, inheritors of an exhausted tradition, and members of a society, culture and civilization that 'we' scarcely know how to characterize (is it capitalism? Judeo-Christianity? both of these? a 'culture of non-body'? a society at once - and contradictorily - permissive and repressive? a system of bureaucratically managed consumption?) should consider ourselves closer to the Logos and Cosmos of the Greeks than to the Roman world - a world by which, nevertheless, we are deeply haunted."<sup>16</sup> For Lefebvre, this series of queries find their partial solution in the parcellation of space of the Roman "villa."<sup>17</sup> Interestingly, Lefebvre contrasts his concept of European space to the Japanese kanji *ta*, which is pronounced "tian" in modern Mandarin. As Lefebvre

notes, this character is "[o]ne of the simplest characters: a square and two strokes joining its centre to the middle points of each of its sides [. . .] a bird's eye view of a rice field [. . .] more than just a rice field: it is the order of the universe, the organizing-principle of space. This principle applies to both the city and the countryside."<sup>18</sup> Indeed, although Lefebvre seems to be attempting to create a sort of "Asiatic" space with his contentions, the character "tian" was related to an idealized apportioning of space that supposedly began in the Zhou dynasty (11th century - 256 B.C.).<sup>19</sup>

Nevertheless, the question of "urban space" in China is slightly more nuanced than a reading of the ideogram for "rice-field" will permit. The sociologist Hsiao-tung Fei, writing in the late forties, traced the concept of "urban" in China and his insights are still relevant in many respects. He first posed a question: "What do we mean by 'urban' as applied to a community?"<sup>20</sup> Fei cites a 1940 study in which the United States Census Bureau considered "a community of 2500 or more a city; and a community in which the incorporated area has a population of 50,000 and the outlying suburbs a population density of 150 per square mile is termed a metropolitan area." As Fei notes, such standards would not hold for China at that time: "[. . .] in my native province of Kiangsu the average population density is over 500 per square mile; in Shantung it is 615; in Chekiang, 657; and in some parts of these provinces it is more, even, than 6,000 persons per square mile."<sup>21</sup> In modern Chinese, one of the words used to designate a town or city, *chengshi*, comes from a traditional designation *cheng* or *ch'eng*<sup>22</sup>:

An important type of urban center is the walled town or *ch'eng*. The original meaning of this word is "wall," "inclosure," or "defense work." Constructions for defense may vary in size and quality. Sometimes they are built for a single family; sometimes for a village. But, when the word *ch'eng* is used, it designates a wall or



defensive construction on a larger scale, one built to protect a political center.<sup>23</sup>

Fei remarks that such a construction "[. . .] must be a public work shared in by the people over a large area." According to Fei:

[. . .] the walled town was not typically a trading center, nor did it serve to supply the needs of the peasant population. Luxury goods [. . .] were not within the reach of the country people living on an economy of bare subsistence. The craftsmen who lived in the walled town [. . .] did not serve the villagers but rather the landlords, somewhat as the artists and craftsmen of the Middle Ages served their lords. Economic activity in these fortified centers of administration, then, was based not on an exchange of goods between producers but on the purchasing power of consumers who gained their wealth largely from exploitative relationships with the country.<sup>24</sup>

In his discussion of such "garrison towns," Fei had his eye on treaty ports, and Shanghai especially: "Shanghai originally was only a small fishing village occupying an insignificant position in the traditional economy. Since it has become a gate to the interior, it has entirely changed and has prospered mightily." But according to Fei, such prosperity was one-sided: "[. . .] treaty ports like Shanghai [. . .] On the one hand they were a gate by means of which foreign goods could be come in; on the other hand, they served as ratholes for dribbling away Chinese wealth."<sup>25</sup> And the treaty ports had analogical roots, as it were, in the traditional "garrison towns" of China: "[. . .] they were fundamentally similar to the garrison towns, a community of consumers and not of producers." Fei's main point is a reminder that the historical idea of the metropolis in China must be distinguished from its "Western" counterpart: "[Shanghai] is not the center of an economically independent area but rather it is a treaty port which was forced open by political agreement. It is a gateway to an economically underdeveloped continent,

opened towards the Occident, rather than a city which, like New York or London, grew up through the economic development of its own hinterland."<sup>26</sup>

For Fei, changes occurring in China at the time represented what he called a form of "social erosion." Despite the similarities between a treaty port like Shanghai and the "garrison towns," Fei believed "Western" style cities in China drained away wealth and talent from the countryside: "In our traditional culture the men of talent were spread throughout the local community [. . .] in China, men of ability and learning were not concentrated to a very large extent in the city as they are in countries of the West [. . .] the tradition of 'the leaves going back to the roots' seems to have helped to maintain the high quality of the rural population."<sup>27</sup> According to Fei, the traditional gentry of China lived in a parasitic relationship with the working rural population, since the wealth of the gentry was primarily derived from land rent, "[b]ut, since they continued to live in the country, there was at least no large outgo of wealth from the countryside."<sup>28</sup> According to Fei, a new type of elite had developed as a result of contact with Western culture "one who avoids productive work in either city or country but rather goes in for seizing political power."<sup>29</sup> As a result of China's "status as a semicolony" that lacked an industrial base, "[t]his lack of foundation creates a special class of people who live superficially in Western culture without a traditional base from either the West or the East."<sup>30</sup> Fei's concerns could be said to betray a particular ideological bent; nevertheless, his argument implies more than a simple reading of imperialism or foreign domination.

As Philip Kuhn notes, Fei's "fuzzy definitions" may be read as an effort to point out the continuities between traditional and modern social systems, within a period that was witnessing a push towards urban modernization under the Guomindang.<sup>31</sup> Although,

as Leo Lee seems to imply, the conditions of "transition" from rural to urban society in modern China may have been dissimilar from England, it is important to note that Williams' "knowable communities" were historical readings of conventions in literature and society, the way a particular "structure of feeling was being laid over the country," sometimes by writers who were not from the country.<sup>32</sup> For Williams, reading *structures of feeling* was an attempt at "[. . .] defining a social experience which is still *in process*, often indeed not yet recognized as social but taken to be private, idiosyncratic, and even isolating, but which in analysis [. . .] has its emergent, connecting, and dominant characteristics, indeed its specific hierarchies. These are often more recognizable at a late stage, when they have been (as often happens) formalized, classified, and in many cases built into institutions and formations." Moreover, *structures of feeling* are not limited to, but rather include the concept of ideology: "Methodologically, then, a 'structure of feeling' is a cultural hypothesis, actually derived from attempts to understand such elements and their connections in a generation or period, and needing always to be returned, interactively, to such evidence."<sup>33</sup> With regard to the Shanghai modernists, to simply declare them as celebrants of urban culture is ultimately problematic because such a description ignores the attitudinal frames within which they were writing. Shanghai was a place and a concept where many attitudes and ideologies intersected and clashed. The ways in which the countryside was written, however, reveal a significant aspect of Chinese modernism.

Mu Shiyong's "Shanghai de hubuwu" (Shanghai Foxtrot) opens up with a sort of panoramic view of west Shanghai (huxi): "Shanghai. Heaven built on hell. West Shanghai, bright moon climbing the sky, illuminating the wasted sprawl. Ashen sprawl,

blanket of silvergrey moonlight, inlay of deep grey tree shadows and village shadows pile on pile. On top of the sprawl, iron rails draw an arc that reaches along the sky and goes down there beneath the horizon."<sup>34</sup> Significantly, Mu Shiyong opens up his little modernist gem with a view, not of the city proper, but of a section of Shanghai which may be read as a reminder of Shanghai's history as a fishing village as well as the city's inhabitants, who were mostly from other parts of rural China. The phrase "village shadows pile on pile" (cunzhuang yi dadui yi dadui de yingzi) then, functions as an historical metonymy, subtly underpinning the apparent circularity of the story.

Yan Jiayan claimed that one of the most salient "modernist" aspects of new Sensation writing was the way in which the writers "[. . .] draw experience from the film medium and from the Western stream of consciousness method, as well as the repetitive phrasing of poetry [. . .]" Yan contended that: "As in 'Shanghai Foxtrot,' that scene cutting method, that jumpy filmic structure and speeded rhythm, both would be unimaginable without having been borrowed from film." And Yan cites another story in this regard, "Jiejing" (Street Scenes), for the way in which "space and time are overturned."<sup>35</sup> Indeed, the story owes much to "Shanghai Foxtrot" both in technique and theme. "Street Scenes" is quite short and is practically a repetition of those linguistic "tricks" Mu is often cited for: the repetition of phrases or paragraphs, montage, and a circular narrative.<sup>36</sup> The story opens with an image of an unnamed street: "Bright sunshine suffuses the quiet, lonesome street. A hint of autumn briskness floats this afternoon on the street." Three nuns from a convent: "[. . .] snow white hats flattening golden hair, trailing black vestments, walk slowly." One of the nuns bemoans the fact that she is so far away from home: "Whenever autumn comes I think of home. Ah! The sun is so warm by the Mediterranean! It has already been seven autumns

since I came to this North-Pole-like, bronze coloured China." Next, an "apple-green colored" sports car arrives on the scene. The car is loaded with food and "[. . .] fashionable light grey, frankly pressed, racing goggles, walking sticks, CAP (sic), white wool and French hats and two couples male and female squeezed into the car [. . .]" The couples delightedly declare "Ah! A picnic!"<sup>37</sup> But the pleasant scene is a "set-up" for the introduction to the main character of the story:

In a secluded part of the street where no one enters, blind in one eye, blinking that sightless eye, setting aside a sheepskin bag, sun shining on a dirty belly, an old beggar sits down, quietly, quietly. The face is grey, the lips are grey, the eyebrows are also grey ---- a monotone face without the whites of the eyes, wrinkles on the face covered with pimples, here a cluster there a cluster. A head of long hair that hangs down to the shoulders, like white snow beside a garbage heap, trudged over with black-ash-colored footprints. As usual he stares at the sewer in front of him. A fly on his forehead, as usual looks at skin bereft of a layer of fat.

Thus, in effect, begins the story of the old beggar, a homeless peasant in Shanghai, a story which serves a dual function as an historical vignette about the city of Shanghai. As I will show in later chapters, Mu often focuses on a single character, his father for example, or a woman, as a way of allegorizing modern Chinese history. In this case, in a filmic, that is to say, metonymic fashion, Mu tells the life story of the old beggar which is also, to a certain extent, the story of Shanghai. The old beggar's life story unfolds through a series of images and repeated phrases. First, as he leaves his hometown: "Father, mother, train platform, brother, train station, sister-in-law, sister-in-law, sister-in-law ..... spin into oblivion in the wheels." Like the rickshaw puller in "Shanghai Foxtrot," this old beggar sees his life as a constantly spinning movie reel. Nevertheless, Mu underlines the beggar's origins when, as a young man, he cries as his train pulls away: "But the distant

sun, the distant city! Behind his teardrops, a smile on that honest mouth."<sup>38</sup> And it is probably the "honest mouth" of a peasant that Mu is referring to. If Mu's method was influenced by film, he seems to be borrowing from sentimental and melodramatic film here, writing in what Yingjing Zhang calls a "pathetic mode" in modern Chinese fiction.<sup>39</sup> Although somewhat overstated, the effect is quite touching.

Thus, in a sentimental fashion, Mu focuses on a person from the countryside, and on what was and has unfortunately become an accepted fact of urban life: a constant population of homeless people. More importantly, Mu's use of filmic repetition and linguistic metonymy also hints at the psychological state of his protagonist: "The skin on the forehead twitches and the fly takes flight, makes a circle above his head only to alight once again in the same spot. He repeats over and over again, like a broken gramophone, muttering: 'Back then Shanghai didn't have electric lights, didn't have such wide streets, didn't have cars ..... not yet ..... such wide streets, electric lights, cars, cars, cars ..... not yet ....." Mu was fond of using ellipses in his stories, a grammatical marker of fragmentation, and through the fragmented the mind of the protagonist, Mu Shiyong takes us back to old Shanghai when gentlemen and ladies road in horsedrawn carriages over cobblestone streets. The old beggar remembers his first arrival in Shanghai: how he sold peanuts with his older brother on the street to the workers at a factory who, we are told, all had pigtailed; how, as a young man, the old beggar (as the image of the honest peasant) cried when he had accepted three instead of two coppers from a gentleman for a bag of peanuts; how he hires a streetcorner letter writer to write home to his family, a letter in which he describes Shanghai as "better than heaven, and after I get rich I'll have you come for a visit." But he will never see his family again. Instead, Mu relates the arrival of

the "revolutionary party" who enter Shanghai, cut off pigtailed, and are described confiscating the fifteen yuan he'd saved in a pouch. Notwithstanding the "revolutionary" politics of the 1930s when "Street Scenes" was written, Mu would seem to be referring to the 1911 revolution, and in this regard, Mu's old beggar is a somewhat sentimental, filmic version of Lu Xun's Ah Q: "He got down on his knees and kowtowed, cried, implored: 'Please give it back! Please Sir! There's a family waiting for that fifteen dollars! Please give it back! Please give it back!' "<sup>40</sup> In Mu's story, the homeless peasant takes on the subtlety of a stock figure.

From then on Mu describes the beggar trying, unsuccessfully, to return home. He even goes to the train station to implore the ticket sellers to give him a ticket. At last, he loses all contact with his family and the old beggar's life ends when he's hit by a car: "There's no blood on the ground, only dry leaves beside the street. A street cleaner wearing a red vest sweeps by, sweeping away those dry leaves." And Mu closes the story by juxtaposing a group of primary school children gazing at the legs of patrons in a café: " 'These ones look like my Mom's feet!' 'It's my older sister's feet!' " The trees by the street where the homeless peasant dies alongside the legs of the relatives of urban school children. Such an imagistic juxtaposition reads more effectively as a combination of images recalling the proverb cited by Hsiao-tung Fei above, "the tradition of 'the leaves going back to the roots,' " that signifies an inevitable return to the hometown.<sup>41</sup> Thus, if Mu's filmic, fragmented, and repetitive tricks are to be read as "circular" in "Street Scenes," this is because the narrative is resolved through the restatement of a conventional proverb. Mu's modernist "technique" here is ultimately underpinned in a series of pathetically clichéd images which return, as it were, to the reassuring "known"

community for the urban readers of his story.

What concerns me is the problem of promoting these writers as modernist or avant-garde without taking into account the historical problematic of using such new literary techniques. Such influences or borrowings must be considered as forms of allusion that occur within a framework of conventions. One of the first Chinese writers to experiment with the new narratological possibilities of the short story in China was Liu Na'ou. Born in Taiwan and raised in Japan, Liu is often credited for being one of the first writers to introduce the modernist and avant-garde styles to China. In the story "Liu" (Flow) he even describes the films his characters are watching, using terms like "close-up" and "long-shot."<sup>42</sup> Yan Jiayan claims that many Chinese writers couldn't understand Liu's first and only collection of short stories Dushi fengjingxian (The City Skyline).<sup>43</sup> And, in Mainland China at least, Liu's work doesn't seem to have received the same amount of attention as Mu Shiying's. One reason may be the "un-Chinese" qualities of his writing.<sup>44</sup> But Liu was certainly not as prolific as Mu, publishing only one collection of short stories in his lifetime.

Liu is best known for his writing about Shanghai, but the story I wish to discuss actually takes place outside of Shanghai. The story "Fengjing" may be translated as "scenery" or "landscape." Moreover, in Liu's story, the word "fengjing" may be compared to an earlier notion of the word "country" in Latin as "a tract of land spread out against the observer."<sup>45</sup> This notion is quite important, because Liu's story takes place mostly in a train car travelling out of the city of Shanghai into the country and the opening of the story emphasizes this aspect of land spread out against an observer: "People sit atop speed. Countryside flies by. Little rivers fly by. Thatched cottages, bridges, the entire landscape occupies the vision for only an instant and passes away."<sup>46</sup> The story is a straightforward



account of a young journalist, Ran Qing, who has a sexual fling with a young woman he meets on the train. Ran Qing has been sent out of the city to cover a meeting when he meets a young woman in the same train car. As it turns out he had actually been sitting in her seat. Wu Fuhui claims the "chance meeting" (xiehou) was an aspect of Shanghai literature.<sup>47</sup> The young man's attention very quickly turns away from the landscape outside his window and onto the young woman: "Looking at that tomboyish short hair and those obviously European cut short clothes, who wouldn't guess she was a product of the contemporary metropolis. On the other hand, her rational straight nose and those quick not-easily-shocked eyes wouldn't be easy to find in the metropolis."<sup>48</sup> Leo Lee has commented upon Liu's penchant for describing the face of his female characters and traces this "type" to the *modan garu* of 1920s Japan, both call-backs to the "flapper."<sup>49</sup>

The journalist very quickly finds out that young woman works in an office for a large organization and her husband holds an important position in a local county. She willingly opens up to the young man. As it turns out she is on her way to visit her husband for the weekend, a word repeated in the text in English. More interesting, however, is the way in which a contrast is delineated in the story between the country and the city when the young woman declares:

After I told him, if he can't come home wouldn't it be better to find a cute woman in the county to be with for a day or two? There must be more than a few beautiful women in such a big county, it couldn't be that difficult to find a suitable one. But he was against it, he wouldn't dare turn to those county women. What he meant was that women in the county, not only haven't they acquired the same exquisite bearing as metropolitan women, but even if they had such exquisite bearing, they simply don't have the same passion for the opposite sex, the extreme of aesthetic appreciation for stimulation [. . .]<sup>50</sup>

And this weekend, her husband will have to wait a little longer for his metropolitan wife to arrive. However, although the county (read: rural) women may not be up to par in some aspects, for the two urban weekend visitors, the country itself is full of possibilities. Through the eyes of the young journalist, the country is a place to dream of the past: "The train approached the station. The canal over there an antique, quaint, half leaning, half dilapidated city wall. Two white sails floated on the gentle breezy water like two swans floating out from an ancient dream of the middle ages. Ran Qing felt as if he'd been turned back two or three centuries before."<sup>51</sup> Like Su Wen's use of the term "feudal society" I noted in the last chapter, this "ancient dream of the middle ages (zhongshi de jiumeng)" is a fundamentally vague historical periodization, the term "zhongshi" probably burrowed from the equally vague European notion of the "Middle Ages." And, as in the passage I cited above, Liu uses such a designation, like the title of the story, "*as a landscape*."<sup>52</sup> Indeed, after they pull into the station, the scene changes from the quiet picture of a vaguely distant past to a noisy and bustling present: "The whole station's rhythm was a fast JAZZ tune. Standing half-way up the station's black mountain of coal, the hurriedly moving shovels of two giant workers loading coal, exactly reproducing a German expressionist painting."<sup>53</sup> The young woman is stricken by the "charming place" of train station and invites Ran Qing to stop over with her, to which he politely accepts.

They leave the station and follow a country girl riding a mule as two white sheep stare strangely after them. The rest of the story is a return to nature wherein the countryside becomes an absolute contrast to city life as the two city travellers rid themselves of their clothing:

Not only are these clothes mechanical, even the household we inhabit has become mechanical. The straight line and angles forming architecture and appliances, electrical wires, water pipes, heating pipes, gas pipes, the square eaves over our rooms, don't people live right in the middle of this machinery? Today, this sort of place could be considered as an escape from the fetters of the machine, a return to nature's home. He couldn't help himself from taking a couple of breaths of the coal dustless air. Energized, he felt his whole body start to relax. At the same time a sudden primal excitement flowed through him.<sup>54</sup>

Finally, the two lovers consummate their tryst-- "The thin grass is a green tract of bed"-- and will board the train at the end of the day. Commenting upon the field of journalism as "the commodification of ephemeral elements," Yomi Braester claims "[t]he journalist and the nameless woman also represent modern city life in that they are governed by a specific visual regime [. . .]" Braester is not completely clear about just what this regime is except that it seems to be related to Western avant-garde art.<sup>55</sup> But the irony here cannot be ignored. The two city travellers escape from mechanical strictures of the city in the countryside where, supposedly, the country women are described as not having "acquired" certain urban (mechanized) manners, including, most importantly, a *liberating* passion for sex. But Liu Na'ou's montage-like juxtapositions betray a more significant *superimposition*. Liu is certainly celebratory here, but he isn't celebrating modern, urban, material culture; on the contrary, he is critiquing it by inscribing the Chinese countryside with what is a primarily European mode of viewing nature, as an absence of the confines of civilization: "[. . .] a structure of feeling in which the earth and its creatures-- animals and peasants alike-- were an affirmation of vitality and of the possibility of rest in conscious contrast with the mechanical order, the artificial routines, of the cities."<sup>56</sup> Little wonder that some of the readers of Liu's first collection didn't understand his writing; perhaps it was because they

couldn't recognize the China represented to them.

Mu Shiying had grown up in Shanghai and his sentimental homeless peasant is an example of a rural alterity created for his readers, and through which he *makes strange* the city of Shanghai as Old Shanghai. For Liu Na'ou the Chinese countryside is a foreign *country* as a series of landscapes. On one level such textual exoticism, as Leo Lee implies, may owe something to the translation of foreign literature.<sup>57</sup> Such literary inscriptions, however, were produced within a problematic locale. Ran Qing, the protagonist of "Landscape," happy to be free of the "fetters of the machine" of city life, is based in Shanghai, but Liu's images are off somewhere else, almost as if locale is merely a canvas, or better yet, a movie screen for exotic projections leading up to a final escape into "nature's home" (*ziran de jia*). And Mu Shiying's peasant is stuck in Shanghai, unable to return to his real home; that is to say, the location outside of Shanghai where his home and family (*jia*) resides. Frederic Wakeman, Jr. and Wen-hsin Yeh note a similar problem in their discussion of Shanghai "sojourners." Shanghai was, it must be remembered, a city of "immigrants": "During the Nanjing decade [1927- 1937] less than 30 percent of Shanghai's population was native to the area." Although Shanghai is well known as a city of foreign concessions, out of a population of more than 3 million in the same period, the population of foreign nationals hovered around 150 000, which meant that a majority of the inhabitants in Shanghai actually consisted of Chinese citizens from other parts of the country:

Shanghai was more than just two cities, vertically divided, or four cities, horizontally bounded. A patchwork of sojourners living in and between these various cities made up the total urban complex. Traditional Chinese sojourners (*youyu* "travellers in residence") were simply people from elsewhere who had either attained enough distinction to be mentioned in the district gazeteer or else were exiles who had sought temporary shelter and succor. The very term suggested a transient local

identity, as though the "real" existence of traditional sojourners had to be in some other part of the empire where the family graves were kept and where one eventually had to return.<sup>58</sup>

Shanghai was the largest city in China at the time, but this generalized concept of the "sojourner" was probably not limited to Shanghai. Nevertheless, in my opinion, such a regard for locale, more specifically the relationship between where a person lived and where he or she came from, can be discussed within the context of a kind of rupture within traditional culture. But after leaving it behind, how could the idea of a real home persist? Mu Shiying's story hints at this problem at the end when the children look for resemblances between the feet of the café patrons and their family members. For these children, home is where the "family" (jia) resides.

But the sojourner represents an "uprootedness" in the sense that his or her roots are somewhere else. Shanghai was one among many urban centers in a primarily rural-based culture. This is the reason why I contend urban literature must be read not only for what it says about the city *per se*, but the way in which a writer in the city would view his or her own "culture" differently as a result of his/her "urbanity." In Chinese, one word for that "real" place Wakeman and Yeh discuss is *guxiang*, which could be translated simply as "hometown," but they call "native place": "As a metonymy, native place could stand for nation, concretizing abstract ties through local community, using *xiao tuanti* (small groups) to form *da tuanti* (a large group, a nation)."<sup>59</sup> And it could also work in reverse as well, so that the notion of "place" becomes more fluid: "Shanghai sojourners were more than just persons passing through; they were denizens, while their loyalties fluctuated strategically between attachment to native place and the announcement of a new identity as *Shanghai ren*

(Shanghai people).<sup>60</sup> Therefore, if we use the *analogy* of Shanghai, a city made up of "sojourners" with real homes elsewhere, even the binding concept of native place loses its place, so to speak.

Du Heng seems to intimate this very problem in his story "Huaixiangbing" (Homesickness): "Perhaps not knowing my own own hometown (guxiang) is a kind of happiness (yizhong xingfu). At the very least, as a result of this, I am able to regard Quzhen as my hometown."<sup>61</sup> Quzhen, as the narrator claims, is so small that no matter how detailed the map, you wouldn't be able to find a trace of his hometown:

From the time I was aware of my own existence at the age of two or three, I left the place where I was born and haven't been back. I have no memories of that place, and nothing like what most people would consider a natural (dangrande) home. But it's said that the place where I was born is a place (quchu) similar to Quzhen. I'm willing, and at the same time, I cannot help but transplant the love I have for my hometown on charming Quzhen, all of the area, even so far as all of the area.<sup>62</sup>

Through an act of transference by the narrator (probably, but not necessarily Du Heng), Quzhen becomes a surrogate hometown replacing the "natural" hometown of his birthplace. The distinction is significant. For the narrator, Quzhen is the county seat or county town (xiancheng) where he went to middle school for six years, travelling there "at the very, very least twice a year." In Quzhen he lives with his uncle, aunt and cousins. His cousins, who "detest" (yanwu) Quzhen, are always mockingly threatening to leave the small town. But not the narrator who, as a result to an apparent loyalty to the place, is praised by his uncle with the expression: "What a shame the good bamboo always shoots up outside the wall."<sup>63</sup> Therefore, the narrator's boyhood attachment to his surrogate hometown is simultaneously a reminder that he is from away, as it were. The narrator attributes this to the possibility that

his blood and his cousins' blood isn't the same. Interestingly, very little time is spent describing the narrator's "blood relations," so to speak. Instead, he concentrates on the owner of the boat which he takes to and from Quzhen: Yin Zhangfa and his family. Zhangfa the boatman, described as exhibiting an "monkey-like agility" on the boat, is perhaps simply more interesting than the narrator's relatives, but he is more importantly a reminder of the meaning of a real hometown, a real countryside, which he experiences while sitting in Zhangfa's boat: "After we got past Gao Bridge, at once the face of the world seemed to change, I breathed deeply the steam-hot scent of earth, like the cool and refreshing scattered scent of the shade of a tree, and with a touch of the scent of fishy water. The scene of peasants hidden under their bamboo hats spreading manure over their plots sometimes has a very special meaning [for me]: as a result, I'm not aver to breathing in the smell of manure. In a word, the countryside."<sup>64</sup>

But my use of the word "scene" here elides a deeper resonance. Whereas Liu Na'ou used the word "fengjing," in what could be described as a European visual mode, Du Heng uses the term "qingjing," a word associated with classical poetics and which could be translated as "emotional" (qing) "scene" or "scenery" (jing). Du's "qingjing" is much less "foreign" than the visual allusiveness of Liu's tableaux, not merely because of its significance as a "native" (i.e., Chinese) term, but also because the scene is alive with the scents of "nature," and the "natural home" of the writer. As Yi-tse Mei Feuerwerker notes: "In writings of the past, even when one's own ideals or values might be at stake, one could still maintain a clear sense of one's position and function in a larger, collective nexus. The aesthetics of lyrical poetry, expressed in such phrases as 'poetry expresses intent' (*shi yan zhi*) or the 'fusion of emotion and scene' (*qing jing jiao rong*), emphasized the active

presence of an individual poet negotiating some sense of self in relation to nature or the world."<sup>65</sup> For Feuerwerker, May Fourth writers "were driven to construct a new sense of selfhood through deliberately detaching themselves from the literary tradition."<sup>66</sup> After the "antitraditional" iconoclasm of the May Fourth generation, neither the country nor the city in China could be viewed in the same way, where the vast countryside would become a site of backwardness, of unfulfilled and unfulfillable modernity. In a sense, Du Heng is writing within a new tradition of the modern return to the hometown in twentieth century China; however, Du writes this detachment from the past as *a process* in his narrative. Moreover, although Du Heng de-aestheticizes the term *qingjing* from classical poetics through an earthy association with peasants spreading manure, his use of "emotional scene" remains a nostalgic attachment to the countryside of his childhood marked by an invocation of the conventions of classical poetics.

The narrator recounts his childhood memories as a series of encounters with Yin Zhangfa and his wife and son, Ah Gou. The narrator, for example, explains how Ah Gou, although not yet ten years old, already had a detailed understanding of boating terminology. Although Zhangfa worked in the off season for the narrator's relatives, and the two had developed a close relationship, the narrator disappointedly recounts that, "Whenever I asked him how business was going for the family, he would never forget the usual formula: 'Thanks to you Young Master, the past few years have been good.'"<sup>67</sup> And such respect isn't one-sided when the narrator tries to take the oars one day. After paddling for a short time he breaks into a hard sweat and ends up almost running the boat into the mound from a ruined temple. Zhangfa, "with extreme gentleness complained, no, let's say he lectured": "Young Master, don't look down on us boat rowers. In order to practice a particular trade, you have



to have an ability for that trade. Think about it, we Yins started rowing from the time of my great-grandfather. If you asked us to study books, we wouldn't be able to. It's the same for anyone." And the narrator is quite impressed by this: "They were so proud of their hereditary trade (shixi di zhiye)!"<sup>68</sup> But he isn't impressed merely because of this pride. Rather, Zhangfa's pride is more representative of cultural continuity and more importantly, the stability of a tradition: " 'As long as you have a boat,' he [Zhangfa] said, 'you'll never have to worry about having nothing to eat, neither famine nor drought need be your concern.' "<sup>69</sup> Through Zhangfa, the narrator's surrogate hometown becomes a "real" location. Thus, when he must finally leave Quzhen, the young narrator realizes that he may never see his "hometown" again and Zhangfa comforts him with a well-known proverb: "Even when the tree grows thousands of meters high, the falling leaves always return to the roots (shu gao qianzhang, ye luo gui gen), you're sure to come back some day."

After a hiatus of a few years the narrator does return to his "hometown." But his return is traumatically alienating. His first impressions are of "difference" (yiyang). Instead of twenty or thirty boats waiting at the pier there are only about five. And what hits the narrator most is the change in Zhangfa and his family. Zhang's smile has been replaced by wrinkles, and his son has been sent away to study bricklaying. In other words, the continuity of the "hereditary trade" has been broken. Even the smells have changed, those rich scents of his memory had been replaced with a "stagnant, dull smell." For Zhangfa, who feared neither famine nor drought, the narrator is the first passenger that month. And the reason Zhangfa has no passengers is because most are travelling in vehicles on the newly built highway. Isabelle Rabut, comments upon this "first person narrative," how the return to a hometown is "spoiled by the discovery of economic and social changes which have effaced

the paradise within the memory of the narrator: this disillusioned account comes very close to Lu Xun's story 'My Hometown' (Guxiang)."<sup>70</sup> Rabut's comparison is well warranted, but as she herself implies, Du Heng's narrative couples the traumatic disillusionment of modernization with the traumatic disillusionment of return. In a sense, Lu Xun's narrative, the narration of a return to sell the family's ancestral home, is more personal. The return for Du Heng's narrator, on the other hand, explicitly mingles the personal and the historical. "Homesickness" alludes to the drinking water polluted by factory waste, the restless tenant farmers, and primary school teachers "day after day propagating socialism." Du Heng's story is an important instance in modern Chinese literature where socialism is directly associated with the social unrest resulting from industrialization:

I never knew the world could change in this way in such a short period of time. In short, it is changing; and even in Quzhen, a place that occupies such a small space and time, hasn't been left out. According to the rational principles of evolution, of course I'm willing to agree with this type of change, but my ancient Chinese-world blood causes me to selfishly hope that Quzhen won't be infected by this sort of bacteria. That the world can preserve a kind of pure specimen of the countryside. I don't ask for much, just a tiny corner, a tiny corner that's so small it can't be found on a map.<sup>71</sup>

As an adult, the narrator returns to his hometown twice in "Homesickness." On his first return he also hears stories about certain groups of boatmen who have attacked cars riding along the highway with guns and clubs. Finally, it is implied that Zhangfa was implicated in such an attack and will be sentenced to death. Du Heng captures the very contradiction, not merely of an individual's traumatic return to a radically changed hometown, but of those changes in the country resulting from modernization. For the narrator of "Homesickness," these transformations are intertwined. He even suggests (hopefully) that perhaps the

birthplace of which he has no memories may have been spared the changes which have occurred in Quzhen. In the end, an "disgust" (*zengyan*) turns into a type of masochistic repetition when he discloses that, although he has not been back to Quzhen, he has just received a letter from his uncle, opening up the final possibility of once more reliving the trauma of return.

By linking the historical changes wrought by industrialization to the personal return to a hometown, Du Heng's "Homesickness" inscribes what Raymond Williams called the "modern myth" of the "country idyll," where "[a] natural country ease is contrasted with an unnatural urban unrest."<sup>72</sup> As Williams notes "[a] valuing society, the common condition of a knowable community, belongs ideally in the past."<sup>73</sup> Indeed, an analogous "structure of feeling" may be read in the writing of each of the Shanghai modernists. Nevertheless, as in Du Heng's story, such attitudes do not go unquestioned. Shi Zhecun's first collection of short stories *Shangyuan deng* (Lantern Festival) is a collection of variations on the theme of return to the hometown, variations which deconstruct idyllic images of the country. Leo Lee contends that: "In most of these stories, which show a the influence of Lu Xun and Yu Dafu, the evocation of the past is often traumatic, intended as a contrast to a changed present."<sup>74</sup> Lee is correct in placing Shi's stories within such a modern continuity. But this trauma of return was clearly historical. As in Du Heng's story, Shi Zhecun presents a series of "emotional scenes" (*qingjing*). The stories in the collection also harbor a certain melancholy, the word *chouchang* (melancholy) is constantly repeated. Indeed, nostalgia always give way to melancholy, the realization that although the return to the past, as a reminiscence or an actual trip to a "hometown," may have initially been inspired by nostalgia, the reality of the past, as it unfolds narratively, is anything but ideal and is instead somewhat tragic. Any

initial nostalgia is undercut quite abruptly, sometimes shockingly, as all expectation is juxtaposed with a "real," present actuality.

More importantly, "home" is an essentially fluid concept in many of the stories. In the first story in the collection, "Shan" (The Fan), the narrator tells of his boyhood and how his family moved to Suzhou where he is afraid to leave the house because he can neither speak nor understand "Suzhou hua," the Suzhou dialect.<sup>75</sup> Furthermore, the stories are linked through a common theme of appropriating from others, where the characters interact through the act of desiring and taking possession of other people's property (and sometimes the people themselves). But it is important to point out that, for Shi Zhecun's narrators, the notion of "hometown" is not so much rural; rather, it is small town (or small city) China, so to speak. In one story, "Zhou furen" (Misses Zhou), a young boy's family moves from Hangzhou to Cixi so his father can take up a job in a local school. The disruption of going to the new city to live is heightened by the family's helper, Chenma, who is from Shaoxing. When she takes the young boy to visit neighbors she calls it "qiang renjia," which reads like "Let's go grab them," or "rob them." This dialectical particularity is immensely ironic as the narrator recalls how the widow Misses Zhou took a special interest in him for his resemblance to her deceased husband. As a result, the story turns out to be a tale of violation (qiangjian), as Misses Zhou, breathing heavily, invites him up into her room where she embraces him passionately.<sup>76</sup>

Shi's "Freudianism" seems to get a launching pad in "Misses Zhou," and the small towns of his youth are indeed presented as sites of repression. In the story "Taoyuan" (The Peach Orchard),<sup>77</sup> the narrator returns to his home town in Songjiang. The story's title is an allusion to Tao Qian's narrative of the "Land of Peach Blossoms" about a fisherman who

stumbles upon a utopic village. After the fisherman leaves, he is unable to find its location, so the "Land of Peach Blossoms" becomes a site to which he can never return. In Shi's story, since the narrator had been away from his hometown so long, he'd forgotten the taste of his hometown's "specialty" (techan) which he praises precisely for its "low yield" (changliang). After he arrives his brothers and sisters tell him that there is a peach orchard nearby where, for two small silver coins you can eat peaches to your heart's content and "After hearing this, I really felt the charm of those remnants, traces of the ancient customs of the interior [ . . .]" The small town, therefore, is idealized because of what it offers to a person from the city: it is charmingly backward, a residual locale of lost innocence. As they enter the orchard they are met by a young girl who takes their coins, biting them to see if they're authentic. The narrator is struck (jingyi) by the openness of the arrangement, admiring the simple or honest confidence (chunpu de xinren) of the country people. But his enjoyment of this idealized situation is disrupted by the appearance of a peasant, the owner, who turns out to be the narrator's old schoolmate, Lu Shiyi. We learn that as schoolmates the narrator competed with Lu Shiyi very hard, but was rarely able to get better marks than him. Moreover, Shi presents the relationship clearly as one defined by class: his schoolmate's father was a shoemaker, and the narrator's mother wouldn't let him go to his schoolmate's house for this very reason. After the friend's father passes away his mother must sell vegetables to make a living and the other children make fun of him because of this: "Can you afford to study? Son of a vegetable seller!"<sup>78</sup> Finally, Lu Shiyi has to drop out of school for lack of money. The narrator feels a great amount of empathy for his friend, even decrying the society for the unfairness of it all.

However, in his encounter with Lu Shiyi, the narrator is at loss as to how to classify him socially: "Looking at his form, attitude and movements, I tried hard but failed to find any resemblance to an orchard keeper. But watching his manner as he smoked tobacco caused me to forget completely that he was once someone of the intellectual class who'd received a middle school education."<sup>79</sup> Furthermore, the narrator is depicted as an innocent, dense and uncomprehending as to why his friend didn't carry on with a career suited to his position as member of the educated, literate class. But the narrator's old schoolmate, Lu Shiyi, is given the chance to speak: much of the story is made up of monologues by this orchard keeper/ intellectual. The story presents a binary of "studies" (xueye) and "vocation" (hangye), with an explicit critique of the former through Lu Shiye. Speaking in a sarcastic, mocking manner that undercuts the narrator's ignorance, Lu Shiye is unremitting in his contention that what he is doing is what he is best suited to do. Although Lu Shiyi had tried to teach, he intimidated the other teachers, becoming competition for them in a profession which offered limited opportunities. He tells how he decided to work in a foreign goods store (yanghuo puli) and, as he puts it "[. . .] the people in the business world are much more congenial than those in academia. Nowadays aren't you people [intellectuals] always talking about putting an end to class distinctions? Actually, in my opinion, it's precisely you intellectuals who are class conscious [. . .]" Furthermore, at first Lu calls the narrator "Lao Shi" (Old Shi), an affectionate appellation, but very quickly declares that it would perhaps be more proper if he called him "Young Master" (shaoye). With the use of his own name in the text, Shi Zhecun seems to authenticate the story, and the revised appellation finalizes a class split between the narrator and Lu Shiyi. As Lu puts it: "[. . .] we can talk freely here [in the

orchard], but if you were to meet me on the street wouldn't you blush, wouldn't you feel disgusted (zengyan)?" But if the intellectual class is destined to uphold those distinctions it claims to denounce, there is one "class" which has succeeded where the intellectuals have failed. Lu tells the narrator that after working for a year in a store, he "really felt [the commercial world was where] people had the spirit of equality, sure sometimes the managers or the bill people would throw a tantrum, but all that stuff had nothing to do with your 'origins.'"<sup>80</sup>

Lu Shiyi's rebuff of intellectuals could be read as an example of the assertion of a "new" class of urban bourgeoisie linked explicitly to commerce. In addition, what Williams notes of "knowable communities," as a "conventional contrast" between urban and metropolitan experience and a country community, "an epitome of direct relationships: of face-to-face contacts within which we can find and value the real substance of personal relationships," is rejected here.<sup>81</sup> But Shi Zhecun's character portrayal finds an interesting parallel in Wen-hsin Yeh's discussion of "vocational youth" (zhiye qingnian) in 1920s Shanghai. According to Yeh, the readership for the Shanghai periodical Shenghuo zhouban (Life Weekly) consisted of a specific social grouping: "[t]he audience that *Shenghuo zhouban* targeted thus possessed a distinct profile. The readership was literate, but most individuals were deprived of formal educational opportunities after only a few years in school":

Financial difficulty was often cited as the reason for this inability to continue on into college, since Western-style colleges and universities in those days charged tuition and fees, and it cost a considerable sum to maintain a particular style of college life. Indeed, members of the so-called vocational youth envied college students as the lucky few able to afford a stylish and carefree existence. At the same time *zhiye qingnian* saw themselves as members of a status group that, like

the college educated, wore gowns rather than short clothing to work and labored with their intellects rather than their muscles. The vocational youth, in short, stood at the bottom rung of the gowned. There was a fear, on the one hand, of falling off the social ladder and becoming degraded to a mere laborer. There was, on the other hand, a keen awareness of their own inferior standing vis-à-vis those above them and a fierce resolve to move ahead.<sup>82</sup>

In Shi Zhecun, small towns may have been removed from an urban center like Shanghai, but they still function as political and social centers in the countryside, like little slices of city in the country. For the narrator of "The Peach Orchard," his discomfort arises from the fact that new relations have appeared to replace old social forms, because even the empathy he felt for his old schoolmate is predicated on status, a status which no longer remains stable. As Lefebvre notes: "Towns show us the history of power and of human possibilities [. . .] Towns tell us above all of the almost total decomposition of community, of the atomization of society into 'private' individuals [. . .]"<sup>83</sup> William Schaefer, in his reading of Shi's "Demon's Way," describes "[. . .] a haunted sense of the uncanny simultaneity of past and present [. . .]" Schaefer attributes this to what he refers to as "[. . .] a modern anxiety regarding the uncanny persistence of the past into the present."<sup>84</sup> However, reading Shi Zhecun's early stories, it may be more apropos to speak not of an uncanny persistence of the past, but of a persistent and uncomfortable present, a "social" (historical) realism lurking beneath the modernist window dressing.

Indeed, there seems no reason to separate Shi's fiction, as Leo Lee seems to do, into realist and non-realist periods. The hometown returns Shi Zhecun makes to the small towns and cities of memory in "Lantern Festival" are not merely exercises for his later work, they read just as well as frames of reference which will be repeated as nuanced and complex variations in Shi Zhecun's later fiction, in his "historical" works, his experiments



with Freudian psychology, stream-of-consciousness, montage, Western macabre tales, and "strange stories" (*zhiguai*).

The *zhiguai* genre goes back at least to the third century, and has often been considered as example of a written form of oral storytelling in China. I discuss *zhiguai* in greater detail in chapter four, but Shi was not alone in his interest in adapting traditional forms to the exigencies modern vernacular narrative. Indeed, the topic of the "persistence" of traditional forms of narrative in Chinese modernism deserves more attention. Ye Lingfeng seems to delight in borrowing from traditional narratives, producing polished short stories filled with lyrical motifs. Ye Lingfeng's "Tanhua'an de chunfeng" (The Spring Breeze at Epiphyllum Temple) is a humorous tale about a young Buddhist nun who longs to leave the religious life.<sup>85</sup> As I noted in my introduction, one definition for the term *haipai* originated from a designation for certain types of opera, and Ye's story itself is probably based on the plot of a popular Kunqu Opera about a monk and nun who escape their Buddhist orders.<sup>86</sup> Thus, Ye's story is first of all a variation on a conventional theme that takes place in Jiangnan (the lower Yangtze region) where a young abandoned girl, Yue Di, is raised by an old nun in a Buddhist Temple in a place called simply "C." Other writers may have used an initial to hide an actual town, but in my opinion, Ye uses an initial to create a mythic or fable-like quality to his story. We are told that the old nun had taught her little else besides how to recite sutras. And Ye's variation also includes a few modern elements thrown in for good measure. The boarder at the temple, a worker from the local cotton factory, Mother Jin (Jin Niang), gives Yue Di a lecture on the important things in life. Mother Jin is a widow and becomes Yue Di's mentor in all things sexual. After listening to Mother Jin's lecture, Yue Di goes down the mountain to the town (*chengli*) where she experiences a sort

of sexual awakening in which she suddenly feels a "difference" (yiyang) with regard to men. Thus, Ye Lingfeng uses a conventional plot to talk about sex. Moreover, whereas the other writers I've discussed write about a certain loss of innocence when they go home, Ye "sexualizes" such a loss in the figure of the young Buddhist nun. The place of Buddhism within Chinese culture is quite complex, but Ye seems to be capitalizing on a conventional trope with his repressed Buddhist nun.<sup>87</sup> A similar type of disillusionment of the countryside in Du Heng and Shi Zhecun may be read in the outlook of the young nun when, one night after the old nun had gone into town we are told: "[. . .] not only did she [Yue Di] not recite sutras when the old nun wasn't around, she began to detest (yanwu) reciting sutras."<sup>88</sup> In a truly bizarre depiction of auto-eroticism, Yue Di reaches orgasm while thrashing about with her bed covers. Yue Di shows a certain repressed interest in Chen Si, the young man who plants vegetables for the temple, but her naive interest here is overshadowed by the worldly cotton factory worker Mother Jin. The finale to the story takes place one evening when Yue Di is once again left alone at the temple. As her passion grows she unconsciously heads over to Chen Si's cottage, but as she peaks into the dimly lit space of the cottage she sees Mother Jin and Chen Si making love and falls dead on the spot from shock.

Ye's nun may be read as a trope for "rural" innocence. In addition, the nun's sexual awakening and death through shock are metaphorically linked to the bloom of the ephyllum and the proverb "tanhua yixian"-- to flower briefly like an ephyllum, a notion Lu Xun noted as a traditional view of countryside: "In Chinese poetry there were at times references to the suffering of the lower classes of society (*xiaceng shehui*). But painting and fiction generally spoke about them as being very happy, 'Unknowing and unaware (*bushi buzhi*)/ Following heaven's rules,' placid as the flowers and birds. True, in

the eyes of the intellectual class (*zhishi jieji*), the laboring masses of China were just like flowers and birds."<sup>89</sup> In Ye's story, the countryside is completely mediated by literary convention, by a well-known opera plot, conventional metaphor, and a traditional proverb. Indeed, Ye approached literature as a formal art, as if he was conscious of literary form itself as something which is by its nature spent, always an intertextual aggregate of something else which has come before. It is hardly surprising, then, to find a countryside which is represented as a *tale*; that is to say, narrative as a formal convention. "Luo Yan" was apparently one of his favorites and is an especially fine example of what I am referring to. Moreover, in "Luo Yan" the "conventional" countryside comes into the city as a ghost story. The story opens with a narrator arriving early for the showing of a film version of *La Dame aux camélias*, but when he arrives the theater is dark "[. . .] resembling a contemporary ceremonial temple or monastery."<sup>90</sup> However, very soon the narrator is astonished by the arrival of a white horse pulling a gold coloured carriage and, as the narrator remarks: "Under the invasion of extremely materialistic culture in Shanghai, the horsedrawn carriage had been completely replaced by motor cars [. . .] this was definitely not some roadside carriage to attract customers, this was definitely a carriage belonging to an old family."<sup>91</sup> Thus, like Mu Shiying's "Street Scenes," Ye invokes an image of Old Shanghai. Ye's image, however, is romanticized as a beautiful young woman alights from the carriage and enters the theater and, as the carriage pulls away, the narrator notices a handkerchief the young woman had dropped which he picks up, impatiently hoping for a chance to meet the young woman. Except for the young woman and the narrator, the theater is conveniently empty for their meeting. The scene is unbelievably romantic, as their names: her name, Luo Yan, from which the story derives its title, could mean

"fallen" or "faded" swan; his name is Ping Ruowei, "weak" or "feeble" reed. He is a poet whose poems she has read in the papers. They discuss and evaluate Chinese translations of Dumas' novel and watch the movie. After the movie she invites the narrator back to her house to meet her father and they ride through streets so darkly lit the narrator doesn't know where he is going, all is "like a dream." Luo Yan's house, obscured by trees, is a late Qing dynasty manor. As the narrator enters he feels slightly uneasy as he is introduced Luo Yan's father. The old man expresses interest in hearing some of the narrator's poetry but he politely declines. Instead, the narrator plucks a selection of Lu You's poetry from the bookshelf and immediately starts reciting a few lines from Lu You, a Song Dynasty poet popular near the end of the Qing dynasty for his patriotism. His hosts fall silent and the narrator realizes he's touched a nerve. The narrator looks at his watch, realizes it's 2 A.M, and tells them he should leave. But the old man refuses to let him go.

Suddenly the atmosphere is charged with a foreboding danger. The old man inexplicably leaves the room, and the young girl hurries the narrator out of the house and over the garden wall explaining: "Hurry, he isn't my father, he especially likes young men ..... I can't resist, he uses magic to control me, but I couldn't go through with it [ . . .]"<sup>92</sup> As the narrator leaves Luo Yan slips him a yuan\* note and he escapes home. Arriving at his doorway, the narrator realizes he has forgotten his hat and jacket at the manor and must wake the neighbour, a shopkeeper, to get into his apartment. Fortunately, he remembers the yuan note Luo Yan had given him and he offers it to the shopkeeper who replies: "Mr. Ping, what's the idea joking around in the middle of the night? What kind of money is this? What good is paper Western money?" And the ghost story ends: "In the light seeping out of the

door crack, thinking of the encounter I'd just had, I trembled uncontrollably as if my whole body had been drenched with cold water."<sup>93</sup>

But the ending is ambiguous. Of course the narrator, a "feeble reed," would shake. But just why does he tremble? The money, "paper Western money" (*zhiyangqian*), is probably an outdated bill, perhaps the type of money issued against foreign silver coins, *yangqian*, in the late Qing period. The story may be read like a straightforward ghost story, but there is a parodic element here as well. Indeed, the young woman's name, Luo Yan, as "fallen" or "faded," could also be read as "counterfeit" (*yan*).<sup>94</sup> Many years later, Ye Lingfeng would discuss this very idea in an article he wrote on André Gide's The Counterfeiters, where he noted Gide's novel had been written to satirize the work of younger writers in France as counterfeit. Ye claimed that some of Gide's detractors had defended their works, denying that what they had wrote was a copy or counterfeit of "old money" (*jiu huabi*).<sup>95</sup> But what was Ye satirizing here? He could have been satirizing the Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School, the popular literature of the period written in an older form of vernacular Chinese. Or, with the discussion of translations of La Dame aux camélias, he could have been making a comment of an outdated "Western" sentimentality.<sup>96</sup> The jab at Qing patriotism could just as well have also been a comment on the nationalistic politics of the period. Whatever the case may be, Ye clearly treats the formal aspects of the text as a semiotic puzzle. Within the context of Shanghai though, Ye also seems to be playing with the simplest "present/past" binary so that perverse "old family" (*gujia*) of the story is a rejection any hope for a return to an innocent past. Ye seemed to have little interest in going back to the countryside, but he seems to have enjoyed bringing the countryside to the city

---

\* "Yuan" refers here to a denomination of paper money similar to a "dollar."

and he does this through the form of a conventional tale. Ye Lingfeng fundamentally rehearses the hometown return by resorting to a most familiar form of narrative in which a dreamlike, mysterious and idealized past is disrupted in the end by traumatic rupture. What Ye seems to be saying is: the story you are reading no longer has currency; the signs that make you tremble have no present value.

---

<sup>1</sup> See, Raymond Williams, The Country and the City (London: Chatto & Windus, 1973) 171.

<sup>2</sup> Lu Xun's comments are cited and discussed in Yan Jiayan, Several Schools of the Chinese Modern Novel (Beijing: Renmin wenxue, 1985) 141- 142. For the Lu Xun article, see "Postscript to <<The Twelve>>" in The Complete Works of Lu Xun vol. 7, 298- 303.

<sup>3</sup> A similar argument, in reverse as it were, could probably serve to distinguish writers who come under the heading "Shanghai School" (*haipai*), so that the more politically minded writers are eliminated from such a designation.

<sup>4</sup> This paragraph, except for the last line, is quoted in Yan Jiayan, Several Schools 142. I have referred to the Letter from Liu Na'ou to Dai Wangshu in Kong Lingjing (ed.), Xiandai Zhongguo zuojia shuxin (Letters of Modern Chinese Authors) (Hong Kong: Yixin shudian, 1971) 263- 267; 266- 267. Shi-mei Shih translates the same passage in Shu-mei Shih, The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in Semicolonial China, 1917- 1937 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001) 262. The uppercase indicates the writing was originally in Roman script.

<sup>5</sup> Although he isn't explicit, Yan could be attempting to historically link certain forms of cultural production with the May Thirtieth Movement. The mid-twenties were a time of immense country-wide demonstrations and boycotts in China. On May 30, 1925 English police opened fire on Chinese demonstrators in Shanghai, killing ten and seriously injuring fifty people.

<sup>6</sup> See, Wu Fuhui, Dushi xuanwozhong de haipai xiaoshuo (The Shanghai School Novel in the Whirl of the City) (Hunan: Hunan jiaoyu, 1995)12.

<sup>7</sup> See Su Xuelin, Ersanshi niandai zuojia yu zuopin (Writers and Works from the 1920s and 30s) (Taipei: Guandong, 1980) 422- 423. Grandma Liu is a character from The Story of the Stone, the epitomy of the wide-eyed, simple-minded peasant lost in the garden of the Jia family's estate. Aside from Shi Zhecun and Mu Shiying, Su also cites the essayist Zhang Ruogu.

<sup>8</sup> See, Leo Ou-fan Lee (Li Ou-fan), " 'Decadence' and its Writers in Chinese Modern Literature" 32.

<sup>9</sup> Raymond Williams, "Metropolitan Perceptions and the Emergence of Modernism," in The Politics of Modernism, ed., Tony Pinkley (London: Verso, 1999) 37- 48; 37.

<sup>10</sup> See, Raymond Williams, The Country and the City (London: Chatto & Windus, 1973) 154.

<sup>11</sup> Leo Lee, Shanghai Modern 190.

<sup>12</sup> Williams, The Country and the City 279.

<sup>13</sup> Williams, The Country and the City 279.

<sup>14</sup> Williams, The Country and the City 286.

<sup>15</sup> Although Shi-mei Shih notes the way "accounts of many Western historians" place "the blame for Shanghai's problems" on imperialism, although paradoxically attributing "the 'success' of Shanghai" to imperialism. See, Shu-mei Shih, The Lure of the Modern 235.

<sup>16</sup> Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991) 247.

<sup>17</sup> Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space 252- 253.

<sup>18</sup> This is part of a dialogue with "a Japanese philosopher of Buddhist background." See, Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space 152- 153. I discuss Lefebvre's theory of urban space in chapter five.

<sup>19</sup> See, "The Well-field System," in Sources of the Chinese Tradition, comp., Wm. Theodore de Bary et al, vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960) 94- 95.

<sup>20</sup> See, Hsiao-tung Fei, China's Gentry: Essays in Rural-Urban Relations, Revised and edited by Margaret Park Redfield (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953) 91. The process of writing the book itself was not unproblematic: "This book is made from articles contributed by Fei to Chinese newspapers in 1947 and 1948. During that autumn of 1948 he dictated to my wife a rough translation of these articles, stopping as he did so to talk over with her the substance of the dictation and in part rewriting and enlarging the text in the course of these discussions. The work was done hastily, with enthusiasm, and the tense anticipations of the coming of Communist control." See, Robert Redfield, "Introduction" 1- 16.

<sup>21</sup> See, Fei, China's Gentry 91- 92.

<sup>22</sup> *Cheng* represents the Pinyin and *ch'eng* the Wade-Giles romanization of the Chinese character.

<sup>23</sup> See, Fei, China's Gentry 95.

<sup>24</sup> Fei, China's Gentry 97- 98.

<sup>25</sup> Fei, China's Gentry 105.

<sup>26</sup> Fei, China's Gentry 104- 105.

<sup>27</sup> Fei, China's Gentry 132- 133.

<sup>28</sup> Fei, China's Gentry 139.

<sup>29</sup> Fei, China's Gentry 139.

<sup>30</sup> Fei, China's Gentry 139- 140.

<sup>31</sup> See, Philip A. Kuhn, Rebellion and Its Enemies in Late Imperial China: Militarization and Social Structure, 1796- 1864 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980) 221- 222. See, also 224- 225 where Kuhn suggests "[t]he Kuomintang and the Nanking government were in many respects outgrowths of the modernizing urban culture."

<sup>32</sup> Williams, The Country and the City 178.

<sup>33</sup> See Raymond Williams, Marxism and Literature (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978) 132- 133.

<sup>34</sup> Mu Shiyong, "Shanghai de hubuwu" (Shanghai Foxtrot) in Nanbeiji, Gongmu (North Pole, South Pole [and] Public Cemetery (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1987) 289-

301; 289. Translations of the stories in this chapter by Mu Shiyong, Liu Na'ou, Du Heng, Shi Zhecun, and Ye Lingfeng are my own.

<sup>35</sup> See, Yan Jiayan, Several Schools 151.

<sup>36</sup> I use the word "tricks" here instead of a term like "strategy." The notion of montage as a type of "trick" is discussed at the end of the next chapter.

<sup>37</sup> Mu Shiyong, "Jiejing" (Street Scenes) in Mu Shiyong xiaoshuo quanbian (The Complete Novels of Mu Shiyong) eds., Jia Zhifang et al. (Shanghai: Xuelin, 1998) 291-297.

<sup>38</sup> Mu Shiyong, "Street Scenes" 292.

<sup>39</sup> See, Yingjin Zhang, The City in Modern Chinese Literature and Film: Configurations of Space, Time, and Gender (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996) 29- 32.

<sup>40</sup> Mu Shiyong, "Street Scenes" 292- 294.

<sup>41</sup> Fei, China's Gentry 132- 133.

<sup>42</sup> See, Liu Na'ou, "Liu," (Flow) in Dushi fengjingxian (The City Skyline) (1930, Shanghai: Shanghai shuju, 1988) 37- 66. Li Jin discusses Liu Na'ou's film theory in "Xin ganjuepai he ersanshi niandai haolaiwu dianying" (The New Sensation School and 20s and 30s Hollywood film), Zhongguo xiandai wenzue yanjiu, 3 (1997) 32-56.

<sup>43</sup> See, Yan Jiayan Several Schools 132.

<sup>44</sup> In my introduction I cite Shi Zhecun's comments about Liu's spoken and written Chinese. See, Shi Zhecun, "Zhendan ernian" (Two years at Aurora), in Shashang de Jiaoji (Footprints in the Sand) (Liaoning jiaoyu, 1995) 2- 11; 2. Shu-mei Shih notes that "Leftist literary critics from the thirties would seize upon the 'un-Chinese' quality of Liu's writing to delegitimize modernist writing in general." See, Shu-mei Shih, The Lure of the Modern 286.

<sup>45</sup> Raymond Williams, "Country," in Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society (London: Fontana, 1988).

<sup>46</sup> Liu Na'ou, "Fengjing," (Landscape) in Dushi fengjingxian (The City Skyline) (1930, Shanghai: Shanghai shuju, 1988) 21-33; 21.

<sup>47</sup> Wu discusses the notion of "chance meeting" as an aspect of urban life. See, Wu Fuhui, The Shanghai School Novel in the Whirl of the City 174- 183. On the other hand, the short story form may have determined the plot as well.

<sup>48</sup> Liu Na'ou, "Landscape" 23

<sup>49</sup> Leo Lee, Shanghai Modern 198- 199.

<sup>50</sup> Liu Na'ou, "Landscape" 26.

<sup>51</sup> Liu Na'ou, "Landscape" 27.

<sup>52</sup> This phrase is used by Williams in his discussion of George Eliot. See, The Country and the City 168.

<sup>53</sup> Liu Na'ou, "Landscape" 28.

<sup>54</sup> Liu Na'ou, "Landscape" 32.

<sup>55</sup> As Braester notes concerning the end of the story: "[. . .] the two strangers enact what resembles an Expressionist nude-in-nature." See, Yomi Braester, "Shanghai's Economy of the Spectacle: The Shanghai Race Club in Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiyong's Stories" in Modern Chinese Literature, 1, 9 (Spring 1995) 39-57; 39.

<sup>56</sup> Williams, The Country and the City 252.

<sup>57</sup> Leo Lee, Shanghai Modern 198- 199. Lee refers specifically to Liu's interest in and



translations of two stories by Paul Morand.

- <sup>58</sup> See, Frederic Wakeman, Jr. and Wen-hsin Yeh, "Introduction," in Shanghai Sojourners, eds. Frederic Jameson, Jr. and Wen-hsin Yeh (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, 1992) 1-14; 5.
- <sup>59</sup> See, Frederic Wakeman, Jr. and Wen-hsin Yeh, "Introduction" 15.
- <sup>60</sup> See, Frederic Wakeman, Jr. and Wen-hsin Yeh, "Introduction" 5.
- <sup>61</sup> See, Du Heng, "Homesickness," in Huaixiangji (Homesickness) (1933. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian 1986) 52-78; 52.
- <sup>62</sup> Du Heng, "Homesickness" 53.
- <sup>63</sup> Du Heng, "Homesickness" 55.
- <sup>64</sup> Du Heng, "Homesickness" 57.
- <sup>65</sup> See, Yi-tsi Mei Feuerwerker, Ideology, Power, Text: Self-Representation and the Peasant "Other" in Modern Chinese Literature (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998) 56.
- <sup>66</sup> See, Yi-tsi Mei Feuerwerker, Ideology, Power, Text 56.
- <sup>67</sup> Du Heng, "Homesickness" 60. Zhangfa actually uses the formal "nin" (thou) instead of "ni" (you).
- <sup>68</sup> Du Heng, "Homesickness" 62.
- <sup>69</sup> Du Heng, "Homesickness" 63.
- <sup>70</sup> See, Isabelle Rabut, "École de Pékin, école de Shanghai: un parcours critique," in Pékin-Shanghai: Tradition et modernité dans la littérature chinoise des années trente (Paris: Éditions Blue de Chine, 2000) 13- 59; 40. My translation.
- <sup>71</sup> Du Heng, "Homesickness" 70- 71.
- <sup>72</sup> Williams, The Country and the City 178- 179.
- <sup>73</sup> Williams, The Country and the City 180.
- <sup>74</sup> Leo Ou-fan Lee, Shanghai Modern 155.
- <sup>75</sup> Shi Zhecun, "Shan" (The Fan), in Shi Xiu zhi lian (The Love of Shi Xiu) (Beijing: Renmin wenzue, 1991) 3- 14.
- <sup>76</sup> Shi Zhecun, "Zhou furen" (Misses Zhou), in Shi Xiu zhi lian 21-28.
- <sup>77</sup> Shi Zhecun, "Taoyuan" (The Peach Orchard), in Shi Xiu zhi lian 42- 50.
- <sup>78</sup> Shi Zhecun, "The Peach Orchard" 45.
- <sup>79</sup> Shi Zhecun, "The Peach Orchard" 47.
- <sup>80</sup> Shi Zhecun, "The Peach Orchard" 49.
- <sup>81</sup> Williams, The Country and the City 165.
- <sup>82</sup> Wen-hsin Yeh, "Progressive Journalism and Shanghai's Petty Urbanites: Zou Taofen and the Shenghuo Enterprise, 1926- 1945," in Frederic Wakeman, Jr., and Wen-hsin Yeh (eds.), Shanghai Sojourners (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, 1992) 186- 238; 194.
- <sup>83</sup> See, Henri Lefebvre, Critique of Everyday Life, Volume 1: Introduction, trans. John Moore (London: Verso, 1991) 233.
- <sup>84</sup> See, William Schaefer, "Kumarajiva's Foreign tongue: Shi Zhecun's Modernist Historical Fiction," in Modern Chinese Literature, 1&2, 10 (Spring/Fall, 1998) 25- 70; 26.
- <sup>85</sup> See, Ye Lingfeng, "Tanhuaan de chunfeng" (The Spring Breeze at Epiphyllum Temple) in Ye Lingfeng xiaoshuo quanbian (The Complete Novels of Ye Lingfeng), eds. Jia Zhifang et al (Shanghai: Xuelin, 1998) 191- 203.

---

<sup>86</sup> Kunqu is a form of opera originating in the sixteenth century in Suzhou. See, Ben Wong, "Synopsis of 'Fleeing down the Mountain' - Xia Shan" <[http://www.thekunqusociety.org/synopsis-fleeing\\_down\\_the\\_mountain.htm](http://www.thekunqusociety.org/synopsis-fleeing_down_the_mountain.htm)>. Also, see, <[http://www.geocities.com/kunqu\\_skai/gnhj.html](http://www.geocities.com/kunqu_skai/gnhj.html)> for a synopsis in Chinese. A synopsis of the "Anhui and Yue Opera" version is provided in Siu Wang-Ngai and Peter Loverick, Chinese Opera: Images and Stories (Vancouver, U.B.C. Press, 1997) 173.

<sup>87</sup> In Outlaws of the Marsh for example, particularly in the episode Shi Zhecun recounts in his story "Shi Xiu," the Buddhist monks are clearly depicted as lascivious.

<sup>88</sup> See, Ye Lingfeng, "Tanhuaan de chunfeng": 197.

<sup>89</sup> Quoted in Yi-tsi Mei Feuerwerker, Ideology, Power, Text 76.

<sup>90</sup> See, Ye Lingfeng, "Luo Yan," in The Complete Novels of Ye Lingfeng 23- 33; 23.

<sup>91</sup> See, Ye Lingfeng, "Luo Yan" 24.

<sup>92</sup> See, Ye Lingfeng, "Luo Yan" 32.

<sup>93</sup> See, Ye Lingfeng, "Luo Yan" 33.

<sup>94</sup> In classical Chinese, the character for swan "yan," was sometimes interchangeable with the homonym for "counterfeit."

<sup>95</sup> See, Ye Lingfeng, "Yanbifan he Yanbifan riji," (The Countefeiters and Journal of the Counterfeiters) in Dushu suibi (Reading Notes) (Beijing: Sanlian, 1995) vol. 1, 241- 243.

<sup>96</sup> Rey chow cites an interesting example for the early reception of La Dame aux camélias in China: "It is said that Lin Shu and Wang Ziren, as they were collaborating on the translation of *La Dame aux camélias*, wept so profusely that they could be heard outside the house." See, Rey Chow, Woman and Chinese Modernity: the Politics of Reading between East and West (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1991)121- 122.

### Chapter 3: National Allegory, Montage, the Trick

"Hurry, he isn't my father [. . .]"

Ye Lingfeng, "Luo Yan"<sup>1</sup>

"Most elderly or honest people seem to have a high regard for that maxim 'Name is but an accessory of reality' (mingzhe shi zhi bin). As for myself, being neither elderly nor wishing to immodestly declare myself an honest person, I've always attached more importance to 'name' over 'reality.' "

Shi Zhecun<sup>2</sup>

This chapter is a theoretical excursus on the problem of signification in modern cultural production. In the first part of this chapter I discuss Fredric Jameson's theory of national allegory. Jameson's "allegorical signified" is inscribed within a notion of what Xiaobing Tang refers to as "historical trauma," a notion I link to Freud's concept of "primal scene" (*Urszene*). In my opinion, Freud's "primal scene" inscribes trauma as a symptom of a split in signification for the subject as exemplary of national character. As a marker for the historical split between the signifier and the signified, Freud's concept of "primal scene" is then linked to montage, which I read as an aspect of spectacular pedagogy of the modern period. Montage is read as technicist trope that signals a split in signification that grounds itself within the ideology of scientism. Finally, the historical grounding of montage is read in modern Chinese history through the figure of paternity.

I begin with an attempt to recuperate the theory of national allegory. The perceived specificity of Fredric Jameson's pronouncements in "Third-World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism," was a great part of the reason for the negative reception of the

article.<sup>3</sup> When Jameson discusses "non-canonical" works, he is presumably not referring to the Chinese canon, where, in the People's Republic, Lu Xun had been "canonical" since at least the 1940s. Aijaz Ahmad's response was a criticism of the specificity of Jameson's use of the term "Third World": "If we replace the idea of 'nation' with that larger, less restrictive idea of 'collectivity,' and if we start thinking of the process of allegorization not in nationalistic terms but simply as a relation between private and public, personal and communal, then it also becomes possible to see that allegorization is by no means specific to the so-called Third World."<sup>4</sup> Lydia Liu would echo this point in her discussion of Jameson's article: "Are Third World texts to be reduced to pure 'experience,' whereas literatures of the First and Second worlds are capable of engineering more complicated ways of cultural production?"<sup>5</sup> The implication is that some cultures maintain a less abstract relation to national identity; that is to say, Jameson's argument was restricting "national allegory" to cultures which were, by their nature, more nationalistic than the United States: "Judging from recent conversations among third-world intellectuals, there is an obsessive return of the national situation itself, the name of the country that returns again and again like a gong, the collective attention to 'us' and what we have to do and how we do it, to what we can't do and what we do better than this or that nationality, our unique characteristics, in short, to the level of the 'people.' This is not the way American intellectuals have been discussing 'America,' and indeed one might feel that the whole matter is nothing but that old thing called 'nationalism,' long since liquidated here and rightly so."<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, if Jameson's article is read as part of the debate around the canon in the United States, instead of a classification of "Third World" literature, Jameson comes off sounding rather like a "liberal" department administrator: "[. . .] the present moment does offer a remarkable opportunity to

rethink our humanities curriculum in a new way-- to re-examine the shambles and ruins of our older 'great books,' 'humanities,' 'freshman-introductory' and 'core course' type traditions."<sup>7</sup> Indeed, Jameson's polemic is itself an allegory, what could be called a "First World national allegory": "All of which slowly brings us to the question of the writer himself in the third world, and to what must be called the function of the intellectual, it being understood that in the third-world situation the intellectual is always in one way or another a political intellectual. No third-world lesson is more timely or more urgent for us today, among whom the term 'intellectual' has withered away, as though it were the name for an extinct species."<sup>8</sup> Jameson's discussion of "Third World" literature and more specifically, "Third World" intellectuals, becomes, therefore, *necessarily allegorical* when it is read within a context of debates around the American academic/literary canon in the 1980s.<sup>9</sup>

The central problematic around the concept of national allegory is historical chronology. Jameson's argument purports to be a discussion of "Third World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism," bringing together two writers from different cultural backgrounds and historical periods (Lu Xun writing in China in the 1920s and Sembène Ousmane writing in Senegal in the 1970s). The geographical and cultural differences are, of course, collapsed with the problematic term "Third World." Still, what "period" is Jameson writing about? Jameson, by way of a succinct explanation, elucidates his "Era of Multinational Capitalism": "African societies and cultures, as they became the object of systematic colonization in the 1880s, provide the most striking examples of the symbiosis of capital and tribal societies; while China and India offer the principle examples of another and quite different sort of engagement of capitalism with the great empires of the so-called

Asiatic mode" (Third World Literature 68). Indeed, in his discussion of Lu Xun's Ah Q, Jameson is obviously not speaking about Baudelaire's Paris, he is referring instead to China in the nineteenth century: "When one recalls the remarkable self-esteem of the Manchu dynasty in its final throes, and the serene contempt for foreign devils who had nothing but modern science, gunboats, armies, technology and power to their credit, one achieves a more precise sense of the historical and social topicality of Lu Xun's satire [. . .] Ah Q is China humiliated by foreigners [. . .]" (Third World Literature 74). Jameson is referring to colonialist expansion in the nineteenth-century, a period which saw an overwhelming intensification of the further intrusion of European and, by this time, American and Japanese technological and cultural discourse into "Third World" or so-called pre-modern cultures. Without being splitting hairs over Jameson's "precise sense," this would certainly not be the first allegorical reading of Ah Q, not as some figure of the "Manchu dynasty," but rather of the 1911 revolution which brought about the fall of the Qing dynasty, a reading which, as Yan Jiayan notes, Lu Xun also promoted.<sup>10</sup> Thus, Jameson's statement: "Ah Q is thus, allegorically, China itself [. . .]" (Third World Literature 74) cannot be dismissed outright. Not unless the theorist wants to be in the unenviable position of reading the text *non-allegorically*. Jameson's allegory of the intellectuals, "the name for an extinct species" in America, for all its limitations, needs to be reconsidered.<sup>11</sup>

National allegory implies national self-consciousness through a comparison with another nationality as Other. More importantly, however, Jameson's categoric description of "Third World" literature recalls his own contentions concerning "[. . .] the most characteristic monuments to the aristocratic-bohemian cosmopolitan and multilingual European culture [. . .]"<sup>12</sup> In his book the English painter and novelist Wyndham Lewis,

Jameson noted the appearance of a form of national allegory between World War I and II in Europe. Referring to the mingling of "national types" in Lewis, Mann and Stendhal, Jameson notes: "[s]uch a juxtaposition reminds us that the use of national types projects an essentially allegorical mode of representation, in which the individual characters figure those more abstract national characteristics which are read as their inner essence. In its simplest form, that of the contemplation of a single foreign national essence alone, such allegory often serves as the instrument of cultural critique [. . .]"<sup>13</sup> Jameson continues with a discussion of national allegory in Lewis's Tarr and Thomas Mann's The Magic Mountain: "[. . .] where [. . .] the various national types find themselves grouped within a common ballroom or Grand Hotel, a more complex network of interrelations and collisions emerges, and with it a dialectically new and more complicated allegorical system. Now narrative meaning becomes relational, as momentary alliances develop and disintegrate."<sup>14</sup>

Clearly, Jameson's discussion of such "First World", that is to say European national allegory, is informed by a more abstract semiotic reading than his reading of "Third World" writing. Borrowing from Lacan, Jameson will couch his readings of European national allegory in the phrase "the signifier is what represents the subject for another signifier."<sup>15</sup> But, with regard to European and Third World national allegory, Jameson's invocation of the "era of multinational capitalism" is, in this respect, an re-inscription of a cultural-historical agora, where cultures, signifying themselves, reflect and refract within a semiotic field. Furthermore, national allegory implies a closer proximity to the historic event or the *event as history*: "This is the sense in which the allegorical signified of such narratives is ultimately World War I, or Apocalypse: not in any punctual prediction or reflection of this conflict as a chronological event, but rather as the ultimate conflictual 'truth' of the sheer,

mobile, shifting relationality of national types and of the older nation-states which are their content."<sup>16</sup> But even if the event is not strictly chronological, it is still a chronological event: "[. . .] national allegory in general [. . .] presuppose not merely the nation-state itself as the basic functional unit of world politics, but also the objective existence of a system of nation-states, the international diplomatic machinery of pre-World-War-I Europe which, originating in the sixteenth century, was dislocated in significant ways by the War and the Soviet Revolution."<sup>17</sup> Jameson will resort to drawing semiotic diagrams to avoid a referential historical reading, although history still lurks beneath his semiotic of European national allegory just as it did for the "Third World": "Thus, national allegory should be understood as a formal attempt to bridge the increasing gap between the existential data of everyday life within a given nation-state and the structural tendency of monopoly capital to develop on a worldwide, essentially transnational scale."<sup>18</sup> I read Jameson's "now outmoded narrative system"<sup>19</sup> as a reading born in the Grand Hotel of history: the metropolis. And, far from being outmoded, this narrative system may still be allegorizing the present.<sup>20</sup>

Jameson's "allegorical signified" resembles the often repeated contention surrounding modern culture: *around 1910 the world changed*. However, the basic assumption for modern cultural production in Europe often starts with the zero hour of the Great War. Leo Lee toys with this idea in a discussion of Freud's concept of "the uncanny" (*das Unheimliche*) as discussed by Anthony Vidler with respect to the "metropolis" and the trauma of the First World War, only to conclude with the statement "[w]hether or not Chinese intellectuals were at all affected by the trauma of the European war, Shanghai emerged as the only modern metropolitan city in China in which writers such as Shi Zhecun could feel a degree of the uncanny-- if not in real life, certainly in literature."<sup>21</sup> Such a



statement makes it difficult to read Lee's notion of "uncanny" literature very seriously. True, most "Chinese intellectuals" didn't dig trenches in Europe, but the May Fourth demonstrations of 1919, it will be recalled, were a response to the signing of the Treaty of Versailles that ceded German held territory to Japan after the First World War. As for the question of trauma related to war in China, by the 1920s and 30s, one could only respond with the phrase "take your pick." I've already mentioned the 1911 revolution. And closer to my topic, Shi Zhecun describes some of the chaos and fear around the arrival of Chiang Kai-shek's army in 1927. Perhaps, like others residents at the time, he and his friends Liu Na'ou, Du Heng and Dai Wangshu would leave Shanghai until things had settled down.<sup>22</sup> Although he seems more concerned with details like the contents of Shi's library (and the price of Shi Zhecun's shoes), Lee does mention in passing that Les Contemporains was founded as an attempt to compete with Xiaoshuo yuebao (Short Story Monthly), a very popular literary publication of the Commercial Press, whose printing press was devastated during the bombing of Zhabei in the north part Shanghai in January, 1932 by the Japanese. And it should be noted that the bombing of Zhabei is one of the first photographed examples of urban warfare in world history.

Xiaobing Tang discusses a concept of trauma linked to China's history in a discussion of the novel Henhai (The Sea of Regret) by Wu Jianren, an enormously popular work published in 1906. Tang discusses what he refers to as a "carefully constructed love tragedy" from a number of perspectives; however, I will focus on Tang's contentions concerning what he refers to as "historical trauma."<sup>23</sup> According to Tang "[. . .] 'the sea of regret' into which Wu Jianru plunges his characters points to a new psychological, as well as neurological, reality of hyperstimulation that may well be a defining feature of modern

life."<sup>24</sup> Tang focusses on this novel for several historical reasons, but perhaps the most significant reason for his discussion of the novel is the historical event that occupies a great part of the narrative; namely, the Boxer movement, a primarily peasant uprising against foreign presence in northern China at the end of the nineteenth century that was put down in a bloody intervention and slaughter by European, American and Japanese troupes in 1900. Citing Freud, Tang points to the "traumatic situation" recounted through the experiences by the main characters of the novel: "[. . .] war is indeed the enveloping condition under which Bohe, Dihua, and her mother [the three main protagonists of the novel] find themselves as refugees."<sup>25</sup> For Tang, the novel represents a traumatic clash between the technology of the West and nativist culture in China: "[. . .] it soon becomes apparent that the immediate source of widespread panic and helplessness among the natives lies in the supernatural power of Western weaponry that introduces an accelerated sense of time and space. After all, the Boxer movement and its defeat in 1900 most effectively dramatized the deadly, disenchanting force that the modern rifle held over magic, sorcery, spiritual force, and martial arts."<sup>26</sup> Indeed, Tang's discussion of the Boxer rebellion could be read as a zero hour for (twentieth century) modernity in China in the same way as Jameson's "allegorical signified" relies on the First World War in Europe. Tang notes that although rifles had been used by Qing government troupes since the mid-nineteenth century "[. . .] its symbolic association with modernity as a traumatic event was starkest when Allied forces began systematically puncturing the Boxers' supposed invulnerability to bullets. In this aspect, The Sea of Regret may also be read one of the earlier literary works dealing with an important psychic suffering of the twentieth century: war trauma and neurosis."<sup>27</sup> The problem lies with Tang's reduction of traumatic neurosis to an almost physiological process, to

"symptoms of autonomic dysfunction" in the novel. As Tang himself points out, the character in the novel most affected by the trauma or shock of her position as a refugee is the character Dihua's mother and, for the mother "[. . .] the traumatic moment that sets off her nervous attack occurs when a panicked mob of refugees appears and completely disorients Dihua, her mother and Bohe [. . .]"<sup>28</sup> I am not denying the biological factors involved in trauma, but in reading the characters of a novel this way, it is almost as if Tang is analyzing actual personages rather than symbolic signs. Nevertheless, Tang's reading is national allegorical, it is a reading (diagnosis) of Chinese history linked to the introduction of military technology during the Boxer rebellion as a physiologically traumatic event for the (Chinese) historical subject.

Moreover, Tang's contentions are valuable in relationship to representations of trauma linked to modernist and avant-garde production. Freud's concept of trauma was quite complex and certain aspects of his thought are useful in discussing the symbolic nature of trauma. In particular, Freud's concept of "primal scene" (*Urszene*) is relevant here, especially for what the concept has to say about trauma and its representation. The earliest use made by Freud of the concept occurs in the "Wolf Man" case, "From the History of an Infantile Neurosis" published in 1918.<sup>29</sup> Freud's article is introduced as a report "in a fragmentary manner" concerning "a young man whose health had broken down in his eighteenth year [. . .]"<sup>30</sup> Freud's use of "primal scene" first occurs as an attempt to analyze one of his patient's dreams. As an hypothesis to account for the neurotic sexual development of his patient, Freud posits the "primal scene" first of all, as an actual experience in which the patient as an infant witnesses his parents in the act of intercourse. Thus, "primal scene" is a type of sexual trauma. At first, Freud seems to suggest this scene as a point of origin for

his patient's neurosis, although the "primal scene" is afterwards reassessed as a "primal phantasy" and then as an act between animals observed by the child and displaced onto his parents.<sup>31</sup> Freud uses the concept of "primal scene" to account for a variety of pathologies including a castration complex and a homosexual desire for the father. But what I consider to be noteworthy in Freud's analysis is the reasons he attempts to justify the problematic, fragmentary nature of his own presentation: "This case itself was not a particularly favourable one. The advantage of having a wealth of information about the patient's childhood [. . .] had to be purchased at the expense of the analysis being most terribly disjointed and of the exposition showing corresponding gaps. Personal peculiarities in the patient and a *national character that was foreign to ours* made the task of feeling one's way in his mind a laborious one (italics mine)."<sup>32</sup> This aspect of psychoanalytic theory reveals a cross-cultural problematics of national character that form at the very least an analogical basis for Freud in his discussion of the patient's fantasy life: "These phantasies, therefore, correspond exactly to the legends by means of which a nation that has become great and proud tries to conceal the insignificance and failure of its beginnings."<sup>33</sup>

Freud's case history is incomplete because he wished to protect the identity of the patient; however, it becomes clear from the patient's history that he was a young Russian. Freud's rapport with the patient represents a rupture in psychoanalytic method at the level of culture as national character and, significantly, language. The problem of language reveals a fundamental question in Freud's method. In a discussion of the relationship between faeces and money, Freud recounts how the patient at the age of sixteen had a fear of failing his school leaving examinations. But it is *Freud* who fails to link the German word "Durchfall" as a pun on "falling through" or "failing" an examination and "diarrhoea": "The patient

informed me that his native tongue has no parallel to the familiar German use of '*Durchfall*' as a description for disturbances of the bowels."<sup>34</sup> Freud's notion of an anal stage in his Russian patient is inextricably linked to the specificity of the German language in his psychoanalytic exegesis of the subject.<sup>35</sup> The success of Freud's method finds itself, in effect, at the very moment Freud's patient begins to link his own language, Russian, to an unconscious polysemy: "One day he told me that in his language a butterfly was called '*babushka*,' 'granny.'" So there could be little doubt that in this anxiety scene a recollection of some female person had been aroused." Freud's method cannot be separated from a dominance of a particular linguistic system: "Many months later, in quite another connection, the patient remarked that the opening and shutting of the butterfly's wings while it settled on the flower had given him an uncanny feeling. It had looked, so he said, like a woman opening her legs, and the legs made the shape of a Roman V [. . .]"<sup>36</sup> Indeed, for Freud, even the patient's *misuse* of a foreign language becomes symptomatic: "Like so many other people, he used his difficulties with a foreign language as a screen for symptomatic acts."<sup>37</sup>

My point is not to dismiss Freudian psychoanalysis. Rather, I contend Freud's notion of "primal scene" is linked to the problem of language that relates to the question of the "subject" as a national alterity. To his credit, Freud at least admits the problem of national alterity. Furthermore, Freud's inability to set the chronology of the Wolf Man's history may be read as a problem of signification, because on one level, the linguistic signifier is itself a "signified." Thus, alterity begins from an initial rupture of the signifier of language *as a signified*. As I noted above, Jameson's national allegory is predicated upon the lacanian signifier which represents the subject for another signifier, but it would be just as appropriate to say that it is the *signified* that represents the subject for a signifier. For Freud's

Wolf Man, trauma is the anchoring point for the subject's neurosis, or for the neurotic as subject.<sup>38</sup> Thus, the subject as defined by the experience of trauma becomes the signified by being defined as the signified of a traumatic subject. Moreover, the subject as a signified is revealed in the multiplicity of signifiers, possible representative sites (scenes) of an event called traumatic. Freud's "primal scenes" are a series of autonomous floating signifiers anchored to the possible sites of trauma which may be repetitions of an earlier trauma, as deferral may be a deferral of trauma as a signified (as *real*), or it may be that trauma itself is the signifier, a construct (a fantasy) of itself as occurring at an earlier date. And Freud's Wolf Man is exemplary here of an allegorized national alterity, a (bourgeois) subject who would lose everything in the First World War.<sup>39</sup> Through its fluidity, the "primal scene" announces the problematic of a signified that historically grounds the position of the signifier "over" the signified.<sup>40</sup> In this way, trauma is a series of primal scenes or representations possibly originating *in*, or *as*, those originary scenes.

It is quite telling that in his discussion of the Wolf Man, Lacan focuses on the problem of "dating the primal scene."<sup>41</sup> Indeed, that the problem should be limited to the problem of stages is itself problematic.<sup>42</sup> Perhaps the problem may be regarded as an example of a causal biologism implicit in Freud.<sup>43</sup> However, with regards to Russian culture, Marxist aesthetics fares no better in its teleological reduction of the "bourgeois subject," which I consider an exegetical burden for the comparatist with regard to modern cultural production. Adorno's study of Stravinsky makes an example of what could be termed the *backward* (bourgeois) subject: "In essentially pre-bourgeois Russia the category of the subject was not quite so firmly fitted together as in the Western countries. The factor of alienation-- particularly in Dostoevsky-- originated in the new identity of the ego with

itself: not one of the brothers Karamazov is a 'character.' Stravinsky, as a product of the late bourgeoisie, has at his command such pre-subjectivity that he is able to validate the decline of the subject."<sup>44</sup> And Jameson echoes this notion of the "underdeveloped" bourgeois subject in his discussion of his claims for a subtradition of the modern novel, "the interpersonal or dialogical narrative," when he lumps in "[. . .] those Russian novelists from Dostoyevsky to Olesha whose passionate intermonadic dialogues struggle to overcome a characteristic sense of grotesqueness, an endemic ego-deficiency or identity failure, which, virtually a Russian literary tradition, resulted from the backwardness of the Russian bourgeoisie [. . .]"<sup>45</sup>

This posited backward bourgeoisie is found in discussions of modern cultural production in China as well. Jameson's reading of Lu Xun as part of an "oral stage" resonates with eerie similarity to Julia Kristeva's semiotic of "pre-Oedipal" matriarchy in China.<sup>46</sup> As Rey Chow points out, in discussions of China "[. . .] shared time is replaced by a more linear, progressive use of time that enables the distinctions between 'primitive' and 'developed' cultures."<sup>47</sup> As Shu-mei Shih notes, European philosophical and sociological discourse often claimed "the Chinese lacked an interiority."<sup>48</sup> Leo Lee's description of an amorphous reading public in Shanghai contains the same sort of assumptions when he notes that, unlike their European counterparts, the Chinese practitioners of "aesthetic modernism" lacked "[. . .] tangible masses of the bourgeoisie to shock [. . .]"<sup>49</sup> In essence, such a contention basically places a whole national category of writing in a strangely *incomparable* position, so that bourgeois "subject-hood" is denied to Chinese culture. In my opinion, at stake are the literary artefacts themselves and the question of authority in relation to the text. With the Shanghai modernists, I begin from an obscure place in the field of modern Chinese

literature, with its own historical theoretical context, where concepts of class and colonialism dominated much of the discourse surrounding their works until relatively recently. If this were a thesis on a *canonical* Chinese writer, I would at least be starting from a point where the figure of the writer looms as an author, in a biographical and bibliographical sense, perhaps even in spite of an actual context of national origin.

Although Jameson was attempting to open up the American Humanities canon, his attempt did not depart from the position of Chinese studies as an aspect of "area studies," often considered as a particularized, specialized, and estranged field within the American academy.<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless, Jameson's contentions concerning the importance of intellectuals as a class in China are not far from the mark. The so-called May Fourth intellectuals were one of the first generations of modern writers who would function as mediational subjects between China and the outside world, considered as the technologically progressive "West," and represented by those many young Chinese students who studied in Japan at the turn-of-the-nineteenth century.

Freud's "primal scene" (*Urszene*) is useful as an open-ended exegetical tool to come to terms with the originary scene of trauma for the historical subject in modern Chinese literature, and Lu Xun's recollection of his own origins as an author stand as an important example in this regard. Lu Xun was a student of medicine at Sendai Medical College in Japan from 1904- 1906. Lu Xun recounts the event as occurring during a class on microbiology in which slides were being projected. Before the end of the lecture period, other slides were shown concerning the Russo-Japanese war, which was still in progress at the time. On this particular day, a slide depicting a bound Chinese man was shown surrounded by Chinese spectators as he was about to be executed by a Japanese soldier for



serving as a spy for the Russians. In the preface to Nahan (A Call to Arms), Lu Xun claims he had to join in with the clapping of his classmates during the presentation, and he attributes the reason he gave up medical studies to write to the experience of seeing this slide.<sup>51</sup> Later he would recount the story once again in "Tengye xiansheng" (Mr. Fujino).<sup>52</sup> The account in "Mr. Fujino" is slightly different. Here Lu Xun recounts that "they" (the other students), would shout "Banzai" and clap. In the preface to A Call to Arms, the Chinese man is about to be beheaded, while in "Mr. Fujino" he is about to be shot. Moreover, Lu Xun simultaneously includes and excludes himself from his fellow classmates: "But it so happened [a slide of] Chinese people was included: the one who had spied for the Russians had been caught by Japanese troupes and was to be shot, he was surrounded by a crowd of Chinese people; and there I was in the lecture hall" (Mr. Fujino 304). Lu Xun immediately states that after he returned to China he found it unbearable to watch the cheering crowds at public executions, "[. . .] at this time and place my views were altered" (Mr. Fujino 304). In her discussion of this incident, Lydia Liu suggests "Lu Xun's strikingly poignant description of this traumatic experience calls for a reading that must account for the violence of representation, and not just the representation of violence, inflicted by a cinematic spectacle upon an unintended audience."<sup>53</sup> On the contrary, presumably the person or persons showing such slides would have known full well that there were Chinese students in the audience at the time of the presentation, it could even be conjectured that such a slide was purposely put in for the benefit of the Chinese foreign students. By highlighting his own position amongst his Japanese fellow students in comparison to a Chinese man amongst a crowd of Chinese people, Lu Xun creates a traumatic image which could be read as an internal critique in the national allegorical mode

of Chinese culture within a foreign context.

Even if the slide described by Lu Xun never existed, Lu Xun's account of the event may be read as a symbolic recollection *and* construction.<sup>54</sup> Xiaobing Tang has discussed this use by Lu Xun of "an imaginary scene [. . .] anamnestic of a different and removed existence [. . .]"<sup>55</sup> The apparent modern-ness of Lu Xun's recollection is immanent in his use of slides. Lu Xun recount concentrates on photographic images meant to serve a pedagogical function. If it is accepted that Lu Xun's use of the slide is different from the use made by the lecturer who projected it, the slide must be first appropriated by the author in a possibly arbitrary fashion. Thus, Lu Xun bestows meaning on the slide and reprojects this altered slide on behalf of the reader, if you will, in a combinatorial fashion which is at once violent and pleasurable, violent for the way it is redepicts for the subject (or author) of the narrative, and pleasurable for the didactic (national) potential of the image, once appropriated as a critique for reform. This would seem to jibe with Lu Xun's subsequent promotion of the woodcut as a revolutionary technique, as well as a playfully self-effacing suggestion that educators use movies to teach.<sup>56</sup>

Lu Xun's pedagogical images, symbolic photographs appropriated as affective didactic signs, find parallel in the technique of montage in the film theory of Sergei Eisenstein: "If we regard cinema as a factor for exercising emotional influence over the masses [. . .] in our search for ways of building cinema up, we must make widespread use of the experience and the latest achievements in the sphere of those arts that set themselves similar tasks. The first of these is, of course, theatre, which is linked to cinema by a common (identical) *basic* material -- the *audience* -- and by a common purpose -- *influencing this audience in the desired direction* through a series of calculated pressures on its psyche."<sup>57</sup>

Eisenstein was concerned with film mostly as a didactic art of historical materialism, an art which would impart its message psychologically and, more tellingly, physiologically, as a result of the nature of film as spectacle: "I consider it superfluous to expatiate solely on the intelligence of this ('agit') kind of approach to cinema and theatre since it is obvious and well-founded from the standpoint both of social necessity (the class struggle) and of the very nature of these arts that deliver, because of their formal characteristics, a series of blows to the consciousness and emotions of the audience."<sup>58</sup> The shock of such violence resulting in pleasure or satisfaction: "Finally, only an ultimate aspiration of this sort can serve to justify diversions that give the audience *real* satisfaction (both physical and moral) as a result of *fictive* collaboration with what is being shown (through motor imitation of the action by those perceiving it and through psychological 'empathy')."<sup>59</sup>

Peter Bürger claims: "Montage presupposes the fragmentation of reality and describes the phase of the constitution of the work."<sup>60</sup> Although montage may be considered as the "basic technical procedure" of film, montage is perhaps better understood as the exemplary technique of modernist and avant-garde cultural production. This is clearly expressed by Eisenstein, who viewed montage, not solely as a immanent category of film technique, but as a combinatorial construction of shots preferable to certain theatrical effects.<sup>61</sup> The procedure of montage occurs at the moment when a split in signification is asserted as a symptom of the *indeterminacy* of modern life. This is not to say that signification becomes a problem for the first time during the modern period, but it could be said the recognition of the primacy of the signifier over the signified becomes prevalent at this time. Moreover, for the comparatist, a significant historical coincidence deserves mention; that is, the simultaneous figuration of the Chinese language in relation to the theory

of montage that occurred around the same moment Western and Chinese writers were turning to montage as a literary style. One of the most succinct linkages between film montage and the Chinese ideogram appears in Eisenstein's article "Beyond the Shot" (1929). Eisenstein actually wrote the article as a sort of admonishment to his "Japanese comrades": "[a]bout the cinema of a country that has an infinite multiplicity of cinematic characteristics but which are scattered all over the place-- with the sole exception of its cinema."<sup>62</sup>

Although tacitly an article on Japanese culture, Eisenstein's reasoning proceeds from a reading of "[. . .] the *hsiang-cheng*, the first *representational* category of hieroglyphs."<sup>63</sup> Thus, Eisenstein extrapolates from one of the etymological methods for the definition of Chinese characters as an analogy for montage: "[. . .] in which *material* ideogram set against *material* ideogram produces *transcendental* result (concept)."<sup>64</sup>

Eisenstein's discussion of the ideogram is perhaps best read as an analogy for montage as a technique that was meant to intensify the role of film as a technical art. In the case of that great comparatist Ezra Pound, the pictographic aspect of the Chinese ideogram would become the central concept behind what he referred to as the technique of the "ideogrammic method." Pound's "discovery" of the ideogrammic method began with his edition of an article by the American orientalist Ernest Fenollosa.<sup>65</sup> In my opinion, Fenollosa's text, filled as it is with interesting generalizations about the Chinese language, was an important start, but Pound doesn't seem to formulate his own theory explicitly until A B C of Reading (1934). Significantly, like Lu Xun's slide, Pound's ideogrammic method is founded upon scientific method, and Pound liked to use the example of biology: "The proper METHOD for studying poetry and good letters is the method of contemporary biologists, that is careful first-hand examination of the matter, and continual

COMPARISON of one 'slide' or specimen with another."<sup>66</sup> For Pound, the Chinese language is figural, it is a trope that represents an absolute origin for culture: "To go back to the beginning of history, you probably know there is a spoken and written language, and that there are two kinds of written language, one based on sound and the other on sight."<sup>67</sup> For Pound, the Chinese language is basically a bunch of pictures: "[. . .] the maximum of **phanopoeia** [throwing a visual image on the mind] is probably reached by the Chinese, due in part to their particular kind of written language."<sup>68</sup> Pound's understanding of the Chinese language aside, the most interesting aspect of his ideogrammic method is its obvious parallel to montage: "The ideogramic (sic) method consists of presenting one facet and then another until at some point one gets off the dead and desensitized surface of the reader's mind, onto a part that will register."<sup>69</sup> The idea could be a description of Cubism as well, and it's difficult to tell who was influencing whom: "[. . .] *montage is not an idea composed of successive shots stuck together but an idea that DERIVES from the collision between two shots that are independent of one another* (the 'dramatic principle')."<sup>70</sup>

Montage and the "ideogrammic method" are essentially techniques in which the author presents fragments as a pedagogical tool to "induce" a unified idea. And Freud's primal scene should be kept in mind, because Lu Xun, Eisenstein and Pound would seem to imply a use of montage as a form of induced trauma, an inscription of trauma through the production of images.<sup>71</sup> Paul Virilio notes the rise of cinema as a tool for state propaganda occurred in Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century: "But it is often forgotten today that, after the separation of Church and State in France, the fall of divine-right monarchies and empires all over Europe provided a unique historical opportunity for cinema in the early part of the twentieth century."<sup>72</sup> As Henri Lefebvre was fond of

repeating, around 1910 the world changed: " 'Reality' changes. Abstraction becomes palpable and the palpable becomes abstract. The 'real' loses its old familiar features: it falls into pieces like a jigsaw puzzle; it becomes simultaneously reified and derealized. *Signals*, those technological inventions of industrial society, invade the streets, work and leisure activities, everyday life [ . . . ] Signals help to depreciate the value of symbols, and to replace them [ . . . ] Photography, cinema, and advertising all help to proliferate the spread of images [ . . . ] modernity was born of these important changes, an apparent but as yet unexplained presence." <sup>73</sup> And it is precisely this "unexplained presence," as a series of problems, which cultural production presents itself as a solution (and oftentimes a *response*).

Montage appears most vividly at the moment the signified, history as a traumatic event, disrupts the signifier of language. Montage is presented first of all as a technicist trope within the ideology of scientism in which cultural production is turned into an analogue for scientific observation and naive causality. And perhaps as a result of this, montage will be employed as a tool in a spectacular pedagogy. Montage presents itself "clearly aware of the technological referent by which it is determined."<sup>74</sup> In Lu Xun's "Mr. Fujino" in particular, it is very difficult to separate the photograph as signifier from the photograph as a reproduction of reality. That is to say, implicit in Lu Xun's photographic image is the notion of the photograph as a scientific reproduction of reality. As Shu-mei Shih notes, for the May Fourth generation "[s]cience was a *cultural ideology* necessary for the enlightenment of the mind."<sup>75</sup> That is to say, science as scientism, in which montage is asserted as a type of cultural technicism.<sup>76</sup> As D. W. Y. Kwok notes: "[s]cientism in China must be seen as the efforts of the supporters of science to discredit their own

culture, and the destructiveness of their opinions on Chinese culture is an indication of the degree of their devotion to the scientific spirit. Yet since cultural discontinuity resulted, some Chinese thinkers, though perfectly committed to the new civilization, tried to find sanctions for science in the Chinese past."<sup>77</sup>

Lu Xun's affectionate recollection of his teacher was perhaps a reinscription of the Confucian teacher-student relationship. But it's important to note that Lu Xun's claim that he gave up medical studies to write because of a slide he had seen in Japan is also foregrounded by his claim that he had taken up medical studies because of the death of his father as a result of the poor medical practices in his own country.<sup>78</sup> As Xiaobing Tang notes: "Lu Xun's own writing about the illness and death of his father effectively turned the pained paternal body into a symbol of national suffering."<sup>79</sup> Indeed, I would argue that Lu Xun's Mr. Fujino may be read for a sort of paternal aura, because Lu Xun's regard for Mr. Fujino comes from a belief that his teacher's close guidance arose as a desire to pass on medical knowledge to China. Moreover, although Lu Xun is inspired to uphold an opposition to conventional morality because of his relationship to Mr. Fujino, his teacher is inscribed as a figure of authority, affectionately remembered by the anamnestic aid of a photograph on the wall in the author's study, a memento given to the student by his teacher at their parting.<sup>80</sup> Lu Xun's reprojected slide as "montage," is a technician trope reappropriated as national critique. And such a reappropriation is, inscribed within a traditional pedagogy of the teacher/student relationship, a reprojection of paternal authority.

As Xiaobing Tang notes, the image of the father in modern Chinese literature is significant: "In some fundamental modern Chinese narratives, such as Lu Xun's 'Diary of a Madman' and Ba Jin's *Family*, the absent or enfeebled father often embodies an

inexplicable failure that has both collective and personal pathogens. It is a symptomatic absence that reflects the bankruptcy of patriarchal authority, or the impossible condition of locating a father figure in one's biological father."<sup>81</sup> Lu Xun's use of "montage" alludes analogically to a notion of scientific observation, but much has been written in an attempt to link the writings of Liu Na'ou, Mu Shiying, Shi Zhecun and Ye Lingfeng to the technique of montage in cinema.<sup>82</sup> However, although Lu Xun's "Mr. Fujino" finds a surrogate father in the authority of the teacher, the Qing dynasty patriarch in Ye Lingfeng's "Luo Yan" discussed at the end of the last chapter, remains perverse: "Hurry, he isn't my father, he especially likes young men ..... I can't resist, he uses magic to control me, but I couldn't go through with it [ . . .]"<sup>83</sup> And, more importantly, the father is *counterfeit* as the outdated money in the story.

Jean-Joseph Goux notes "[r]elations to *language, paternity, the State, and the self* [ . . . ] converge in the *monetary* image."<sup>84</sup> For Goux, the theme of André Gide's Les Faux-Monnayeurs (The Counterfeiters) is a study of modern trauma as a crisis of representation resulting from the disappearance of gold currency in France and the circulation of paper money without gold backing in England around the First World War. At the same time, the disappearance of the gold standard resulted in a new role for "State regulation of the market and the inconvertible token" of money devoid of the gold standard.<sup>85</sup> For Goux, this "economism" finds an analogue in structuralist linguistics and literature in a "system of inconvertibility of signs." In Gide, this inconvertibility, this imaginary "*operative and autonomous signifier*" results in a form of literary representation that becomes the "*play* of a floating signifier."<sup>86</sup> The situation was rather unique in China, where the silver standard was retained when most countries shifted to



the gold standard in the 1870's.<sup>87</sup> However, from the second half of the nineteenth century, until attempts were made to reform the currency system in 1935 under Chiang Kai-shek's Republican government, currency in China included foreign and local silver, paper, and copper denominations. Foreign currency tended to dominate the market, moreover, the situation was complicated by local provincial governments within the country that produced their own silver and paper denominations. Such a chaotic situation leads one writer on money to suggest a "multiple standard."<sup>88</sup> Nevertheless, Goux's contentions constitute an important insight into modern literature, in particular the problem of "grounding" implicit in montage as a technician form: "From an historical standpoint, the conceptions of a floating or drifting signified (corresponding to the banker's logic of language) go hand in glove with their dialectical converse, those conceptions that plumb the depths of a spirit or soul in search of a new anchorage or repository for the circulation of signifiers that are now detached, floating."<sup>89</sup>

Goux's "gold language" represents a "crisis in representation" based on the loss of gold backing for money, and conventional signification in literature. But why should the *monetary image* represent a convergence of language, paternity, and the State? It might be more appropriate to regard money, language, paternity and the State as a signifying chain in which the occurrence of any one figure "sets-off" the other elements of the chain. For the Shanghai modernists, montage as a narrative and descriptive technique appears in contiguity to trauma. The male characters in the stories by the Shanghai modernists are consistently described as having undergone some sort of trauma, often referred to explicitly as shock (*ciji*) resulting in a type of neurasthenia or neurosis (*shenjing shuairuobing*).<sup>90</sup> And concomitant to this trauma is the inscription of a double or split

personality (erchong rengen).<sup>91</sup> For the Shanghai modernists, the fragmentation inherent in montage represents trauma as a primary split in the subject. And it is precisely this traumatic subject (as a signified) that initiates a rupture in signification at the level of the signifier. Indeterminacy in the signifier is inextricably linked to indeterminacy in the signified as historical events slide beneath signifiers as signs of rupture. While not reducible to one historical event, the supremacy of the signifier over the signified occurs as concomitant to the perception of history as a traumatic event.<sup>92</sup>

Such a binary, in Mu Shiying's case, has been linked to the "ideological shift" in Mu's writing around 1933, but which more accurately may be described as a split in themes, between the "proletarian" narratives of his first volume, North pole, South Pole, and his other writing.<sup>93</sup> Pak cites two stories that deserve attention in this regard: "Jiu zhai" (The Old House) and "Fuqin" (Father), noting that "Father" "appears strongly autobiographical."<sup>94</sup> Indeed, both stories are autobiographical, and must be read in tandem, because they represent a narration of two events as one historical moment.<sup>95</sup> Pak contends that "[t]he death of his father hit Mu hard, not only emotionally but also financially; as the eldest son, he now had to bear the whole family burden. He was used to being shielded financially by his father and to enjoying a comfortable lifestyle."<sup>96</sup> "The Old House" and "Father," narrate, in effect, a series of primal scenes, representations of a traumatic moment that splits into two separate and yet connected narratives. In "The Old House," the narrator recounts the loss of the family house as a result of unspecified financial losses by his father. In "Father," the narrator again refers to an unspecified financial loss, except this time the narrative recounts the effects of this loss in the death of his father.

In "The Old House" the narrator fondly remembers his family home where he lived on the top floor in a cream colored room. The narration represents a contrast, between the days when the house was filled with the noise of mahjong playing guests and the resultant emptiness after his father's financial losses. In a sense, the narrative is a reinscription in miniature of the eighteenth century novel The Story of the Stone and the downfall of the Jia family. And, like some modern Timon of Athens, the narrator's father bemoans the fact that, with the onset of his "illness," all his friends abandon him. At the end of "The Old House" the narrator and his father visit the family home, now owned by one of their former guests and, as they walk away, the father begins to cry and the narrator wipes away mucous dripping from his father's nose. The image of this gesture leads in to "Father" where, as the narrator walks up the path to his home, he feels an urge to wipe away the cobwebs on the doorbell. "The Old House" and "Father" are both joined in this gesture as a trope for illness, possibly tuberculosis, a bodily symptom induced by the financial losses incurred from an implied bankruptcy.<sup>97</sup>

Trauma for the narrator of "The Old House" and "Father" signals a "rupture" in symbolic production, a rupture that constitutes the realization of a "split" (clivage), an utter loss of confidence in the father figure.<sup>98</sup> Indeed, for the narrator, the situation is revealed through a complete disjunct between the father and a "non-father": "He did not resemble my father [. . .] He was merely a fallen, hopeless stranger."<sup>99</sup> But more importantly, linked through the gesture of wiping off his father's nose and the cobwebs on the doorbell, Mu implies a resemblance between the house and the father, a resemblance that reads well, as Paul de Man notes, as an example of prosopopoeia, the trope that "gives face to the faceless" and "undoes the distinction between reference and

signification on which all semiotic systems [. . .] depend."<sup>100</sup> Indeed, language, paternity, State and money do converge in these two stories, but they converge in an image of property. And it is a loss of property linked to a fundamental lack in the relationship between the narrator and his father. When he expresses the desire to attend a farewell dinner at the end of the school year instead of staying at his ill father's bedside, the narrator evidences a lack of filial respect (xiaojing). Thus, for the first time, the father reprimands his son "as if he was reprimanding a thief," and his son runs up to his room and throw himself on the bed, only to be joined by his mother who will sit crying and smoking cigarettes beside him. This "absurd" (huaji) scene is so traumatically inscribed in the narrator's nervous system that "every nerve tissue tightened" and he must force back a smile.<sup>101</sup> But the narrator's lack of respect must be read as an aspect of a disjunct in signification resulting from financial losses that lead to a concomitant loss of property and patriarchal authority, a rupture in patrilinear "inheritance."<sup>102</sup>

Finally, the familial tragedy narrated in both stories is clearly allegorized within a national context. The narrator is sixteen years old when his family is forced to move in "The Old House," a year that also corresponds to the sixteenth year of the Republic of China. Therefore, although Mu Shiyong's story is autobiographical, he clearly projects these traumatic events of a personal history onto the history of modern China. By citing the sixteenth year of the Republic, Mu Shiyong's allegorizes the personal onto the national, and the narrator becomes a child of the Republic of China that began in 1911. Thus, the narrator's sixteenth year would be 1927, a chronological marker that remains unspecified in the narrative except to bemoan the plight of the father, a "Chinese businessman [. . .] born in a society of hoodlums."<sup>103</sup> Nevertheless, although the narrative

remains allusive, 1927 marks the first year of the so-called Nanjing decade, the year which also signalled a push towards the nationalization of the economy under the Guomindang, and a new relationship between the government and the urban bourgeoisie.<sup>104</sup>

Mu's chronological marking could be read in the context of Chinese classical poetical exegesis where, as Pauline Yu notes: "[. . .] a poem is generally read as a literal comment on an actual historical situation, and the task of the commentator is to explain what particular stimulus produced that response-- to reconstruct the context of the poem."<sup>105</sup> Nevertheless, such a "conviction of historicity" still remains "fictive," and can only be read as a vague allusion to historical events.<sup>106</sup> Taken together, Mu's "The Old House" and "Father" stories represent a disjunct in signification in which the father splits into a signifier for the father and the house (property), while at the same time, it could also be said that house, as a signifier, splits into the house and the father (figure).

Indeed, it was Shen Congwen who inadvertently noted this problem in Mu Shiying when he described Mu's writing as "counterfeit art," "works [that] distance us from life by adding another layer."<sup>107</sup> Shi Zhecun also recalled such a traumatic split when he discussed Mu's poor written Chinese. According to Shi, until 1932, Mu Shiying couldn't distinguish between the characters "kao [and] bi," often writing "xianbi" (deceased mother) when he wanted to write "xiankao" (deceased father).<sup>108</sup> Shi's offhanded reference is nothing less than an indication of trauma at work at the level of the signifier, creating a split where none existed before. And it is the "allegorical signified" of a chronological event, an historical moment that erupts within signification to create such a split in the signifier. A split which opens up language *as* the technique of montage.

The "fragmentation of reality" implicit in montage is first of all a fragmentation of the signifier.<sup>109</sup> Recall that Eisenstein's notion of montage presupposes a "unifying principle," so that a new concept is formed from a juxtapositional combination. But such a presumption is just as easily reversed, so that juxtaposition remains juxtaposition, the "portmanteau" word remains split.<sup>110</sup> The signified of historical trauma signals a rupture in the unifying principle of signification, a "force that disrupts the equilibrium of the dominant fiction."<sup>111</sup> For the Shanghai modernists, *literary* montage is first of all marked by a split in the signifier, in which the "experience of *reality as representation*,"<sup>112</sup> retains a split into "representation A and representation B."<sup>113</sup> Moreover, as Eisenstein was aware, montage is a stunt or trick "[i]n so far as the trick is absolute and complete *within itself*."<sup>114</sup> Montage is a trace of the great stylistic trick of the modern period. For the Shanghai modernists, montage was *the* international style, a stylistic diversion as a form of ironic critique that evidences itself in intertextual hybridity, which is the topic of my next chapter.

---

<sup>1</sup> See, Ye Lingfeng, "Luo Yan," in Ye Lingfeng xiaoshuo quanbian (The Complete Novels of Ye Lingfeng), eds. Jia Zhifang et al (Shanghai: Xuelin, 1998) 23- 33; 32.

<sup>2</sup> Shi Zhecun "Ming" (Name) in Shi Zhecun sanwenji (Collected Essays of Shi Zhecun) ed. Ying Guojing (Tianjin: Baihuawenyi, 1994) 55- 58; 55. The phrase "name is but an accessory of reality" occurs in Zhuangzi, chapter 1. I've used the translation from Wm. Theodore de Bary et al, comp., Sources of the Chinese Tradition, vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960) 66.

<sup>3</sup> See, Fredric Jameson "Third-World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism" in Social Text 15 (Fall 1986) 65-88.

<sup>4</sup> See, Aijaz Ahmad "Jameson's Rhetoric of Otherness and the 'National Allegory'" in Social Text 17 (Fall 1987) 3-25.

<sup>5</sup> See Lydia H. Liu, Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity-- China, 1900-1937 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995) 186.

<sup>6</sup> See, Fredric Jameson "Third-World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism" 65.

<sup>7</sup> See, Fredric Jameson "Third-World Literature" 67.

<sup>8</sup> See, Fredric Jameson "Third-World Literature" 74.

<sup>9</sup> That being said, isn't there something "old world" about this comparison between First and Third World intellectuals? Something of the philosopher learning from the savages, or, in the case of Lu Xun, the discovery of an "intellectual" utopia amongst the cannibals?

<sup>10</sup> See "Du Ah Q Zhengzhuan zaji" ("Notes on The True Story of Ah Q") in Lu Xun yanjiu (Lu Xun Research) 4 (1983) 7-23; in particular the final section of this article 16-23. See also, Lin Yü-sheng, The Crisis of Chinese Consciousness: Radical Antitraditionalism in the May Fourth Era (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1979) 130-135. Leo Ou-fan Lee also discusses this allegorical reading in Voices from the Iron House: a Study of Lu Xun (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987) 213, note 13. Such a social-historical reading may be partly attributable to what Lee disparagingly refers to as a "Marxist" reading of "social types"(60).

<sup>11</sup> The fake foreign devil, Ah Q's "queue-less" adversary, is an example of a type of national allegorical marking. The radicalism of the May Fourth intellectuals was their willingness to borrow ideologies from foreign cultures in order to form a critique of Chinese culture. This was the significance of Lu Xun's "nalai zhuyi" ("grabbism") which, far from being a simplistic embracing of foreign culture, must be read as a very selective form of political appropriation. Lydia Liu critiques the historical problematic of the "nalai zhuyi" concept in "Translingual Practice: The Discourse of Individualism between China and the West," in positions 1.1 (Spring 1993) 189, note 8.

<sup>12</sup> See, Fredric Jameson, Fables of Aggression: Wyndham Lewis, the Modernist as Fascist (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979) 90.

<sup>13</sup> See, Fredric Jameson, Fables of Aggression: Wyndham Lewis, the Modernist as Fascist 90.

<sup>14</sup> See, Fredric Jameson, Fables of Aggression: Wyndham Lewis, the Modernist as Fascist 90.

<sup>15</sup> See, Fredric Jameson, Fables of Aggression 91.

<sup>16</sup> See, Fredric Jameson, Fables of Aggression 91.

<sup>17</sup> See, Fredric Jameson, Fables of Aggression 94.

<sup>18</sup> See, Fredric Jameson, Fables of Aggression 94

<sup>19</sup> See, Fredric Jameson, Fables of Aggression 93.

<sup>20</sup> I would contend Jameson's description of national allegory as "outmoded" was contradicted, certainly at the time his article was published in the 1980s, by the appearance of so-called cyberpunk science fiction, a genre which was (and, to a certain extent, still is) essentially *national allegorical*, particularly with its fetishization of the high-technology and underworld cultures of the United States, Japan, Russia, China, etc.

<sup>21</sup> See, Leo Lee, Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930-1945. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999) 181-182.

<sup>22</sup> See, Shi Zhecun, "Zhendan ernian" (Two years at Aurora), in Shashang de Jiaojii (Footprints in the Sand) (Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 1995) 2- 11.

<sup>23</sup> See, Xiaobing Tang, "Trauma and Passion in *The Sea of Regret: The Ambiguous Beginnings of Modern Chinese Literature*," in Chinese Modern, the Heroic and the Quotidian (Durham: Duke University press, 2000) 11- 48.

<sup>24</sup> See, Xiaobing Tang, Chinese Modern, the Heroic and the Quotidian 33.

- <sup>25</sup> See, Xiaobing Tang, Chinese Modern, the Heroic and the Quotidian 34.
- <sup>26</sup> See, Xiaobing Tang, Chinese Modern, the Heroic and the Quotidian 35.
- <sup>27</sup> See, Xiaobing Tang, Chinese Modern, the Heroic and the Quotidian 35.
- <sup>28</sup> See, Xiaobing Tang, Chinese Modern, the Heroic and the Quotidian 35. Tang cites a passage from the novel, see, Wu Jianru, The Sea of Regret: Two Turn-of-the-Century Chinese Romantic Novels, trans. Patrick Hanan (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1995) 121- 122.
- <sup>29</sup> See, Sigmund Freud, "From the History of an Infantile Neurosis," in The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, vol. 17. Ed. James Strachey et al (London: The Hogarth Press, 1968) 3- 123. According to the editors, this is the earliest published use of the term, see, 39, note 1.
- <sup>30</sup> See, Sigmund Freud, "From the History of an Infantile Neurosis" 7.
- <sup>31</sup> See, Sigmund Freud, "From the History of an Infantile Neurosis" 51; 57.
- <sup>32</sup> See, Sigmund Freud, "From the History of an Infantile Neurosis" 104.
- <sup>33</sup> See, Sigmund Freud, "From the History of an Infantile Neurosis" 20. Freud had already hinted at this question of national representation in the scene of a dream of Leonardo Da Vinci. See, "Leonardo da Vinci," in The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, vol. XI. Ed. James Strachey et al (London: The Hogarth Press, 1968) 59- 137; 84.
- <sup>34</sup> See, Sigmund Freud, See, Sigmund Freud, "From the History of an Infantile Neurosis" 74, note 1.
- <sup>35</sup> "The word '*empfangen*' in the German means both 'received' and 'conceived.'" (Freud 82, note 1).
- <sup>36</sup> See, Sigmund Freud, "From the History of an Infantile Neurosis" 89- 90.
- <sup>37</sup> See, Sigmund Freud, "From the History of an Infantile Neurosis" 94.
- <sup>38</sup> "Anchoring point" is a phrase used by Lacan in another context. See, Jacques Lacan, "The agency of the letter in the unconscious or reason since Freud," in Écrits: A Selection trans., Alan Sheridan (New York: W. W. Norton, 1977) 146- 175; 154.
- <sup>39</sup> An historic event, it should be noted, Freud reads as a possible "consolation of his recovery." Interestingly, the Wolf Man would continue being a subject of psychoanalytic scrutiny even after the Second World War. See, Freud, "From the History of an Infantile Neurosis" 121- 122.
- <sup>40</sup> In other words, it wasn't just because of a person named Saussure circa 1910. See, Jacques Lacan, "The agency of the letter in the unconscious or reason since Freud" 149.
- <sup>41</sup> See, Jacques Lacan, "Function and field of speech and language in psychoanalysis," in Écrits: A Selection, trans., Alan Sheridan (New York: W. W. Norton, 1977) 30- 113; 48. Jacques Derrida notes this case within the context of deferral and "temporalization." See, Jacques Derrida, "Freud and the Scene of Writing," in Writing and Difference, trans., Alan Bass (London: Routledge, Kegan and Paul, 1985) 196- 231; 214- 215. Deleuze and Guattari, in comic theoretical fashion, come to the defense of wolves. See, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, A Thousand Plateaus : Capitalism and Schizophrenia, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis : University of Minnesota Press, 1987) 26- 38.
- <sup>42</sup> See, Lacan, "Function and field of speech and language in psychoanalysis": "In any case, one has only to go back to the works of Freud to realize to what a secondary and hypothetical place he rellegates the theory of instincts. The theory cannot in his eyes stand



for a single instant against the least important particular fact of a history, he insists, and the *genital narcissism* he invokes when summing up the case of the Wolf Man shows us well enough the disdain in which he holds the constituted order of the libidinal stages [ . . . ]" (54- 55). I would suggest Freud held the "constituted order of the libidinal stages" in as much disdain as Lacan held the mirror stage.

<sup>43</sup> Peter Dews discusses this problem in Freud in The Logics of Disintegration: Post-structuralist Thought and the Claims of Critical Theory (London: Verso, 1988) 45- 49. And, with regard to Lacan: 49- 52.

<sup>44</sup> Theodor W. Adorno, Philosophy of Modern Music, trans. Ann G. Mitchell and Wesley V. Blomster (New York: Seabury press, 1973) 144.

<sup>45</sup> See, Jameson, Fables of Aggression 40.

<sup>46</sup> See, Jameson 72. See Julia Kristeva, Des Chinoises (Paris: Ed. des Femmes, 1974) 61.

<sup>47</sup> Citing Johannes Fabian, Rey Chow discusses the problem of "coevalness" and "allochronism." See, Rey Chow, Woman and Chinese Modernity: the Politics of Reading between East and West (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1991) 30 -33. Also, see Chow's critique of Kristeva 5- 9.

<sup>48</sup> Shih discusses this question in Hegel, Weber, and Marx. See, Shu-mei Shih, The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in Semicolonial China, 1917- 1937 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001) 349.

<sup>49</sup> See, Lee, Shanghai Modern 147.

<sup>50</sup> Rey Chow discusses an aspect of the study of China as "area studies" in Woman and Chinese Modernity 31.

<sup>51</sup> See, Lu Xun, "Zixu," (Author's Preface) in The Complete Works of Lu Xun (Lu Xun quanji) vol. 1 (Beijing: Renmin, 1995) 416.

<sup>52</sup> See, Lu Xun, "Tengye xiansheng" (Mr. Fujino) in The Complete Works of Lu Xun (Lu Xun quanji) vol. 2: 302- 309. My translations.

<sup>53</sup> See, Lydia H. Liu, Translingual Practice 61.

<sup>54</sup> "[. . .] these scenes from infancy are not reproduced during the treatment as recollections, they are the products of construction." See, Freud "From the History of an Infantile Neurosis" 50- 51. Liu refers to the question of the existence of the slide and reproduces a photo published by Ota Susumu in 1983. See, Liu Translingual Practice 62.

<sup>55</sup> See, Xiaobing Tang, The Heroic and the Quotidian 83, where he discusses a childhood scene created by Lu Xun in "Guxiang" (My Native Land).

<sup>56</sup> See, Lu Xun, " 'Lianhuanhua' de bianhu " (In Defense of 'Comic Books') in Lu Xun, The Complete Works of Lu Xun, vol. 4, 445- 450. In "Mr. Fujino" the term used by Lu Xun for "slide" is "dianying," the word used in modern Chinese for film or movie. Indeed, this was not Lu Xun's only use of "cinematic spectacle" in his fiction. As Patrick Hanan noted, Lu Xun used the same strategy in "Shizhong" (Public Spectacle), a story describing, significantly, the public display of a criminal. For Hanan: "[i]t is the camera's detachment which constitutes irony." See, Hanan, Patrick. "The Technique of Lu Hsün's Fiction." Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 34 (1974) 53- 96. Hanan also seems to allude indirectly to the incident I've discussed above.

<sup>57</sup> See, Sergei Eisenstein, "The Montage of Film Attractions" in The Eisenstein Reader, trans. Richard Taylor and William Powell (London: British Film Institute, 1998) 35- 52; 35.

<sup>58</sup> See, Sergei Eisenstein, "The Montage of Film Attractions" 35.

<sup>59</sup> See, Sergei Eisenstein, "The Montage of Film Attractions" 35.

<sup>60</sup> See, Peter Burger, Theory of the Avant-Garde, trans. Michael Shaw (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984) 73.

<sup>61</sup> Eisenstein discusses montage as an alternative to "a purely theatrical method of sketching character through action" in "The Montage of Film Attractions" 37. Christian Metz dates the height of the "montage or bust" (*montag roi*) period from 1925- 30. See, Christian Metz, "The Cinema: Language or Language System?" in Film Language: A Semiotics of the Cinema, trans., Michael Taylor (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974) 31- 91; 38.

<sup>62</sup> See, Sergei Eisenstein, "Beyond the Shot," in The Eisenstein Reader 82- 92; 82.

<sup>63</sup> See, Sergei Eisenstein, "Beyond the Shot" 82.

<sup>64</sup> See, Sergei Eisenstein, "The Dramaturgy of Film Form (the Dialectical Approach to Film Form)" in The Eisenstein Reader 93- 110; 96.

<sup>65</sup> See, Ernest Fenollosa, The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry, ed. Ezra Pound (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1969).

<sup>66</sup> See, Ezra Pound, A B C of Reading (New York: New Directions, 1960) 17.

<sup>67</sup> See, Ezra Pound, A B C of Reading 20.

<sup>68</sup> See, Ezra Pound, A B C of Reading 42. Pound's understanding of Chinese has often been, if not ridiculed, practically ignored, but both Eisenstein and Pound were merely promoting one aspect of Chinese etymology that Lu Xun considered important enough to discuss in an article on the *xiangxing*, or pictographic aspect of ideograms, which in no way exhausts the semantic associations of Chinese. Lu Xun is actually concerned with many aspects of written Chinese in this article, especially the difficulty in learning the more complex characters. See, Lu Xun, "Menwai wentan" (A Layman's Discussion of Language), in The Complete Works of Lu Xun, vol. 6: 84- 110. And for a translation see, Lu Xun, "Sur le seuil: propos d'un profane sur l'écriture," in Sur la langue et l'écriture chinoises, trans. Michelle Loi (Paris: Aubier-Montaigne, 1979) 29- 91. Lu Xun's article was published in 1934.

<sup>69</sup> Ezra Pound, Guide to Kulchur (New York: New Directions, 1970) 51.

<sup>70</sup> See, Sergei Eisenstein, "The Dramaturgy of Film Form" 95.

<sup>71</sup> Interestingly, Lacan advances a notion of a "sort" of montage as an analogy for the "drive": "Let me say that if there is anything resembling a drive it is a *montage*." See, Jacques Lacan, The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-analysis, trans., Alan Sheridan (New York: W. W. Norton, 1978) 169.

<sup>72</sup> See, Paul Virilio, War and Cinema: the Logistics of Perception, trans. Patrick Camiller (London: Verso, 1989) 28. Indeed, such a chronological marking coincides with the fall of the Qing Dynasty and the founding of the Republic in 1911 in China, which should be understood as evidence, not merely for the cultural specificity of an "area studies," but for Chinese history as one aspect of world history.

<sup>73</sup> See, Henri Lefebvre, Introduction to Modernity: Twelve Preludes, September 1959- May 1961, trans. John Moore (London: Verso, 1995) 180- 181.

<sup>74</sup> See, Henri Lefebvre, Introduction to Modernity 181.

<sup>75</sup> See, Shu-mei Shih, The Lure of the Modern 85.

<sup>76</sup> See, Shu-mei Shih, The Lure of the Modern 85. However, my point is also to draw

attention to comparative historical problems of "May Fourth thinking," discussions of which often seem to neglect aspects of the modern period in which such an ideology was certainly not limited to China.

<sup>77</sup> See, D. W. Y. Kwok, Scientism in Chinese Thought: 1900- 1950 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965) 47.

<sup>78</sup> See, Lu Xun, "Zixu," (Author's Preface) in The Complete Works of Lu Xun (Lu Xun quanji) vol. 1 (Beijing: Renmin, 1995) 416.

<sup>79</sup> See, Xiaobing Tang, Chinese Modern 81.

<sup>80</sup> In the conclusion to "Mr. Fujino," Lu Xun tells us that, although he had lost the notes carefully corrected by Mr. Fujino, he still had a photograph of his teacher given to him by the teacher at their parting, which Lu Xun kept on a wall of his study. Whenever he was tired and wished to rest (to stop writing), Lu Xun would up at the picture to "[. . .] suddenly find the conscience and nerve [. . .] to continue writing words the 'upright gentleman' type hates with a profound bitterness" (Mr. Fujino 308).

<sup>81</sup> See, Xiaobing Tang, Chinese Modern 81. Tang also discusses the trope of tuberculosis in Ba Jin's Cold Nights 131- 160.

<sup>82</sup> Besides the passages I've already discussed by Yan Jiayan, Leo Lee does this in his discussion of the importance of cinema in Shanghai in Shanghai Modern 82- 119. See, Li Jin, "Xin ganjuepai he ersanshi niandai haolaiwu dianying " (The New Sensation School and 20s and 30s Hollywood film) in Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yanjiu (Modern Chinese Literature Research) 3 (1997) 32-56, where she discusses the relationship between the writings on film by Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiyong and film montage, particularly with reference to Hollywood films. Shu-mei Shih notes Ye Lingfeng's use of the "technical language of a screenplay" in The Lure of the Modern 269, and montage in Mu 324- 227. Yinjin Zhang discusses Ye Lingfeng's novel Shidai guniang (A Young Woman of the Age) within Laura Mulvey's notion of the cinema spectator, the "male gaze," in Yingjin Zhang, The City in Modern Chinese Literature and Film 215- 217. Shi Zhecun cites montage amongst several new types of creative techniques he used including psychoanalysis and stream-of-consciousness, in "Introduction," Shi Zhecun (Zhongguo xiandai zuojia xuanji) (Shi Zhecun (Selections of Modern Chinese Writers) Ed. Ying Guojing (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing (H.K.), 1988) 2.

<sup>83</sup> See, Ye Lingfeng, "Luo Yan" 32. My discussion here of "Mr. Fujino" should be understood as only one example in Lu Xun of the question of paternity which, as I indicated above, probably had autobiographical resonances. "Ah Q" it should be recalled stands as an incredibly carnivalized example of Lu Xun's negotiations with paternity in a national allegorical context. Yan Jiayan discusses the importance of paternity in "Du Ah Q Zhengzhuang zaji" ("Notes on The True Story of Ah Q") in Lu Xun yanjiu (Lu Xun Research) 4 (1983) 7-23.

<sup>84</sup> See, Jean-Joseph Goux, The Coiners of Language, trans. Jennifer Curtiss Gage (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994) 49. With changes. See, Jean-Joseph Goux, Les monnayeurs du langage (Paris: Éditions Galilée, 1984) 73.

<sup>85</sup> See, Jean-Joseph Goux, The Coiners of Language, trans. Jennifer Curtiss Gage (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994) 19- 21.

<sup>86</sup> See, Jean-Joseph Goux, The Coiners of Language 18- 19.

<sup>87</sup> So that even Goux's gold standard was a rather recent phenomenon in early twentieth

century France.

<sup>88</sup> See, Wang Yejian, Zhingguo jindai huobi yu yinhang de yanjin (1644- 1937) (The Development of Currency and Banking in Modern China(1644- 1937)) (Taipei: Institute of Economics, Academia Sinica, 1981) 37- 63. Wang uses the English term "multiple standard" 37. Also, see Qian Jiaju and Gou Yangang, Zhongguo huobi fazhan jianshi he biaojie (A Short History and Diagrammatic Introduction to the Development of Money in China) (Beijing: Renmin, 1982) 42- 54. Qian and Gou offer a breakdown of the different denominations in a diagram on page 99.

<sup>89</sup> See, Jean-Joseph Goux, The Coiners of Language 163.

<sup>90</sup> Shu-mei Shih describes this in Shi Zhecun as a form of "emasculatation" under capitalism. See, Shih, The Lure of the Modern: 351- 354. However, the male characters in Liu Na'ou, Mu Shiyong, Ye Lingfeng and Shi Zhecun are often marked explicitly by forms of neurosis. A marking which is at times quite self-consciously ironic. In Du Heng such a traumatic marking is less explicit. The term neurasthenia was used by Freud in his early writings, and would probably be replaced by "neuroses." See, "Neurasthénie," in Jean Laplanche and J.-B. Pontalis, Vocabulaire de la Psychoanalyse (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1988).

<sup>91</sup> I will discuss this notion of a "split personality" in greater detail in the next chapter.

<sup>92</sup> Lacan notes the importance of "turning points" in the history of the "subject": "What we teach the subject recognize as his unconscious is his history-- that is to say, we help him to perfect the present historicization of the facts that have already determined a certain number of the historical 'turning points' in his existence." See, Jacques Lacan, "Function and field of speech and language in psychoanalysis" 52.

<sup>93</sup> I mention this in the introduction to the present thesis where I cite Yan Jiayan, Several Schools of the Chinese Modern Novel (Beijing: Renmin wenzue, 1985) 138, and Anthony Wan-hoi Pak, "The School of New Sensibilities (Xin ganjuepai) in the 1930s: a Study of Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiyong's Fiction," diss., University of Toronto, 1995, 64- 69.

<sup>94</sup> Pak, "The School of New Sensibilities" 69. Pak also mentions "Bairi" (The Hundredth Day). According to Pak, all three stories were written in 1933, see 69, note 65. Pak's contention that Mu's "Xin'ganjue and 'popularized' " styles are "not mutually exclusive" are well-warranted, see, 69, note 66.

<sup>95</sup> The stories were published back to back, first "Fuqin" (Father) followed by "Jiu zhai" (The Old House), in "Baijin de nüti suxiang" (The Platinum Statue of a Woman) (1934; Shanghai shuju, 1988). 20- 50; 51- 77. My readings are informed by the order in The Complete Works, where "Jiu zhai" (The Old House) is placed before "Fuqin" (Father). See, Jia Zhifang et al. (ed.), Mu Shiyong xiaoshuo quanbian (The Complete Novels of Mu Shiyong) (Shanghai: Xuelin, 1998) 370- 384; 385- 400.

<sup>96</sup> Anthony Wan-hoi Pak, "The School of New Sensibilities" 68- 69.

<sup>97</sup> Xiaobing Tang discusses the trope of tuberculosis in Ba Jin's Cold Nights. See, Xiaobing Tang, Chinese Modern 131- 160.

<sup>98</sup> See, Jean-Joseph Goux, The Coiners of Language 45. With changes. See, Jean-Joseph Goux, Les monnayeurs du langage 66- 67.

<sup>99</sup> Mu Shiyong, "The Old House" 375.

<sup>100</sup> See, Paul de Man, "Hypogram and Inscription," in The Resistance to Theory (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1986) 27- 53; 49- 50.

<sup>101</sup> Mu Shiying, "Father" 391- 394.

<sup>102</sup> My use of the word "inheritance" is problematic. My point is that the narrator would have "inherited" a certain "authority" related to a patriarchal continuum in which he inherits, as Pak put it, the "burden" of familial responsibility. This is evident in "The Old House" in which the father projects his golden dream of the future "onto the body" of the narrator, his oldest son (Old House 372; 374).

<sup>103</sup> See, Mu Shiying, "Father" 396.

<sup>104</sup> Marie Claire Bergère describes this period as a type of State bureaucratization of the economy. According to Bergère, the period represented a new relationship between the urban bourgeoisie and the Guomindang party in which the party sought to create a type of State capitalism. See, Marie-Claire Bergere, L'age d'or de la bourgeoisie chinoise (Paris: Flammarion: 1986) 276- 297. Lloyd Eastman claims the Nanjing government went to the Shanghai business community for loans to support the military. According to Eastman, the Nanjing government to contribute a 30 million yuan loan but "[w]hen businessmen refused to meet these and subsequent demands for loans and contributions, the revolutionary regime resorted to blackmail and kidnapping [ . . .]" Eastman cites two kidnappings of the sons of businessmen in Shanghai. See, Lloyd E. Eastman, The Abortive Revolution, China Under Nationalist Rule, 1927- 1937 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University press, 1974) 228- 229. However, Eastman and Bergère claim the banks actually benefitted from their relationship with the government. See, Bergère 285- 288; and Eastman 231- 233.

<sup>105</sup> See, Pauline Yu, "Alienation Effects: Comparative Literature and the Chinese Tradition," in The Comparative Perspective on Literature: Approaches to Theory and Practice, ed. Clayton Koelb and Susan Noakes (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988) 162- 175; 172.

<sup>106</sup> See, Pauline Yu "Alienation Effects: Comparative Literature and the Chinese Tradition" 172. Yu's contentions concerning the "conviction of historicity" in the "affective-expressive" tradition in Chinese poetics (Yu 169) are made as a contrast to the Western "mimetic" and "fictive"(168) tradition, a point I will take up in the next chapter.

<sup>107</sup> See, Shen Congwen, "Lun Mu Shiying" (Discussing Mu Shiying) in Shen Congwen wenji (Collected Works of Shen Congwen) ol. 11 (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing, 1985) 203-205.

<sup>108</sup> That the "psychoanalytical" Shi would note such a confusion is, I contend, not insignificant. Shi Zhecun, "Women jingyingguo sange shudian" (We Managed Three Bookstores), in Shashang de Jiaoji (Footprints in the Sand) (Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 1995) 12- 25; 22.

<sup>109</sup> See, Peter Bürger, Theory of the Avant-Garde, trans. Michael Shaw (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984) 73.

<sup>110</sup> See, Sergei M. Eisenstein, "Word and Image," in The Film Sense, trans. Jay Leyda (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1947) 3- 69. Eisenstein discusses the "unifying principle" that creates a new concept from juxtaposition 10- 11, and montage as the "portmanteau" word 5- 8.

<sup>111</sup> See, Kaja Silverman, "Historical Trauma and Male Subjectivity," in Psychoanalysis and Cinema, ed., E. Ann Kaplan (New York: Routledge, 1990) 110- 127; 118.

<sup>112</sup> See Rosalind Krauss, "The Photographic Conditions of Surrealism" in October 19

---

(Winter 1981): 3- 34; 34.

<sup>113</sup> See, Sergei M. Eisenstein, "Word and Image" 11.

<sup>114</sup> See, Sergei Eisenstein, "The Montage of Attractions" in The Eisenstein Reader 29- 34.

## Chapter 4: Refiguration, Hybridization, and Time

### Notes on "Realism" and "Modernism"

This chapter is a discussion of questions of realism and modernism in modern Chinese literature. The first part of the chapter is a comparative, intertextual reading of Mu Shiying's "Shanghai Foxtrot" and Mao Dun's Midnight. Through a reading of "mimetic" and "expressive" notions of realism in Chinese literature, I problematize the concept of realism as a form of mimesis, within Laszlo K. Géfin's contentions of textual refiguration. Within the context of Bakhtin's "hybridization" and Gregory Lee's "hybridity," I read fiction by the Shanghai modernists as examples of a double plot, double irony and cultural hybridity. I contend that the *zhiguai* represented a significant mediating genre for the fiction of the Shanghai modernists. Moreover, through intertextual refigurations, that included allusions to Chinese and Western literature and culture, such a hybridity belies a duosemic view of culture, which is inscribed finally in a particular view of male psychology.

Heinrich Fruehauf has discussed the manner in which the *zhiguai* genre makes its reappearance in modern Chinese literature. For Fruehauf, the *zhiguai* are what he calls "artistic exotica" that may be traced back to the Eastern Jin period (317- 420). But the modern analogues are to be found within a considerably altered context. According to Fruehauf: "[t]he evolution of an 'exoticist' consciousness [. . .] that elevates the exotic image from its traditional function of narrative ornamentation to the pivot of artistic motivation is a recent phenomenon."<sup>1</sup> Li Jin notes a specific use of *zhiguai* tropes in her discussion of Liu Na'ou, in particular the way in which the city and its architecture is personified, so to speak,

as a monster or hungry ghost that eats its inhabitants.<sup>2</sup> On one level, this use of "exotic" or "strange" tropes recalls what the Russian formalists once referred to as a "making strange" or "defamiliarization" in literature. Shen Congwen commented on the use of colours in what he refers to as the "New Sensation School" in a passage in the second to last chapter of an unfinished novel Fengzi, most of which was, according to the author, written in 1932.

Everything, everything, all like a moving New Sensation School colour painting composed of innumerable tiny points, innumerable long strokes, collected, synthesized, and brought to completion. So complex, so dazzling, and at the same time, still harmoniously unified, unimaginably.<sup>3</sup>

I read this passage for several reasons. Shen seems to have put his finger upon an aspect of so-called New Sensation writing which Yan Jiayan notes when he discusses the rich use of colours in the "sensations and hallucinations" in a number of passages from Mu Shiying, an aspect he claims as evidence of a "distinguishing characteristic" (tedian) of New Sensation writing.<sup>4</sup> Shen would seem to be in agreement with such a characterization. However, his analogy of "a moving New Sensation School colour painting (yi fu xin ganjuepai de dongren caise tuhua)" may be better read as an indirect critique of a particular form of writing. The painting is, after all, "composed of innumerable tiny points, innumerable long strokes" which are "*collected, synthesized, and brought to completion. So complex, so dazzling, and at the same time, still harmoniously unified* [ . . . ](italics mine)." Shen's analogy could be read as making a case for representation as made up of fragments ("innumerable tiny points, innumerable long strokes [ . . . ] So complex, so dazzling") that are "collected, synthesized (juji zonghe)" and "harmoniously unified (hexie yizhi)." Furthermore, Shen's mention of New Sensation School writing in this passage is ironic because it occurs within a description of an



indigenous market (shiji) in the interior of China in West Hunan province. Shen seems to make reference to New Sensation writing because it too represents a certain miscellaneity similar to the type he portrays in this rural market in Fengzi: "[. . .] many different colours and kinds of goods may be seen here, as well as all colours and kinds of persons may be encountered [. . .]"<sup>5</sup> Thus, for Shen, such an analogy represents a critical *contrast* between two types of literary depiction and, by implication, two types of actuality. The New Sensation "painting" represents representation (i.e., the "painting" is a representation for writing) and is by its nature artificial: a fragment *claiming* reality. On the other hand, Shen's description of the market in West Hunan is "grounded" in the reality of locale, because it is a description of a traditional rural market in the interior, a market which occurs at specific intervals throughout the month (in this case, every sixth day). Shen's analogy for a work of art is not merely an analogy for a work of art *per se*; rather, the notions of a work of art as "collected, synthesized" and "harmoniously unified" implicitly anchor the colorful miscellaneity of the rural market to the actuality of the rural calendar.<sup>6</sup>

Also, when Shen places "New Sensation School" writing in contiguity to a rural market, he may be expressing a further implication: the New Sensation School, as a metonym for *haipai* production, is juxtaposed with the rural market, and this periodic market is claimed as a lived alternative to Shanghai, urban site of a *permanent* market. Leo Lee's notion of a shock to traditional Chinese thinking, "[. . .] from ancient cyclical time to modern Westernized time moving directly forward [. . .]" demands qualification in this regard. Shu Mei-shih's "modernity without rupture," what she refers to as a "repudiated linear temporality" in her discussion of the New Confucianists and Zhou Zuoren's

valorization of "continuity and repetition" are no less problematic.<sup>7</sup> The question of "cyclical" versus "linear" time is considerably more complex than that binary implies. In an earlier article, Leo Lee makes an interesting contrast between Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiyong, two "decadents," and Mao Dun: "If Liu and Mu, lesser known because of their 'decadence,' sang unstinting panegyrics of this modern style of urban life [. . .] the avowed Marxist Mao Dun harboured deep-seated ambivalence in his masterful novel Midnight: Shanghai in 1930 (the setting of this 'Romance of China') is depicted as an obvious microcosm of the emergent world of urban capitalism fraught with greed and vice; it is at the same time a city of tremendous energy generated by electricity, speed, and commotion-- enough to shock an old 'fossil' from the countryside to immediate death!"<sup>8</sup> Lee is referring to the first chapter of Mao Dun's novel in which the protagonist Wu Sunfu's father, Old Mr. Wu, dies of shock after he enters the city of Shanghai from the countryside. As I have noted before, Mu Shiyong's "Shanghai Foxtrot" is one of the best known stories of the so-called New Sensation style. The following two paragraphs present a panorama of Shanghai, the first is the opening passage from "Foxtrot," while the second opens up Mao Dun's Midnight:

Shanghai. Heaven built on hell. West Shanghai, bright moon climbing the sky, illuminating the wasted sprawl. Ashen sprawl, blanket of silvergrey moonlight, inlay of deep grey tree shadows and village shadows pile on pile. On top of the sprawl, iron rails draw an arc that reaches along the sky and goes down there beneath the horizon.<sup>9</sup>

The sun had just sunk below the horizon and a gentle breeze caressed one's face. The muddy water of Suzhou Creek, transformed to a golden green, flowed quietly westward. The evening tide from the Huangpu had turned imperceptively, and now the assortment of boats along both sides of the creek were riding high, their decks some six inches above the landing-stages. Faint strains of music were borne on the wind from the park across the river, punctuated by the sharp, cheerful patter of kettle-drums. Under a sunset mottled sky, the towering framework of Garden Bridge was mantled in a gathering mist. Whenever a tram passed over the

bridge, the overhead cable suspended below the top of the steel frame threw off bright, greenish sparks. Looking east, one could see the warehouses on the waterfront of Pudong like huge monsters crouching in the gloom, their lights twinkling like countless tiny eyes. To the west, one saw with a shock of wonder on the roof of a building a gigantic neon sign in flaming red and phosphorescent green: LIGHT, HEAT, POWER.<sup>10</sup>

Indeed, there are parallels between the whole first chapter of *Midnight* and "Shanghai Foxtrot," and one of these is in the divergently depicted views of space. Both opening paragraphs are panoramas of Shanghai: they are both "long-shots" of notably specific sections of the city, and this may be read in the different methods of both descriptions. Mao Dun seems to like the vertical, while Mu favours the horizontal. Mao Dun ends his panoramic paragraph on the foreign warehouses (*yangzhan*) on Pudong, and then on a neon sign on Puxi; that is to say, Shanghai on the east (Pudong) and west (Puxi) shores of the Huangpu river. Mu Shiyong, on the other hand, describes Huxi (West Shanghai) in an almost "diagrammic" fashion;-- by piling image upon image. Mao Dun looks north at the warehouses and buildings from a position *within* the International Settlement; in contrast, Mu Shiyong looks southwest *over* the International Settlement and environs from a position within the north part of the city. Li Jin discusses the use of an "overlooking angle" (*fushi de jiaodu*) in depictions of Shanghai by Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiyong, an aspect she attributes to the introduction of the vertical height of architecture in Shanghai.<sup>11</sup> Considering the publication dates of both works, I propose there is a relation between the two texts that legitimates an intertextual reading.<sup>12</sup>

Mao Dun is considered as a major "realist" writer in modern Chinese literature; however, both he and Mu *describe* the same city, albeit from different spatial and ideological viewpoints. Marston Anderson noted an important problem with the concept of

realism in modern Chinese literature: "Reading the oeuvre of any of the major Chinese realists of the 1920s and 1930s, one is struck by their high degree of formal self-consciousness. Again and again authors introduce frankly reflexive elements into their work, often in the form of authorial alter egos or ironical foregrounding of the very techniques that identify their works as realist."<sup>13</sup> As Anthony Pak pointed out, for writers like Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiying: "(t)he reader is supposedly presented with the events of this metropolis (Shanghai) [. . .] producing what Roland Barthes calls 'reality effect.' "<sup>14</sup> But claims to a privileging *realism* have the potential to be merely ideologically rhetorical. As Chingkiu Stephen Chan notes of Midnight (Ziye): "Obviously still in search of a form to capture the panorama of urban reality under the developing market economy and growing political unrest of its time, the language of Ziye is itself captured in a network of contradictions."<sup>15</sup> When Mao Dun inserted the capitalized (English) Roman script: "[. . .] neither the thing nor the idea referred to by the alphabet 'Neon' existed before it was materialized in the 'flaming red and phosphorescent green' of the sign that read LIGHT, HEAT, POWER."<sup>16</sup> Of greater concern to the present paper is precisely what Chan refers to as "clichés of the most grotesque type" contained in the first chapter of Midnight.<sup>17</sup>

Returning to Mu Shiying's description in "Shanghai Foxtrot," Mu's description of Shanghai continues with a description of a train and then quickly shifts to a point-of-view from the interior of a car:

The roar of a toot sounded, from beneath water level a trail of arclight beam reached up. Rumble of iron rails, railroad ties centipede-like creep forward in the beam, telephone poles appear and disappear in the pitch black, the belly of the "Shanghai Express" shoots out, da da da, foxtrot beat, bearing the night's pearl, dragonlike whipping by, rounding that arc. Lips open again with another whistle blast, a trail of smoke trails down the tail there, the arclight beam penetrates the horizon, then

disappears [. . .] Onto a street lined with legs of white painted trees, legs of telephone poles, all still-life legs.....REVUE-like, heavily made-up thighs of young women intersecting and extending.....white painted legs in formation. Along that quiet still boulevard, from within the windows of houses, like a city of eye balls, piercing window screens, stealing out muted red, purple, green, light everywhere.<sup>18</sup>

Mao Dun's description bears a striking similarity to descriptions in Mu Shiying's because both writers present descriptions of Shanghai streets from within a car. However, Mu's language is rather peculiar in "Foxtrot." Mu's sentences often seem to lack a subject (zhuyu), a grammatical agent of the action being described. Furthermore, Mao Dun's description is distinguished from Mu's because Mao Dun's "point-of-view" clearly represents that of Old Mr. Wu who, just arrived in Shanghai from the countryside, sits in shock in the back of a car speeding through the city streets:

The car raced forward like mad. He peered through the wind-shield. Good Heavens! The towering emerald clouds of skyscrapers, their lighted windows like hundreds of strange eyes, seemed to be rushing down on him like an avalanche at one moment and vanishing the next. The smooth road stretched before him, street-lamps whipped by in front of Old Mr. Wu's face, springing up and vanishing in succession. A snake-like stream of black monsters, each with a pair of dazzling lights for eyes on their heads, *bwoh ---- bwoh ----* they roared, like lightning dashing towards [him], dashing towards the tiny box where Old Mr. Wu sat! Closer! Closer! Old Mr. Wu closed his eyes, his whole body trembled [. . .]<sup>19</sup>

Raymond Williams, in his discussion of James Joyce's Ulysses, has described "(t)his fragmentary experience-- now accelerated by 'motoring fast'-- [which] has remained a perceptual condition."<sup>20</sup> Mu's disjunctive imagery is more metonymic than metaphorical: Mu's fragmented description shows up in the use he makes of ellipses to separate what could be called image strings; even his metaphors seem just barely held together as a "visual" series of parallel forms. In Mao Dun's description, all imagery is turned, in a forced manner, into metaphors of a supposed hallucination. Nevertheless, Mao Dun's descriptive style is

superficially similar to the colourful descriptions found in "Foxtrot," and in descriptions in Liu Na'ou and Shi Zhecun as well; that is to say, the so-called New Sensation style:

Everything red and green electric lights, everything square, everything oval, the jutting angles of the furniture, all the women and men, all of them in the gold light dancing and spinning. Rose coloured Mistress Wu, an apple green young woman, another pale yellow young woman, all of them insanely dancing there, dancing! The flimsy silks on their bodies couldn't hide the fleshy curves, towering breasts, pinkish nipples, oozing armpits! Countless towering breasts, quivering, quivering breasts, dancing in the stuffy parlour!<sup>21</sup>

The key adjective here, as in the opening paragraph describing the tide on Suzhou river and the structure of the bridge, emphasizes the vertical: "towering" (gaosong). Yingjin Zhang reads this passage as a "gendered image" of the city, which is quite plausible.<sup>22</sup> But I believe Mao Dun is also critiquing a type of thinking (rural superstition) and simultaneously parodying a style of writing (Chinese "modernism"). Old Mr. Wu is sitting in a car: "[. . .] speeding through the boulevards of that eastern metropolis of Shanghai with a population of three million, yet holding The Book of Rewards and Punishments (Taishang ganyingpian) and mentally reciting Emperor Wen's edict: 'Of all the vices sexual indulgence is the cardinal, of all the virtues filial piety the supreme,' an obvious contradiction."<sup>23</sup> When throughout the first chapter of Midnight Old Mr. Wu clutches the popular Taoist tract dating back to the Song Dynasty, and goes into shock in the modern metropolis, this contradiction is an *internal* contradiction: Old Mr. Wu personifies an internal contradiction within the protagonist Wu Sunfu, a residual feudalistic element within an emergent Chinese bourgeoisie.<sup>24</sup>

Old Mr. Wu hallucinatory visions are as shocking for their sexual content as they are colourful. At the same time they are reminders of popular rural religion. For Old Mr. Wu,

Shanghai is a supernatural site-- a den of demons (moku).<sup>25</sup> Just before Old Mr. Wu dies in the metropolis, his own family members are transformed, as it were, into his worst nightmare: "They're only yaksha (yecha) and ghosts (gui)."<sup>26</sup> The vocabulary of ghosts and demons underpins the wild sensorial hallucinations of Old Mr. Wu, highlighting another contradiction: the style of Old Mr. Wu's hallucinatory point-of-view represents an implicit contradiction within new schools of modern art. For Mao Dun, modernist and avant-garde production were types of "Novelty-ism," new forms that hide an old (residual) ideology.<sup>27</sup> Mao Dun saw Western modernist and avant-garde production as expressions of declining social classes: "The more social classes lose their ability to sustain themselves, the more the strange forms and grotesque shapes (qixing guaizhuang) of 'New schools' multiply; the best example of this is the literary arena in Russia around 1910."<sup>28</sup> Mao Dun's allusion to Futurism reads as an ad hoc dismissal of modernist and avant-garde production.<sup>29</sup> Mao Dun's selectivity was obviously political. Significantly, in a similar manner to the Mu Shiying stories discussed at the end of the last chapter, namely, "The Old House" and "Father," Mao Dun was concerned with the question of "inheritance" or, as I translate it here, "heritage" (yichan): "Why do we say Futurism, etc. doesn't deserve the title as a heritage for proletarian art? Because they [the new schools of art] are merely reflections of the abnormal psychology (biantai xinli) of old social classes on the wane."<sup>30</sup>

Marston Anderson contended that realism in modern Chinese was an expressive, that is to say, non-mimetic form of writing. According to Anderson (and he was certainly not alone in this assumption), Western realism sought to reflect the "extra-literary" world through "verisimilitude": "(i)n contrast, traditional Chinese literary theory was dominated by a notion of literature as the spontaneous expression of the author's emotional life [. . .]"<sup>31</sup>

However, even if an "expressive" concept of literature is taken as the basis for a particular tradition of writing, the form of the novel presents problems for any (delimiting) theory of writing. The internal contradictions in Midnight are good examples of what Bakhtin called "internal dialogue," an aspect of "Western" novelistic discourse which would be difficult to reduce to a theory of mimesis or "expressiveness."<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, Laszlo K. Géfin has discussed an aspect of mimesis that problematizes the very notion of realism upon which Auerbach's theory is based. Géfin rereads the episode chosen by Auerbach "where Mathilde de la Mole for the first time takes notice of her father the marquis's newly hired secretary, Julien Sorel."<sup>33</sup> As Géfin notes, Auerbach's contention that "[the episode] would be almost incomprehensible without a most accurate and detailed knowledge of the political situation, the social stratification, the economic circumstances of a perfectly definite historical moment [. . .]"<sup>34</sup> is itself highly problematic: "[i]f we took the statement literally, Stendhal's novel would have to be pronounced incomprehensible [. . .] what can a most accurate and detailed knowledge' mean in historical terms, aware as we are [. . .] of the contingency and indeterminacy of historical data?"<sup>35</sup> Reading Auerbach's concept mimesis through his concept of figural interpretation, Géfin suggests "that underneath his privileging of historical knowledge vis-à-vis novelistic narrative lurk vestiges of the figural interpretation ostensibly extinguished when the novel took over as representative of modern man's desacralized weltanschauung."<sup>36</sup> According to Géfin "[. . .] both the cited passage and *Le Rouge et le noir* as a whole reinvent a secularized version of the figural pattern [. . .] Stendhal's renowned realism is seen as qualified by an allegorical construct [. . .] rather than as a 'chronical' of reality, the novel's subtitle and the author's own celebrated image of the novel as a mirror walking down a highway notwithstanding. The relations between events and persons are no



longer figural or strictly mimetic; rather they are intertextual and thus inevitably ironic [. . . .]"<sup>37</sup>

For Géfin, novelistic figuration is a type of intertextual "refiguration" revealed in particular in the relationship between Julien Sorel and Mathilde de la Mole. One of the most telling examples of this "refigured" relationship occur in the way in which the provincial Julien is transformed from into the "prototypical or refigured image of Boniface de la Mole," an ancestor of Mathilde's beheaded in 1574, and whose head, according to legends she has read in her father's library, was taken and buried by the queen in a chapel near Montmartre.<sup>38</sup> As Géfin notes, Mathilde "refigures" the legendary act when she buries Julien's head at the end of the novel: "The structure of the modern novel, with its reliance on intertextual scraps and fragments, may thus be taken as a secularized follow-up to an older ontologically based notion of justifying the present in terms of the past."<sup>39</sup> Such an intertextual aspect of novelistic discourse is, I would argue, certainly not limited to the modern European novel tradition. Notions of "expressiveness" in Chinese literature are derived from classical Chinese poetics but, as Gregory Lee notes in his discussion of the modern poet Dai Wangshu: "[t]he imitation and redeployment of imagery had for millenia been a part of Chinese poetic practice, and alluding to and adapting the words of another poet a respectable element of lyric production."<sup>40</sup> As to notions of realism in modern Chinese literature, its intertextual aspects are no less important. Mao Dun was saying as much in his concern for a proper "heritage" for proletarian literature and art, that is to say realism (*xianshi zhuyi*). And Mao Dun's "realism" may indeed be understood as an intertextual "justification for the present in terms of the past," his interests in the Naturalism of Zola are quite well known. As Yue Daiyun points out, even Mao Dun's "realistic"

descriptions are often intertextual borrowings from "Western literature."<sup>41</sup> On a socio-political level, Chinese society in Mao Dun is depicted through a Marxist structure of social classes. As Rey Chow notes, Mao Dun's narratives are mediated by a form of rationalism: "Mao Dun's novels bear the mark of a mediating subject whose means of understanding the world is through analytic penetration."<sup>42</sup> But even more importantly, Mao Dun's *realism* is perhaps best evidenced in the way in which his narrative is amenable to the simple past tense in translation, a clear marker as well of "linear time."<sup>43</sup>

Mao Dun's understanding of modernist and avant-garde form as "strange" was an indication of the political motives of a particular critical theoretical viewpoint. However, by presenting Old Mr. Wu's hallucinations as examples of backwards rural superstition *and* modern avant-garde art, Mao Dun was also criticising contemporary Chinese art and literature, and Shi Zhecun would concur with at least some of the implications of such an assessment when Shi makes mention of the work he had done after the historical stories like "Shixiu," "The General's Head," and "Ahlan Gongzhu" (Princess Ahlan): "[. . .] my creative interest on the one hand lead to [the story] "The Demonic Way" (Modao) and [I] wrote all types of seemingly abnormal (biantai), strange (guaiyi) psychological stories [. . .]"<sup>44</sup> In a later essay entitled "Guihua" (Ghost Talk), Shi Zhecun goes so far as to appropriate the very concept of realism in an discussion of literature of the strange. As Shi puts it, he had expressed interest to his friend Shao Xunmei in writing a piece on the literature of ghosts and monsters (guiguai wenxue) by the "English novelist Le Fanu" but since "[. . .] this is allegedly an age that advocates realism (xianshi zhuyi) [. . .]" he considers it advisable to refrain from writing anything at all.<sup>45</sup> Shi's article is written in a language which could be described as half classical, half vernacular (banwen banbai) and,

indeed, the article also straddles the themes of classical and modern literature, as well as art concerning ghosts and "realism" collapsing the binary between "expressiveness" and mimesis as "verisimilitude":

Luo Lianfeng got his name for painting *Guiqutu* (Ghost Delight Painting), yet some consider this skill not so uncommon. The reason for this is that painting ghosts is easy while painting people is difficult. In painting the expressive energy (*meiyan jingshen*) of a person, resemblance to a living person can always be verified; in painting the expressive energy of a ghost there's simply no way to verify resemblance. As a result of this lack of verifiable resemblance, they [ghosts] can be depicted arbitrarily [. . .] (*Ghost Talk* 47).

Along with the artist Luo Lianfeng, Shi will cite the work of Ji Yun and Pu Songling.<sup>46</sup> By alluding to such cultural figures and their works, Shi is invoking a tradition with a highly problematic place within the history of Chinese literature: "*zhiguai*" (strange stories). The *zhiguai* may have begun as examples of unofficial historical accounts of the strange. Considered as one of the earliest examples of novelistic discourse (*xiaoshuo*) in China, collections of *zhiguai* are traced back to the Six Dynasties (around the third century A.D.), through to the Tang *chuanqi* (marvelous tales) and continuing up to the Qing. The complex variety of *zhiguai* cannot be underestimated, although scholars have often turned to these "classical tales" (*wenyan xiaoshuo*) for evidence of ghosts, fox spirits and other popular rural beliefs in the supernatural.<sup>47</sup> "Painting ghosts is easy while painting people is difficult" is a quotation from another painting by Luo Lianfeng (*Luo Pin*).<sup>48</sup> However, the idea of "painting ghosts" goes back to the third century B.C. philosopher Han Fei, and Judith Zeitlin notes that this idea was used by vernacular fiction writers "[. . .] to attack the supernatural orientation of popular literature [. . .]"<sup>49</sup>

As a genre, the *zhiguai* represent a problematic category of writing in Chinese literary history; therefore, when Shi alludes to the *zhiguai* tradition, he would seem to be invoking a problematic category that already implied a considerable amount of historical legitimation in relation to the official canon.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, Shi's discussion of ghosts had a much more contemporaneous (i.e. twentieth century) association: "[. . .] it seems that none of those ghosts in [Pu Songlin's] Liaozhai's Records of the Strange are ghosts---either they're ghosts who've already been reincarnated, or else they're people who haven't died yet [. . .] even very well-told ghost stories will be praised as such if the ghosts in them aren't ghosts. There's a specific term for this, the term is 'satire' (*fengci*), [a term] allegedly falling within the parameters of realism" (Ghost Talk 48). I've translated the term *fengci* here as it is often translated as "satire," but it would be more accurate to describe *fengci* as "ironic critique."<sup>51</sup> Shi's discussion of *zhiguai* ghosts takes on a broader meaning within the cultural politics of the period, in particular the problems of designation for elite and popular forms of literature : "[. . .] returning to the ghosts in the writings of Pu Songling, if back then he'd happily declared they were people [instead of ghosts], his stories (*xiaoshuo*) would've been considered as part of the 'Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School,' because they contain drinking, eating and sex (*yinshi nannü*) and are non-revolutionary" (Ghost Talk 49). The 'Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School' was a blanket designation for popular fiction at the beginning of the twentieth century. But Shi is in no way defending popular forms here, he was himself uncomfortable at being considered as a writer of popular fiction.<sup>52</sup> The tone of "Ghost Talk" is playful, but beneath the punning play Shi also seems to evince a certain annoyance at the politicization of literary forms:

There are three ranks (*deng*) of people, those with a revolutionary consciousness and no desire for drinking, eating and sex belong to the top rank. Those with a revolutionary consciousness and a desire for drinking, eating and sex belong to the middle-rank, but the bottom rank, however, only have a desire for drinking, eating and sex and non-revolutionary consciousness. Writing by those on the top is called social realism; by those in the middle, revolutionary romanticism; and on the bottom, the Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School. Therefore, if the ghosts in the writings of Pu Songling had been considered without exception as people, these people would have to be separated into top and middle ranks, and only this would exempt them from the ridicule of being considered unrealistic and unrevolutionary, although it doesn't make a difference whether the revolutionary consciousness of these people is actually for the sake of drinking, eating and sex (Ghost Talk 49).

Heinrich Fruehauf's work on "exoticism" in modern Chinese literature also begins from a notion of *zhiguai* as it played out in Shanghai in the foreign exoticism of the French and international concessions.<sup>53</sup> Since Shi's article was originally to have been an introduction to Le Fanu, his allusion to the *zhiguai* tradition is indirectly linked to a notion of foreign culture, but it is also a reassertion of the classical tradition to deconstruct the concept of class, or more generally, classification. Although the *zhiguai* were usually compiled by literati, the compilers were forced to legitimize their collections within the Confucian canon. Shi's playful polemic not only epitomizes the *zhiguai* (and its unstated contemporary analogue) as outside an official canon once again, he also points the finger at leftist readings of literature, suggesting an alliance between contemporary political critics and their implicit counterparts in Imperial China, both of whom shared a similar ideology of the text based on a form of legitimation grounded in a recourse to authority.<sup>54</sup>

Moreover, Shi's critique shouldn't be read as a statement that merely dichotomizes traditional and modern culture. Although he reappropriates the *zhiguai* tradition to critique modern political readings of literature, the political readings he critiques are in turn read as

part of the continuum of a (restrictive) tradition. The potentially political subversion of a critique based on class is subverted by the problematic category of *zhiguai* within the classical canon. It's important to note that Shi's critique begins from a sort of dualism concerning appearance: "If Luo Liangfeng's *Ghost Delight Painting* were changed to *People Delight Painting* he wouldn't have become famous [. . .] From the perspective of Luo Liangfeng, if the character for 'ghost' was changed to 'person,' the character for 'delight' would also have to be changed to 'suffering.' Because people are only permitted to suffer, it makes no difference whether a smile appears on their face" (Ghost Talk 49). Shi's distinction here may be linked to concepts in classical poetics with regard to the "latent" and the "apparent."<sup>55</sup> However, Shi's dualism also echoes Mu Shiying's language in his introduction to Gongmu (Public Cemetery): "In our society, there are people who've been crushed by life and people who've been excluded by life, but those people certainly don't, or to put it another way, they don't necessarily put up a front showing resistance, indignation, and hostility; they may put on a cheerful mask over their sorrowful face."<sup>56</sup> Mu Shiying's prose is more direct than Shi's, Mu shows less of the classical scholar in other words. Nevertheless, Mu's introduction discusses the same fundamental problem; namely, interpretation of text based upon a notion of appearance.

By the time Mu published his second volume of short stories in 1933, his fortune with the critics had altered greatly. With the publication of his first book of short stories, North Pole, South Pole in 1932, Mu Shiying was praised by both the May Fourth critic Zhu Ziqing and the leftist critic Qu Qiubai, for his use of vernacular.<sup>57</sup> Such a rosy view of Mu's work would change quickly, however, when Qu dubbed Mu a "red radish" (*hong luobo*) for a perceived betrayal of the proletariat in his story "Beidangzuo xiaoqianpin de

nanzi" (The Man Who was Turned into a Diversion).<sup>58</sup> This is exactly the critique Mu Shiyong addresses in the apparently defensive introduction to Public Cemetery when he claims he is "faithful" (zhongshi).<sup>59</sup> Mu's (self) defense is based on a question of the chronology of his work; that is to say, that the stories in North Pole, South Pole were written earlier than the stories in Public Cemetery: "[. . .] if [the stories] are judged by content and technique, this statement is true. But actually these completely different types of stories were written around the same time---- at the same time, they are able to have completely different moods, the pieces are written completely differently, others have considered this as incomprehensible, even I don't understand how this could be, which is the main reason why other people have reproached me."<sup>60</sup> Mu's defensiveness does not seem to be merely rhetorical. In some ways, it is difficult not to read the introduction to Public Cemetery without feeling that Mu was somewhat prescient in his understanding of the historical power behind contemporary criticism of his work. But Mu's discussion here of the supposed chronological problem separating technique (jiqiao) and content (neirong) in his work are discussed within the language of contradiction (maodun): "The source of this contradiction, exactly as Du Heng said, arises from my double personality (erchong rengen)" (Introduction 173). Mu Shiyong's use of the term "erchong rengen" opens the term up to several readings. Defending himself against his detractors by citing this quasi-psychological reading of his work, Mu suggests the problem of interpretation is a question of appearance as style. "Erchong rengen" is a "double" or "split" personality capable of producing two fundamentally contradictory styles. But such a split has, as I will show, profounder repercussions.

In the story entitled "Hei Mudan" (Black Peony), Mu plays with a notion of "erchong renge," as well as explicitly alluding to the *zhiguai* tradition. In "Black Peony" the narrator is first infatuated with a "Spanish style" young woman he meets at a dancehall. One month later the narrator receives a letter from his friend about a "Black Peony" who has shown up in his garden. Thus, "Black Peony" becomes the eponymous story of a young woman who appears to the narrator's friend, Sheng Wu, one night as he is reciting "that lively chorus" from A Midsummer Night's Dream by Shakespeare.<sup>61</sup> Sheng Wu is a kind of "yinshi," an image of the scholar as a recluse or hermit. Shengwu is also narrator's university schoolmate who lives on land he inherited in the suburbs "like cottages and fields in Millet." Sheng Wu recounts the way he met his "wife" as a supernatural encounter in which, thinking he hears the steps of a ghost, his dog drags in a battered and bleeding woman in torn clothes, the Black Peony of the story. The narrator's first response to Sheng Wu's living Black Peony is "Rubbish. You're not telling me this is some kind of daydream out of 'Liaozhai' are you" (Black Peony 285)? The woman named Black Peony is thus jokingly inscribed into the tradition of *zhiguai*, in this case a "Liaozhai" tale of a flower obsession that becomes a living woman.<sup>62</sup> Plak cites Yokomitsu Riichi's praise for "Black Peony": "Though the story is presented through the form and technique of a modern age, you can still feel from its content the sufferings of modern China, backed by her traditions [. . .]"<sup>63</sup> But the story is quite ironic, even self-satirical, when the young woman who is Black Peony recounts how she ended up at Sheng Wu's house.<sup>64</sup> Black Peony is a "wuniang," a dancehall woman who recounts her escape from a middle-aged client as he attempted to force himself upon her during a drive in his car. As the young woman puts it: "Acting a Peony Spirit is much more pleasurable than acting a person (Zuo mudan yao, bi zuo ren shufu duo



zhele)" (Black Peony 289). "Black Peony" is depicted as a woman who has lucked out so to speak. Her keeper, the reclusive scholar Sheng Wu, was looking for a wife perhaps, and the young woman wanted an escape from the exploitative world of the dance hall where clients merely turned her into "yang wawa," (a Western doll). Furthermore, Black peony is a dance hall hostess, a clear obsession for Mu Shiying, the author, whose stories consistently feature dance hall women, and who would marry a woman he'd met in a dance hall named Qiu Feifei in 1936.

Both Sheng Wu and the woman are complicit in maintaining the appearance of their supernatural relationship: the man, Sheng Wu, seemingly believes his own fantasy has come to life, and the woman, Black Peony, plays along with the arrangement as an alternative to the sordid life of a dance hall hostess. The truth of the relationship is recounted twice, once through the words of Sheng Wu and then through the words of the young woman. The story is written as a form of literary montage, an example of two accounts, two separate narratives around a single meeting. Therefore, "reality" is presented as a dualistic affair for the characters of the story. Mu's story could be read as a playful reminder of the pleasure of appearance, but more importantly the story sets up an intertextual play by its reference to A Midsummer Night's Dream, a possible allusion to the juice from the purple pansy which runs through the play as a love potion distributed by the fairy Puck. The Chinese *zhiguai* tradition is therefore juxtaposed with an English (and by extension European or Western) tradition of midsummer carnival. Like Shakespeare's play within a play, the characters of "Black Peony" appear to unknowingly and knowingly act their parts in a carnivalistic romance. Mu's "double personality" expresses itself in the work first as a double irony concerning the author's own obsession in dance hall women, then as the structure of a

double plot, and finally as a hybrid of two cultural traditions: the Chinese and the Western, or more generally, the Chinese and the non-Chinese.<sup>65</sup>

Chingkiu Stephen Chan notes a similar problem in novel Midnight where Mao Dun transliterates the name for a foreign brand of car, the Citroën as "Xuetielong": "Like the 'Neon' sign, the signifier 'Xuetielong' is not to be taken as a symbol that would serve unquestionably as the linguistic substitute of a different sign-form 'Citroën,' much less can it be taken for granted as a surrogate that may in any real sense assume the place of the material vehicle labelled Citroën. The result of this inner 'split' within the language, I suggest, is a multilayered structure of meanings capable of reproducing itself through contradictions."<sup>66</sup> For Chan, this split or rupture is an example of what Bakhtin called the dialogism of language: "It designates the opening of language into structures of contradiction, and thus renders possible the polyphonic representation of subjectivity by simultaneously blurring the distinction between signifier and signified [. . .]"<sup>67</sup> In my opinion, Chan's Bakhtinian reading overstates the case for polyphony in Mao Dun, because in Mao Dun there is always "a complete single-personed hegemony" over language,<sup>68</sup> where contradiction is posited within the framework of the ideological mediation of realism. For Mao Dun, novelistic intertextuality must be comprehensible.<sup>69</sup> Indeed, it could be said that modernism appears first as an incomprehensible form in China.<sup>70</sup> Chinese modernism did not, like its "Western" analogue, develop as a response to an historical "hegemony of realism."<sup>71</sup> Nevertheless, as I have shown in "the third type of person" debate in chapter two, and in the discussions of Shi Zhecun and Mu Shiyong above, modernism was contemporaneous to the theoretical, literary and artistic production discussed under the rubric of realism in China. And both realism and modernism in modern Chinese literature

must be understood as an intertextual interrogation of foreign presence as a language of alterity. But as I noted in my discussion of Mu Shiying's "Black Peony," for the Shanghai modernists, it is also possible to speak of "hybridization": "[. . .] a mixture of two social languages within the limits of a single utterance, an encounter, within the arena of an utterance, between two different linguistic consciousnesses, separated from one another by an epoch, by social differentiation or by some other factor."<sup>72</sup> Bakhtin's separation of "intentional" and "historical" hybridization is somewhat problematic, as he himself notes: "We may even say that language and languages change historically primarily by means of hybridization [. . .]"<sup>73</sup> Thus even Bakhtin's "intentional," novelistic hybridization must be understood as fundamentally historical and somewhat "unintentional." In the context of twentieth century China, and particularly with respect to the Shanghai modernists, hybridization must be understood as both an intentional and historical aspect of semicolonialism.

Because of the problematic position of China at the beginning of the twentieth century, treaty ports like Shanghai were cosmopolitan centers in China where it is possible to speak of what Bakhtin called polyglossia, several national languages coexisting within one city. For the Chinese writers, as Shu-mei Shih notes: "[t]he Chinese language, by never being discarded [. . .] served as the irreducible marker of cultural identity [. . .]"<sup>74</sup> This is important considering the long history of written Chinese. But as Bakhtin notes: "[c]losely connected with the problem of polyglossia and inseparable from it is the problem of heteroglossia *within* language, the problem of internal differentiation, the stratification characteristic of any national language."<sup>75</sup> Considering the changes that occurred to written Chinese with the adoption of vernacular in the twentieth century, the claim to a unitary

written language in China is problematic and too complicated to be discussed here. But it's important to note that even a supposedly Chinese genre like the *zhiguai* begins primarily as a hybrid form of historical record during the Six Dynasties period when Buddhism was entering China from India. For the Shanghai modernists especially, it is possible to posit a notion of heteroglossia in the way cultural alterity is "incorporated" as "*another's speech in another's language*"<sup>76</sup> to form what Bakhtin calls "a typical double-accented, double voiced *hybrid construction*."<sup>77</sup>

As I noted above, Mu Shiyong's "Black Peony" presents itself through a doubled irony and a doubled plot. Thus, what Bakhtin calls a "distancing of the posited author or teller"<sup>78</sup> is revealed through such an ironic doubling. Moreover, reading the Chinese modernists, I contend that at the base of the production of hybridization as an aspect of polyglossia and heteroglossia is a duosemy, a simultaneity, as it were, of separate cultural traditions of signification. It is to his credit that Leo Ou-fan Lee noted this problem in Lu Xun's "Kuangren riji" (Diary of a Madman), the way in which the "recurring image of the moon gives rise symbolically to a double meaning of both lunacy (in its Western connotation) and enlightenment (in its Chinese etymological implication)."<sup>79</sup> Such a duosemy is a fundamental problematic in the interpretation of modern Chinese literature. Shu-mei Shih reads Shi Zhecun through her notion of bifurcation between "the metropolitan West and the colonial West" to call attention to what she calls "*a textually mediated cosmopolitanism*."<sup>80</sup> However, I contend the split is not so cut and dry. I use duosemy as a descriptive term that includes an intentional and historical (unintended) gesture on the part of an author; at the same time, the potential duosemy of a text may be taken as an admission, on the part of the theorist, of an unresolvable ambiguity immanent in the act

of textual interpretation itself. I read the potential heteroglossia of these texts as one more feature of the indeterminacy of signification in modern literature discussed in the last chapter.

This notion of a double reading, a simultaneity in the cultural exegetical sense, incorporating other traditions (as form and content), does not necessarily infer a reading of signs as a resultant "schizophrenia" of a linguistic semicolonialism. One reason for this is the rather naive contention that, although not necessarily inscribed within the parameters of "authorial intention," within the notion of "erchong rengen" (double personality), that is to say, a possible double reading of a work, the text presents itself as potentially self-referential, an important marker for "modernist" cultural production.<sup>81</sup> Although it would be absurd to speak of the Shanghai modernists as the first in Chinese literary history to resort to "self-referentiality," the originality of their writing may be read in their willingness to play with transnational forms. Like the scraps of newspapers and advertisements which show up in certain Cubist works, Mu Shiyong's use of foreign or European words is a striking example of such a textual self-referentiality. Moreover, although it is not the scholarly use of foreign terms and names as one finds in the May Fourth writers, it hardly constitutes a celebration of urban culture. "Foxtrot" is written as if there was no subject, what Zhang Yingjin has called "(t)he *displacement* of subjects and objects" and which I am tempted to call an alienation effect of commodification.<sup>82</sup> In one description in "Foxtrot," the narrative leaves a nightclub to describe a street scene:

The glass doors open up, the fragile fantasy world pops. Run down the staircase, two rows of rickshaws are waiting beside the street, the pullers stand in groups, the entrance light illuminates a path, competing "RICKSHA?" Mini Austins, Essexes, Fords, Buick sports cars, a Buick little

ninety, eight cylinders, six cylinders..... The red-faced moon limpingly walks over the racetrack's green. On the street corner selling <<Damei wanbao>> uses a flat bread fried bread larynx to shout: "EVENING POST"!<sup>83</sup>

In my opinion, the effect resembles the narrative of a film script with camera directions replacing characterological indications. And language itself loses its subjectivity, as it were. In this passage, while the car brands are transliterated into phonetic Chinese, the newspaper title is translated. The newspaper seller is described by a string of subjectless metonyms. Significantly, the only foreign words to appear are spoken by Chinese people. The text, therefore, refers to itself through the way in which language (Chinese *and* English) is reduced from being a semantic to a phonetic marker. The passage recalls a problem already discussed in the introduction to the present thesis: Yangjingbangyu or Pidgin Chinese, a hybrid dialect combining Chinese and foreign vocabularies. But Yangjingbangyu was also a dialect made up of local Chinese dialects as well, producing what Wu Fuhui calls a "pluralistic culture" (duoyuan wenhua). Yangjingbangyu was perhaps the product of colonial presence(s); however, such linguistic hybridity was also a fact of everyday life and Yangjingbangyu may have also been an important vehicular language for communication, not only between urban Chinese and foreign residents of Shanghai, but between the many the native speakers of the various dialects of Chinese as well. Moreover, Yangjingbangyu represented an important example of the transliteration of certain foreign words into the natural vocabulary of oral Chinese.<sup>84</sup>

Mu Shiyong is perhaps only exceeded in a use of romanized brand names by his friend and contemporary writer Ye Lingfeng. In the novella "Jindi (duanpian)" (Forbidden

Territory-- fragment), Ye names the beauty products on the night table of the androgynous protagonist Jü Xuan: Houbigant, Cappi, Piver, Stacomb, En Beauté, Cutex along with indications for use such as Lotion, Perfume, Toilet, and Nail Polish.<sup>85</sup> As Leo Lee points out concerning this story: "Ye seems capable of depicting only the hero's face but not his behaviour and thought."<sup>86</sup> But it could be argued that this is precisely the point of the narrative: it is first of all an exposition of the problematic of appearance. A few years earlier Lu Xun had sarcastically criticized Ye and his friend Pan Hannian as "[. . .] revolutionary authors, [who] must be young and good looking, with white teeth and red lips [. . .]"<sup>87</sup> Ye's use of romanized language here, in this case the foreign sounding names of perfumes and beauty products, as well as the banal terms from the directions on the packaging, is a radical undercutting of the scholarly use of foreign terms and names practiced by May Fourth generation authors. On the one hand, Ye Lingfeng's catalogue may be read as a provocation for his elite critics; on the other hand, he seems to be playing to two audiences simultaneously, and more than likely many of his readers would have been young women.

Ye's writing, therefore, straddles two markets, and in a similar manner his writing also represents a hybridity of genres and cultures. As noted in chapter two of the present thesis, Ye was capable of writing popular tales inspired by traditional Opera plots, and *zhiguai* or *chuanqi*. Ye's "Jiu Lümei" is just such a tale, but with a few twists. The story is divided into five parts and reads like a pastiche of a love story and a story about a novelist who appears to be the author of the story (or the dreamer of the narrative of the love story). Thus, the story is presented through the basic form of a double plot. The love story begins at dusk on the Gobi desert on the day of the arranged marriage of Jiu Lümei, a Persian princess

who has fallen in love with her tutor Bai Lingsi. The story immediately declares itself as a self-referential fiction, as the tutor exclaims: "[. . .] I feel it's just as if I'm reading a romantic novel [. . .] I seem to have already flipped to my novel's last page [. . .]"<sup>88</sup> Just as the lovers declare undying love to each other, the novelist, a "gentleman Chun Ye," awakens from sleep to the sound of a fire-truck and clutching a tiny porcelain skull. We are told the skull was payment for an introduction written for a collection of drawings or paintings by Chun Ye's friend, Xue Yan. Therefore, like the story I discussed in chapter two, "Luo Yan," the literary symbol is presented as a token for money. The skull itself is recounted as the copy of an actual skull of a Persian princess which had been taken by a French archeologist to Paris. The porcelain skull is a miniaturized copy (*suoxiao fangzhi erlai*) of the real skull in a Paris museum made by a friend, probably a French national, of Xue Yan. Xue Yan had been given the skull, since it was the skull of an "oriental [person]" (*dongfangren*), as a consolation for not having found a French wife before his return to China. The tragic love story had been gathered from the tutor's diary who had originally stolen the actual skull to sleep with it next to his pillow at night. Thus, the skull is a symbol of cross-cultural obsession, first the stolen object of desire of the tutor, then the stolen prize of a French archeologist and museum going public. Chun Ye is given the skull as payment, in the hopes it will serve as inspiration for a novel, and he sleeps clutching the tiny fist-sized skull. As the story progresses, Chun Ye slowly begins to believe his own dream narrative, becoming the tutor to the Persian princess until he wakes one morning lying on the floor, the smashed skull in pieces by the leg of his bed: " 'Finished, everything's finished, the whole dream is finished.' He said dejectedly as he pulled himself up" (*Jiu Lümei* 124).



The skull as a token form of money is also a surrogate for sexual desire, but as in "Luo Yan," the symbol is revealed to be false, counterfeit. The apparent exoticism of "Jiu Lümei" is rather playful. The death's head is read as a cross-cultural symbol which functions as an unrequitable desire. In actuality, such desire can never be requited because it is a form of symbolic necrophilia. Indeed, Ye's story reads well as a playful allusion to Théophile Gautier's Le Roman de la Momie, except that instead of the an Englishman obsessed with an Egyptian mummy, the necrophiliac obsessive is a Chinese novelist who sleeps with a miniature facsimile of a real skull, which is in turn a facsimile of real payment for literary work. In addition, the image of beheading recalls "prototypical or refigured image of Boniface de la Mole" of Le Rouge et le noir.<sup>89</sup> Thus Ye Lingfeng's story is an exploration of intertextuality which parodies the very conditions of that intertextuality. Just as the skull is a false symbol of death as token money and as necrophilia, the necrophilia is expressed in the story as a small porcelain (or even better a "china," that is an "oriental") death's head clutched in the author's hand as he sleeps. The "small skull" (xiao kulou) reads like a symbolic transliteration of "le petit mort," and the climax of the story negates the symbol's efficacy in the real world. As the gentleman Chun Ye declares at one point: " 'This is too fantastic (zhe tai huangtang le), this is the result of my own excessive hallucinating' " (Jiu Lümei 122). And his excessive hallucinating is probably a euphemism for masturbation. Indeed, it is quite possible readers of Ye's tale may have been reminded of the passage in chapter twelve of The Story of the Stone, in which Jia Rui lusts after Wang Xifeng, satisfying his desire with a mirror given to him by a Daoist priest who warns him not to look into the front of the mirror. Upon receiving the mirror, Jia Rui sees a skeleton or a skull on the back of the mirror and, upset that the Daoist priest is trying to scare him, ignores the

priest's warning and gazes into the mirror which he is able to enter in order to engage in sexual relations with Wang Xifeng. With each entrance into the mirror Jia Rui is weakened and awakens in a pool of semen until, finally, as he tries to leave the mirror, two men take him in chains. Although told within the *zhiguai* or *chuanqi* form, the story is a euphemism for sexual orgasm, in this case achieved through autoeroticism, as a type of death.

"Jiu Lümei" is a story that announces itself as a parody of exoticism. However, reinscribed as a titillating tale of "foreign" strangeness, the story of the Persian princess is also assimilated through a well-known "Chinese" plot. The strangely foreign becomes familiarly strange once again, a reappropriation of a tale with foreign bits thrown in for variety, a variation of a (national) genre. And Ye Lingfeng's intertextual hybridity is fundamentally ambiguous. Ye's "Jiu Lümei" could be read in terms of a modern crisis in representation, as Géfin notes: "[t]he desperate longing of the novelistic subject for the assumed substantiality of antecedent textual figures is a sign that the subject is basically empty, devoid of a transcendently authorized selfhood."<sup>90</sup> The novelist's porcelain skull as a second-hand, even third-hand intertextual and interlinguistic symbol, parodies orientalism and "occidentalism" as forms of autoerotic necrophilia. However, both Mu Shiyong's and Ye Lingfeng's parodic attitude here needs to be differentiated somewhat from the "Chinese francophiles" Heinrich Fruehauf discusses.<sup>91</sup> Authorial distancing is coupled with another problematic cultural/linguistic distancing, as even the titles "Black Peony" and "Jiu Lümei" refract the problematic of a unitary language in their eponymous pseudo-Chinese titles.

Gregory Lee contends " 'hybridity' is today a fact of social and material reality for most of the world, and the dominance and cultural imperialism inherent in it do not prevent

the subversive-- which may be better described as diversive, since subversion would be brought about by diverging from the dominant discourse-- and progressive from being produced out of, and through it."<sup>92</sup> Bakhtin's notion of parodic travesty also hints at the subversive aspects of hybridization within the unitary, centralizing tendencies of language. But as well as a subversive/diversive aspect of hybrid discourses, the "diversionary" aspects of hybridity should be kept in mind. My contentions are only speculative, but I imagine that Shanghai readers probably enjoyed having their everyday lives in a semicolonial, cosmopolitan treaty-port narrated back to them in the montage "tricks" of self-referential double plots of parodic *zhiguai*.

The use of such narrative "tricks" is also somewhat different from what I referred to as the "spectacular pedagogy" of montage in Lu Xun, Eisenstein, and Pound in the last chapter. Nevertheless, Mu Shiyong and Ye Lingfeng both center their narratives around explorations of male subjectivity, and, as such, parody is inscribed as part of an ironic critique of male sexuality in which "the modern Chinese male consciousness" is ironized or satirized (*fengci*) for an abnormal sexuality.<sup>93</sup> Shi Zhecun is even more explicit in his use of *zhiguai* to *fengci* (to ironize or satirize) the (Chinese) male subject. Furthermore, in his understanding of the problematical exoticism of foreign culture within modern Chinese literature, Shi's writing provides a very important example of a post-May Fourth (self)consciousness. Shi Zhecun was a student of classical Chinese culture and foreign culture and his work expresses a significant example of ironic hybridity, and a problematizing of questions surrounding the rise of revolutionary literature and art in the 1920s and 30s in China. In "Minhang qiuri jishi" (Chronicle of an Autumn in Minhang), the narrator, a young intellectual, takes a short trip to visit a friend in a rural area just outside the

city of Shanghai. Here he is confronted with his own strangeness as an urban intellectual when his romantic pursuit of the young woman almost costs him his life as she turns out to be an opium runner and, as he follows (or stalks) her one night to a riverboat, a bullet just misses him as he stands on the shore. The strange is demystified as a form of psychological and cultural alienation to the countryside: "With regard to this type of scenery, [I] meditated upon the truth that it all seemed like a painting by MILLET. In this way was I so remotely dissociated from the countryside!"<sup>94</sup> In "Lüshe" (The Inn), the main character, a Mr. Ding, develops neurasthenia after having worked for some twenty or thirty years in the position in a Shanghai trade company he inherited from his father.<sup>95</sup> A French friend suggests that he get out of the city for a trip to the countryside. When he stops at an inn in the countryside, the sheer distance between the Chinese gentleman and his surroundings are evident as Mr. Ding lies on his bed hallucinating images from collections of strange tales, "novels like Random Jottings at the Cottage of Close Scrutiny and Records from Rainy Nights by an Autumn Lamp."<sup>96</sup> The well-meaning suggestion of the French friend is an indication, like the allusion to Millet, of a "structure of feeling" which is completely at odds with "real" Chinese (rural) culture. As Gregory Lee points out: "In the China of the 1920s and 1930s, Shanghai was the cultural metropolis, and it was in Shanghai that the French, who administered a major part of the city, exerted the culturally dominant influence."<sup>97</sup> And hybridity, or hybridization, as Bakhtin notes, presupposes "a unitary national myth that perceives itself as a totality," which is also to say, the intersection of national *myths* perceived as *totalities*.<sup>98</sup>

Many of Shi's stories allude explicitly to the *zhiguai* tradition and, as such they announce themselves firmly as a form of *fengci*, narratives that ironically critique the main

protagonist. Evidently, for Shi Zhecun, the *zhiguai* were literary reminders of profound cultural traditions that played an important role in everyday life. In the story "Jiumeng" (Bygone Dreams), on a trip to his hometown Suzhou, the narrator recalls that as children they had called an old tumble-down building a "Guiwu" (ghost house), because it was inhabited by an old beggar, snakes were seen to crawl out from the structure, and when the children shouted the hollowed out structure created an echo. Indeed, many of Shi's stories use the tradition of the "strange" to ironically critique the psychology of the characters, most evident in Shi's descriptions of male characters. In the story "Yechai," the narrator relates a story about a friend who is apparently followed by a Yaksha or Yaksa, a demon from Hinduism and Buddhism. The narrator's friend, a middle-aged bachelor named Bian Shiming, possibly in the teaching profession, returns to his hometown for his mother's funeral. The narrator implies that his friend has experienced a shock or trauma from a love relationship and the "yaksha" turns out to be a young mute peasant woman who Bian may or may not have strangled one night because he was convinced he had been pursued by her (although more than likely it was he who chased the terrified young woman).

Shi's ironic critique of male psychology is tremendously shocking at times, exposing a violence that has been compared to the Marquis de Sade.<sup>99</sup> Moreover, just as many of Shi's stories could be described as interrogations of a "unitary" Chinese culture, many of the characters may be read as precise depictions of a social type. One "model" for many of Shi's male characters would seem to have been laid with Lu Shiyi of "The Peach Orchard," sharing superficial class similarities with Wen-hsin Yeh's concept of "vocational youth" as discussed in chapter two of the present thesis.<sup>100</sup> In addition, Wakeman and Yeh discuss another important aspect of the urban male work force that relates directly to

many of Shi's male characters: "Single male workers often went to their villages to marry. The majority of these men, unable to afford the higher expenses of urban housing and food, left their wives behind upon returning to Shanghai, both to observe the traditional norm and to take advantage of the lower living costs in the rural areas."<sup>101</sup> It seems highly relevant that many of Shi's male characters are ironized in the story by the suddenly implied existence of a wife and family which is "off-scene" as it were. Even an "historical tale" such as "Kuramajiva," the story of one of the first Indian Buddhist monks to translate Buddhist scriptures from Sanskrit into Chinese, centers itself on the relationship between the male protagonist and his wife.<sup>102</sup>

"Modao" (The Demonic Way) presents the same sort of domestic situational problematic. In other stories by Shi, the male protagonist is depicted as an office worker, as in "An Evening of Spring Rain" or in "Ou" (Seagull) where he is a bank employee. Thus, "The Demonic Way" represents a variation on Shi's portrayal of male sexuality, a sort of psycho-sexual portrait of male subjectivity. "Demonic Way" recounts a short trip taken to an unnamed city ("X-zhou") in the outskirts of Shanghai. As William Schaefer notes: "The narrator's anxiety is hence located primarily in the liminal space in-between the countryside he might wish to imagine as traditional and the modern, cosmopolitan, and colonized city."<sup>103</sup> Although such a "spatial" metaphor is certainly implied, the narrator of "Demonic Way" is going to visit a friend, a horticulturalist and entomologist who has bought a large piece of land upon which he built a small Western-style house. And yet the narrator clearly mentions he is looking forward to "[. . .] breathing the fresh fragrance in the open country of the interior [. . .]"<sup>104</sup> The irony, emphasizing a certain (colonial) hybridity, is even reflected in the narrator's language, as he is going to "*xiaomo zhege* week-end"-- to

pass, or kill this *week-end* (Demonic Way 114).<sup>105</sup> The horticulturalist/entomologist friend could be read as a modern trope for the garden, traditionally a site of erotic desire, which in Shi Zhecun's work is very often the site of violent transgression.<sup>106</sup> The story opens with the protagonist/narrator sitting on a train. At first he monopolizes (*zhanyou*) a space meant for four, but very soon the seat opposite is occupied by an old woman who quickly becomes the object of the narrator's mistrust and paranoia: he associates her with Western broom riding witches who steal children, and yellow faced old women who spit water beneath the full moon in Liaozhai's Records of the Strange (Demonic Way 110). Shi's narrator constantly alludes to text and his hybrid references continue with a catalogue of his reading material which includes: THE ROMANCE OF SORCERY, Le Fanu's strange novels, "Persian Religious Verse," "Sexual Crime Cases," "Gems of English Poetry," and a "Psychology Magazine," all of which he has apparently brought with him in his luggage (Demonic Way 111). Leo Lee takes Yan Jiayan to task for questioning the idea of a modern educated intellectual believing in such superstitious books: "Clearly the case points to the contrary: this gross misreading confuses the fictional protagonist with a follower of May Fourth rationality."<sup>107</sup> However, I think this is precisely the point. Even if we are to go along with the idea that this is a case of Shi showing off his reading material, an example of "cultural capital," such a catalogue problematizes fundamental assumptions about Chinese (oriental) superstition and Western rationalism.<sup>108</sup> The May Fourth bifurcation of an irrational China and a rational West gets deconstructed, as irrationality and the supernatural are read as no longer solely within the purview of traditional China, but of the modern "West" as well.

The narrator is afraid he is suffering from "neurasthenia" (shenjing shuairuobing) as well the possible influence (yingxiang) of the books he carries, and Shi ironizes his character's relationship to the old woman: the narrator fears the impression (yinxiang) the old woman makes on his consciousness, that others will mistake the old woman for his mother and, in an implicit reference to castration anxiety, that the old woman has designs upon his books. In contradistinction to other male characters in Shi's work, the narrator of "Demonic Way" is probably a writer, because all his fantasies are given a possible textual (or bookish) origin. The old woman dressed in black becomes a figure for the narrator's obsessive associations with sex and death and she could be read as a figure for the countryside and, by extension, old China as well. As he gazes out the window at the rural scenery (fengjing), he spots a large mound and his catalogue of books of the strange is quickly followed up with another associative short catalogue of grotesqueries. He imagines the mound to contain the mummified remains of a concubine from a past dynasty which arouses necrophiliac fantasies: "That's right, demonic old women often live within ancient CATACOMB [. . .]" (Demonic Way 113), and then his fantasies turn to bestiality with Leda and the swan: "Ah, surrealist eroticism" (Demonic Way 113)! The old woman is an object of ambivalence, of alternating attraction and repulsion: "Wild! Wild! This is too wild! Is it possible this old woman can transform herself into the mummy of a beautiful concubine" (Demonic Way 113)? Despite this ambivalence, or perhaps as a result of this split, the narrator is haunted by the old woman who apparently follows him to the city where his friend is staying. At one point, in the manner of Edgar Allan Poe's "The Sphinx," he mistakes a speck of dirt on the window for the old woman. In a fit of double personality, he wonders whether smoking a little bit of opium daily



might rid him of his neurasthenia, only to suddenly become paranoid at the thought that perhaps his friends are in fact opium addicts (Demonic Way 118).

Perhaps the most peculiar aspect of Shi's story is the ending, which has the narrator return to Shanghai and receive a telegram telling him of the death of his three year old daughter. Such an ending would seem to conflict with the story, which is told through the thoughts of the narrator, thoughts which give no direct reference to his domestic situation. But the irony of Shi's story doesn't actually hide this truth about his narrator. Shi seems to employ the technique of Arthur Schnitzler, in particular Schnitzler's short story "Lieutenant Gustl" which also ends with surprising news of a death. However, after arriving at the end of Shi's story, the reader is forced to reread the story for clues, as if it were, and the symbolic use of colours may be read as the clues or signs of a mystery.<sup>109</sup> In the opening scene the narrator monopolizes four seats on the train until the old woman joins him; thus, from the outset, Shi's off-scene "family" are present in the two empty seats; that is, the presence of the narrator's family is signified by their absence. Shi's floating signifiers (of a family which is present because it is absent) are alluded to through the use of colours, colours which are at once self-referential as arbitrary signs (that is, as merely referential signifiers of seemingly natural phenomena) and as symbols of an actual absence as a death in the family, indicated specifically by the telegraphed announcement informing the narrator of the death of his child at the end of the story. Moreover, the ambiguity in "Demonic Way" is created through a duosemy of funeral colours. When the narrator fantasizes about his friend's wife he notices the way her red outfit is transformed by the yellow glow of the electric light into white: red + yellow = white, the traditional color for funerals in China. Dressed in black, the old woman would

also seem to signify death as the dry skin of her small hands is "frighteningly white" like the skin of his friend's wife. However, the predominant colour of the story is yellow, most often designated with the character "huang," which was, in classical Chinese, a designation for a child of three years and younger. Far from being unresolved, Shi would seem to have prevented "a loophole for a natural explanation" for the narrator's neurotic hallucinations, indeed for the narrative itself.<sup>110</sup> But Shi's understanding of the unconscious is quite perceptive because "Demonic Way" shows the way interior monologue may hide as much as it reveals. And, more importantly, the narrator's unconscious symbolism is rooted finally in what could be called a unitary cultural-linguistic unconscious. If there is a loophole in the story, it is the remaining question as to the true function of narrator's unconscious symbolism, which in "Demonic Way" reads like a premonition of death: the "natural" world of the unconscious finally permits a "supernatural" explanation. Shi Zhecun's use of colours, therefore, is grounded in a type of etymological metonymy capable of being read (deciphered) as a linguistic allusion to classical Chinese. Shi's narrator, possibly a writer but certainly a scholar/intellectual for his reading material, seems to problematize the use of the modern Chinese vernacular as a medium for narrative. As Lydia Liu notes, Shi Zhecun "must also be credited for exposing some of the allegorical affinities between traditional fantastic literature and psychoanalytical discourse."<sup>111</sup> But the pairing of psychoanalysis and *zhiguai* may also be read as an important aspect of modern literature and theory as Maggie Kilgore notes concerning the Western form of *zhiguai*, the gothic: "[. . .] in many ways it has been the increasing demand to model literary theory on the sciences that has helped revive the gothic's unsavory reputation [. . .] the application of psychoanalytic methods to the gothic, beginning early in

this century with the surrealists, taught readers to see the gothic not as a superficial sensationalism but as a revelation of repressed dark cultural secrets [. . .] Both [psychoanalysis and the gothic] reveal the dark truth that the autonomous subject is not a unified whole but fragmented and dismembered, internally ruptured so that it is alienated not only from nature and others but from itself."<sup>112</sup>

Recalling Shi's duosemic use of colours, Du Heng's story "Hong yu Hei" (Red and Black) uses colours as metaphorical and allegorical signifiers. As the story opens, the protagonist, Wang Delin hasn't gone to work for a few days: "He had already not been to the 'company' for a few days."<sup>113</sup> It is quickly apparent, however, the "company" (gongsi) Wang has not attended is actually a euphemism for the gambling house. "Red and Black" is perhaps Du Heng's most characteristically "modernist" work because Du Heng's language invokes the *zhiguai*, which is precisely the "modernism" of "Red and Black." But unlike Shi's use of such language, Du Heng's allusion to ghosts and demons is not so much an ironic hallucination than a realist metaphor. "Red and Black" is written in a metaphorical language that expresses a blatantly moral tone. The narrative unfolds through the metaphorical language of colours (red and black) and the form of the spinning wheel of the roulette table: "That Wheel, ..... that chaos of a strip of digits, those thirty-eight red and black teeth of the devil (mogui), ..... start to move, ..... spin, ....." (Red and Black 3). Or as Wang stares across the roulette table and scoffs at another gambler: "[. . .] it's not as if he [Wang] was that type of disgraceful ghost (hanchen gui)" (Red and Black 5). Du Heng's use of this language of the strange evidences the way such language is an integral part of the natural vocabulary of everyday spoken Chinese. Also, the notions of the latent and the apparent, discussed above in this chapter, are present when the protagonist of "Red and

Black" is described as living a sort of double life: "It's not as if he had absolutely no work. For example, a day's work in the window display of a department store wearing a mask as a living advertisement " (Red and Black 8). As his life is linked to the spinning red and black slots of the roulette wheel, Wang Delin lives an itinerant lifestyle hauling his "moveable property" (dongchan) from address to address, moveable property that includes a woman "[. . .] [beautiful] enough to infatuate an exotic prince (yiguo di wangzi)" (Red and Black 7). A woman who, moreover, is probably being pimped by the protagonist. For Du Heng, the portrayal in "Red and Black" is presented as the trope of metonymy; that is to say, *a part for the whole*: "With this sort of life, all that's needed is a peak at one corner (yijiao), and everything is revealed about this type of life " (Red and Black 15).<sup>114</sup> Wang Delin's spinning roulette wheel will be his downfall as, when he finally does get lucky in his "Nation of Chance" (jihui zhi bang), he returns to his room to find that his girlfriend has left him and, as he wanders confused on the street, is hit by a car: "The people honed in like arrows from all sides flying and gathering around the same target" (Red and Black 19).

This narrative of a character from the underclass is heavy handed. Nevertheless, a fundamental duosemy remains in the title "Red and Black," which reads first of all as an obvious translation (or *transliteration*) of Stendhal's Le Rouge et le Noire. Furthermore, Du Heng's short story may be opened up to possible national allegorical readings. On the surface, Du Heng's "Red and Black" reads as a heavy handed tale of the "mingyun," or fortune, of a gambler. "Wang Delin" is, however, only one possible name for the protagonist, who is forced to change his name as often as his domicile. In this way he is explicitly the figure of a writer who, by political necessity or through duplicity, publishes under a series of pseudonyms.<sup>115</sup> Du Heng's gambler is thus an opportunist in the manner of

Julien Sorel, but in place of the allegorical military red and clerical black of post-revolutionary France, Du Heng's protagonist is caught between the alternating powers of communism and nationalism in Republican China.<sup>116</sup> And in the same manner as another national allegory, namely Dostoevsky's The Gambler, the "Nation of Chance" is a foreign nation where, even if a loser wins, he will still lose the "moveable property" of his lover/prostitute, perhaps the main reason for his desire to win to an "exotic prince"; that is to say, a (male) other from a foreign country (yiguo di wangzi).

Gambling, if not strictly a trope (a metaphor and metonym) for the stock market, may be at least a trope for an economy in constant fluctuation. Colour is usually a signifier for something else, an indication that something is hidden underneath. At times Mu Shiying's use of colour reads as gimmicky, as purely visual linguistic reportage of surfaces lacking content, but he seems to have been aware of this possible reading in the introduction to Public Cemetery when he wrote about the "cheerful mask over their sorrowful face."<sup>117</sup> In the often-quoted passage from "Yezonghuili de wugeren" (Five People in a Nightclub) for example: " 'Evening Post!' The paper selling child opens blue lips, in the mouth blue teeth and a blue tongue, opposite him that blue neon light's high-heeled shoes' flush his lips. 'Evening Post!' Suddenly he's got red lips, tongue shoots out, that enormous bottle opposite pours out wine."<sup>118</sup> It is important to note that this metonym-film of neon imagery comes immediately after a list of company assets and information about war relief funds.

In conclusion, I would like to return to where I started with my discussion of Shen Congwen's description of a rural market in West Hunan in which I noted the possible manner in which Shen "grounded" his description in the rural calendar. There is one final

problematic of narrative technique which underpins the short stories I have discussed in this chapter: time. Leo Lee and Shu-mei Shih have both claimed the binary of cyclical and linear time as representative of Chinese and "Western" culture respectively. It would be difficult to read such a clear binary in the Shanghai modernists; instead, both cyclical and linear time exist simultaneously. Even taking into consideration the grammatical flexibility of Chinese, Shi Zhecun's interior monologues seem to be written in a continuous present.<sup>119</sup> Moreover, for Shi's jaded urban narrators, leisure time is inverted, it becomes as goal oriented as a work task.<sup>120</sup> Leisure time represents stress and ambiguity. In "Demonic Way," after his brief but stressful stay at his friend's house in the countryside, the narrator rushes to the cinema in an effort to "make up for the two lost days" (Demonic Way 122). The "circularity" of Du Heng's "Red and Black" recalls the often noted "circularity" in Mu Shiying's "Shanghai Foxtrot," a circularity also announced through a use of repetition.<sup>121</sup> "Shanghai Foxtrot" opens and closes with the same line: "Shanghai. Heaven built on hell." But the story's circularity is, first of all, *apparent* in a repetition of phrases or passages. Significantly, Mu Shiying's story ends at dawn, a dawn that ends a night of partying for the rich nightclubbers. But Mu's dawn also opens with images of labour like Cao Yü's play Sunrise, in a kind of "utopian moment" with the sound of construction workers.<sup>122</sup> The apparent circularity of form is grounded, as it were, in the cycle of leisure *and* labour. Significantly, in the parodic consumerist satires of Mu Shiying, leisure and labour are often very clearly delineated: "Saturday night's world is a cartoon earth spinning on a jazz axle [ . . . ]"<sup>123</sup> The inversion of leisure time in the "continuous present" of Shi Zhecun's "Demonic Way," and can only lead to madness and transgression, because he loses his grounding in the concrete schedule of urban labour and leisure. Like

week-end campers bored to death because someone forgot the TV, he goes mad without his cinema, so to speak.

Ironically, Yomi Braester's reading of an "economy of the spectacle" in Liu Na'ou's "Liangge shijian de bu ganzheng zhe" (Two people impervious to time) somehow manages to elide the question of time in favour of space.<sup>124</sup> After all, the story's punchline, so to speak, involves a young woman who leaves her two lovers in the lurch after checking her watch.<sup>125</sup> Indeed, the whole operation seems to be a reminder of spectacular time, in particular "pseudo-cyclical time": "[. . .] the time of consumption of modern economic survival, of increased survival, where daily life continues to be deprived of decision and remains bound, no longer to the natural order, but to the pseudo-nature developed in alienated labour."<sup>126</sup> As Wen-hsin Yeh notes: "The clock, which paced the comings and goings of members of the corporate community, became [. . .] the ultimate metaphor for urban middle-class existence in republican Shanghai. But the mechanical clock, like many other material aspects of the city, was not an indigenous invention [. . .] The use of the clock thus carried its own special implications, both in the city and in the countryside outside of Shanghai."<sup>127</sup> Moreover, modern urban leisure runs on as fixed a schedule as the work shift. And urban time is cyclical: it consists of a work week which is broken into daily shifts and surrounded by the week-end (or is it the other way around?) Chingkiu Stephen Chan has pointed out the way in which cyclical time as labour underpins the writing of Lao She, Mao Dun, and Shen Congwen. Chan contends that the "chronotope of labour" is an important mediation in realist texts depicting work, especially in texts dealing with the seasonal and festal marking of time in the countryside.<sup>128</sup> Du Heng's gambler, bound by the rotation of the roulette wheel, is hit by a car (with spinning wheels) and becomes the centre of a target

for the crowds, but the final irony occurs in the manner in which his winnings return to their rightful owner when his landlady discovers them: "The landlady was astonished (*chayizhe*), especially when she went to lock up their property for the two months rent that hadn't been paid" (Red and Black 20). The cyclical time of the city is astonishing for the way it implies a return of land rent.

As I noted above, such narrative times do not represent a binary of cyclical and linear time. Instead, both cyclical and linear time are merely different indications of the same real time as it unfolds as narrative. Mu Shiyong's "Shanghai Foxtrot" tacitly occupies a period of some twelve hours, from after sundown till dawn, a device which once again only indicates an *apparent* time, indirectly and perhaps deliberately hiding other possible chronologies: the story opens in the Autumn and ends sometime in December.<sup>129</sup> "Shanghai Foxtrot" opens with a nameless pedestrian walking along a street in Shanghai, an image that ironically reinforces that horizontal levelling of space I spoke about at the beginning of the present chapter: "Lincoln Street (Here morality gets trampled underfoot, crime gets praised to the skies)" (Foxtrot 289). Suddenly the figure is approached by three figures dressed in black robes who will shoot him. Their speech reads like the tough-guy speech of gangsters (which is probably what they are) but it also paraphrases a short speech from the novel Outlaws of the Marsh in which two guards plead with their victim, explaining that the assassination they are about to carry out is being carried out because of orders from above. Interestingly, although the short speech is paraphrased, one sentence is repeated verbatim from the original text of Outlaws: "This day next year will be the anniversary of your death [. . .]!" (Foxtrot 289).<sup>130</sup> Mu's paraphrase from this well-known novel represents repetition in a number of ways. It is, first of all, an intertextual allusion to a pre-modern text in which



violence occurs as repetition within the episodic structure of the novel. But more importantly, by implication, the perpetuation of violence is "refigured" as a repetition of history. As in Mu's story "Hei Xuanfeng" (Black Whirlwind), the contemporary violence of a criminalized underclass is read within a continuum of history.<sup>131</sup> The implication is that *this has happened before*, violence perpetuated by the contemporary underworld is merely a repetition of a violence that has occurred throughout Chinese history in slightly different forms. If the present is a repetition of the past, the past has already been repeated as a future event of itself and, by implication, the future is a potential (if not probable) repetition of the present. Furthermore, this cyclical linearity (or linear cyclicity) is quite telling for what it implies for the problematic of history: this intertextual repetition of history is also an expression of *history as repetition*.

Shi Zhecun's representation of the character Shi Xiu from Outlaws of the Marsh is also an example of repetition, of intertextual refiguration, a re-presentation of masculine violence within an historical continuum. As Schaefer has shown, Shi Zhecun merely tweaks the original episode from the novel in which Yang Xiong's wife, Clever Cloud, attempts to seduce the hero Shi Xiu, who lives at their house in his function as a butcher.<sup>132</sup> The additions to the original are so subtle that it could be said that Shi Zhecun's "Shi Xiu" renarrates as a *détournement* of the original. The original narrative is a blatant depiction of a woman as an unfaithful wife. Clever Cloud is unsuccessful in her attempts to interest Shi Xiu because of his allegiance to her husband (all men are the potential members of a "gallant fraternity"). However, she does have a lover, and in her attempt to keep the relationship secret she deflects suspicion by suggesting to her husband that Shi Xiu had shown interest in her, thus causing her husband to have Shi Xiu dishonourably turned out of

his house. In "Yechai" Shi depicts a middle-aged man who has experienced no "love entanglements," who either spends his days in his study, or on the sports field playing football or fencing. The resonance clearly relates to the macho characters in Outlaws of the Marsh who, although exhibiting great physical prowess, are often sexless to a misogynistic degree.<sup>133</sup> In "Shi Xiu," however, such a masculine heroic is reversed because Shi Zhecun's Shi Xiu consistently exhibits sexual ambivalence towards his friend's wife. As in the original, the unfaithful wife's lover the Buddhist monk, along with his cohort, are both beheaded by Shi Xiu outside his friend's house, exposing the infidelity of Clever Cloud while proving the fidelity of Shi Xiu towards his friend Yang Xiong for not having shown interest in a friend's wife. Yang Xiong and Shi Xiu take Clever Cloud and her maid to a tomb site and kill them both. The punishment of Clever Cloud is carried out as a symbolic murder: first her tongue is cut out, then she is eviscerated and her body cut into pieces, first her four limbs and then her breasts.

Shi Zhecun's description of the punishment is both a hypergraphic reading of the original and a trope for the intertextual strategy he carries out: "Cut off (fenxi xialai), each limb was incredibly beautiful. If these limbs were to be merged as a whole, so that [they] once again became a living woman, regardless of Yang Xiong he'd be able to take hold of her."<sup>134</sup> Yet, the incredible violence of such a symbolic punishment is taken to a greater extreme in the understanding of the basic transgression of the "gallant fraternity";-- Shi Xiu's apparent complicity in the murder of Clever Cloud is exposed as an ambivalent sexual desire for his friend's wife. The final transgression occurs as crows descend upon the corpses of Clever Cloud and her maid and as Shi Xiu watches "[. . .] in his heart he couldn't refrain from thinking: 'This would be very tasty' " (Shi Xiu 211). The narrator of "Demonic Way"

expresses the same sort of sexually ambivalent desire for his friend's wife, and Shi clearly marks this type of sexual desire as a form of transgression. That this is a type of transgression implies a traditional or bourgeois morality goes without saying, and it is useful to recall that part of the shock effect of Leopold Bloom's offer to Stephen Dedalus in James Joyce's Ulysses, may have involved an implicit sexual arrangement between Dedalus and his wife Molly.<sup>135</sup> A parallel situation to "Shi Xiu" occurs in the scene in "Demonic Way" when, as the narrator bites into a red tomato, he imagines the tomato as his friend's wife's lips.

In "Shi Xiu" there are several implications of such a transgression. Shi Xiu is showing a cannibalistic side, which could be read as a theme borrowed from Outlaws of the Marsh. But it is difficult not to recall Lu Xun's "Kuangren riji" (Diary of a Madman), which had been published just over a decade before. Indeed, the originary modernity of Lu Xun's vernacular text was more than likely behind Shi Zhecun's cannibalized text about cannibalism. In his discussion of the "modernist feature" in Lu Xun, Xiaobing Tang reads "Diary of a Madman" as a modernist text in which "the modernist obsession with language and with the condition of meaning comes in and asserts itself as deeply political. A modernist politics, in the end, invariably begins with examining how a given representation of reality is always outmoded."<sup>136</sup> A notion of "outmodedness" is, I would argue, in keeping with May Fourth "iconoclastic revolt"<sup>137</sup> that read history within a linear-evolutionary historiography. However, while Lu Xun's madman writes in the vernacular, "Shi Xiu" is quite clearly a parody or, as Schaefer puts it, a "pastiche," of the original archaic vernacular.<sup>138</sup> Thus, although Shi's story is historically contiguous to Lu Xun's twentieth century modern vernacular, Shi intentionally uses an archaic language.<sup>139</sup> By using such a

language, Shi Zhecun has recourse to a language which would have had resonance, not only amongst the intellectual elite, but amongst readers of popular fiction, a popular fiction that often used such a written vernacular. In a sense, Shi Zhecun's "Shi Xiu" could be considered as a more populist character than the madman in Lu Xun's story. By rewriting an episode out of Outlaws of the Marsh, Shi is engaged in an act of appropriation of traditional popular culture. Like the etymological play of "Demonic Way," Shi seems to ground his work from the outset in a sort of cultural-linguistic unconscious.

Moreover, through intertextual negotiation, Shi's marks the text as self-referential. When Shi describes the act of dismemberment, his language becomes a trope for the act of writing itself: "Cut off (fenxi xialai), each limb was incredibly beautiful [. . .]" The verb here is "fenxi" which by its context may be translated as "to cut into parts." But the verb is better understood in its relation to scientific discourse as in "to analyse" as in "xinli fenxi"-- to psycho-analyse. And the story "Shi Xiu" is clearly an act of analysis. On the linguistic level, Shi Zhecun has appropriated a classic vernacular text and cut it up by inserting psychological intent into a character that had little or no such psychological depth to begin with.<sup>140</sup> Moreover, Shi Zhecun creates such a psychology through a sort of reverse psychoanalysis: the psychology of Shi Xiu is a psychoanalytical exegesis of the original story obtained by recreating the psychology of a character. Shi Zhecun's Shi Xiu is presented as an "erchong rengen" (double personality); that is to say, a character study of sexual ambivalence. And the "realism" of such an approach could be considered as an alternative novelization of the problem of social contradiction in which contradiction (maodun) is psychological (i.e., it is presented as occurring within an individual character). Nevertheless, such a psychology is historical, although reform may be doubtful since it

seems to be chronic and recurring throughout history. It may possibly represent a regression and is often evident in depictions of male psychology:

I have been driven to regard as the earliest recognizable sexual organization the so-called 'cannibalistic' or 'oral' phase, during which the original attachment of sexual excitation to the nutritional instinct still dominates the scene. It is not to be expected that we should come upon direct manifestations of this phase, but only upon indications of it where disturbances have been set up. Impairment of the nutritional instinct (though this can of course have other causes) draws our attention to a failure on the part of the organism to master its sexual excitation. In this phase the sexual aim could only be cannibalism-- devouring.<sup>141</sup>

Of course, Shi Zhecun was not merely rewriting Outlaws of the Marsh. The cannibalistic trope of "Shi Xiu" and "Demonic Way" reinvokes Lu Xun's gesture of "iconoclastic revolt" as a deferred gesture, although Shi Zhecun narrows down the target of this trope of cannibalism considerably: "Permanent marks have been left by this oral phase of sexuality upon the usages of language. People commonly speak for instance, of an 'appetizing' love-object, and describe persons they are fond of as 'sweet.' "<sup>142</sup> And a distinction should be made between a particular categorization of another culture and a rational (internal) critique of history.<sup>143</sup> Shi Zhecun's trope of cannibalism is a rational ironic critique of male psychology that represents "the mark of a mediating subject whose means of understanding the world is through analytical penetration" as Rey Chow noted of Mao Dun. Moreover, with regard to the discussion of realism above, Marxist or Freudian, such a rational critique is often susceptible to differing degrees of reductionism.<sup>144</sup> Shi Zhecun's Shi Xiu is sadistic, but such a sadism is finally vicarious and scopophilic. The irony involved is clearly indirect. Although a rewriting of Outlaws of the Marsh, presumably Shi had a larger field in mind. Part of the play of "Shi Xiu" may have been a comment on militarism. In a similar

manner, the narrator of "Demonic Way," although repulsed, even terrified at the thought of sitting across from the old woman, is even less inclined to leave his place to share space with a soldier smelling of garlic (an alimentary metonym). In contradistinction to the phrase in Outlaws of the Marsh, "All men are brothers," Shi Zhecun suggests the possibility that *all men are suffering from an erotism of the oral stage*.

In modern Chinese literature, the terms "realism" and "modernism" must be understood as historical terms which can only claim validity as convenient rhetorical markers for literary production. Novelization implies intertextual negotiations. Any attempt to clearly demarcate the literary production of modern Chinese literature can only result in the paradoxical separation of particular styles and forms in a period of hybridization, of refiguration and repetition, of rupture and continuity.

---

<sup>1</sup> See, Heinrich Fruehauf, "Urban Exoticism in Modern and Contemporary Chinese Literature," in From May Fourth to June Fourth: Fiction and Film in Twentieth-Century China, eds. Ellen Widmer and David Der-wei Wang (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993) 133- 164; 133.

<sup>2</sup> Li Jin, Haipai xiaoshuo yu xiandai dushiwenhua (The Shanghai School Novel and Modern Urban Culture) (Hefei: Anwei jiaoyu, 2000) 22.

<sup>3</sup> Shen Congwen, Fengzi, in Shen Congwen wenji (Collected Works of Shencongwen) vol. 4 (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing, 1985) 302- 390; 365-366. The novel is made up of ten chapters, and Shen writes that, except for the final chapter, chapters one through nine were written in 1932. See, Shen Congwen, "Fengzi" 390. I would like to thank Pietro Giordan for drawing my attention to this passage.

<sup>4</sup> See, Yan Jiayan, Xin ganjuepai xiaoshuo xuan (A Selection of New Sensation Fiction) (Beijing: Renmin wenxue, 1985) 149.

<sup>5</sup> See, Fengzi 364.

<sup>6</sup> See, Fengzi 364, where the market is described as occurring every sixth day. Hsiao-tung Fei describes what he refers to as a "temporary market" in Yunan which was held every six days in China's Gentry: Essays in Rural-Urban Relations, Revised and edited by Margaret Park Redfield (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953) 100- 101.

<sup>7</sup> See, Leo Ou-fan Lee (Li Ou-fan), "Zhongguo xiandai wenxue de 'tuifei' ji zuojia" ('Decadence' and its Writers in Chinese Modern Literature), in Dangdai (Taiwan) 93 (Jan. 1994) 22-47; 26. Also, see, See Leo Ou'fan Lee, "In Search of Modernity: Some Reflections on a New Mode of Consciousness in Twentieth Century Chinese History and

Literature," in Ideas Across Cultures: Essays on Chinese Thought in Honor of Benjamin I. Schwartz. Paul A. Cohen and Merle Goldman, eds. (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University Press, 1990). 109- 135; 111. See, Shu-mei Shih, The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in Semicolonial China, 1917- 1937 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001) 151- 189. I cite and discuss these contentions in Lee and Shih in my introduction.

<sup>8</sup> See, "In Search of Modernity: Some reflections on a Mode of Consciousness in Twentieth-Century Chinese History and Literature" in Ideas Across Cultures: Essays on Chinese Thought in Honour of Benjamin I. Schwartz. Ed. Paul A. Cohen and Merle Goldman . (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990) 109-135; 132-133. Concerning Liu and Mu's "decadence," Lee contrasts their use of "female form" (nüxing de xingxiang) to Gustave Klimt's: "They use the female form to sing the praises (gesong) of materialistic culture, and promote (yonghu) modernization (xiandaihua) [. . .] (Decadence 32).

<sup>9</sup> See, Mu Shiyong, "Shanghai de hubuwu" (Shanghai Foxtrot) in Nanbeiji, Gongmu (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1987) 289-301. My translation. Unless otherwise indicated, the translations in this chapter are my own.

<sup>10</sup> Mao Dun, Midnight, trans. Hsu Meng-hsiung (Beijing: Foreign languages Press, 1957) 9. The proper names are in pinyin; otherwise, the translation is unaltered.

<sup>11</sup> Li Jin, The Shanghai School Novel and Modern Urban Culture: 22- 23.

<sup>12</sup> As I noted in my introduction, Leo Lee notes that Mu's "Foxtrot" was part of a proposed longer novel entitled Zhongguo yijiusanyi (China 1931), and claims that Mu "may have intended the novel to be a direct challenge to Mao Dun's novel." See, Leo Lee, Shanghai Modern 222- 223. Leo Lee's contentions are based on claims made by Mu Shiyong in his "Introduction" to Public Cemetery. See, Mu Shiyong, Nanbeiji, Gongmu (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1987) 173- 175. "Foxtrot" was published in Xiandai zazhi (Les Contemporains) 2. 1 (November 1932) 112- 120. Midnight, according to Mao Dun's afterword, was completed on December 5, 1932 (the first edition was published by Shanghai: Kaiming, 1933). See, Mao Dun, "Afterword" in Mao Dun Xuanji (The Selected Works of Mao Dun) vol. 1 (Chengdu: Sichuan Wenyi: 1994) 419. Of course, considering the dating here, it's quite difficult to say who was challenging whom. Nevertheless, in this chapter, I read Midnight as a possible parody of "Foxtrot," in particular, and "Chinese modernism," in general. I discuss the chronological marker of "1931" in more detail in the next chapter.

<sup>13</sup> Marston Anderson, The Limits of Realism: Chinese Fiction in the Revolutionary Period (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990) 6- 7.

<sup>14</sup> See, Anthony Wan-hoi Pak, "The School of New Sensibilities (Xin ganjuepai) in the 1930s: a Study of Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiyong's Fiction," diss., University of Toronto, 1995, 208.

<sup>15</sup> Chingkiu Stephen Chan, The Problematics of Modern Chinese Realism: Mao Dun and His Contemporaries (1919-1937), diss. University of California, San Diego, 1986 (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1989) 214- 215. It is worth noting here that "Mao Dun," the pseudonym of Shen Yanbing (1896- 1981), was a very thinly disguised homonym for "contradiction."

<sup>16</sup> See, Chan, The Problematics of Modern Chinese Realism 215.

<sup>17</sup> See, Chan, The Problematics of Modern Chinese Realism 214.

<sup>18</sup> See, Mu Shiyong, "Shanghai Foxtrot" 290.

<sup>19</sup> See, Mao Dun, Midnight 15-16, with changes. See, Mao Dun, Ziye in Mao Dun Xuanji (The Selected Works of Mao Dun) vol. 1 (Chengdu: Sichuan Wenyi: 1994) 8- 9.

<sup>20</sup> Raymond Williams, The Country and the City (London: Chatto & Windus, 1973) 242.

<sup>21</sup> This paragraph is a much altered version of Midnight 21. See, Mao Dun, Ziye 13- 14.

<sup>22</sup> See, Yingjin Zhang, The City in Modern Chinese Literature and Film: Configurations of Space, Time, and Gender (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996) 136-137.

<sup>23</sup> My translation is based on Midnight 14. Also, See, Ziye 7.

<sup>24</sup> See, for example, Mao Dun's discussion in "Guanyu 'chuangzuo' " (Concerning 'Production') in Mao Dun wenyi zalunji (A Miscellaneous Collection of Mao Dun's Essays on Literature and Art) vol. 1 (Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi, 1981) 295- 312; 300-301.

<sup>25</sup> See, Ziye 12. In Midnight, this phrase is translated as a "Sinners' Paradise" 20.

<sup>26</sup> See, Ziye 13-14 and Midnight 20- 21. The resonance of these terms is lost in the translation.

<sup>27</sup> "Novelty-ism" is my translation of "xinqi zhuyi," an "ism" formed of the compound "xin" (new) and "qi" (strange or marvelous). See, Mao Dun, " 'Minzu zhuyi wenyi' de xianxing" ('Nationalistic Art and Literature' Betrays Itself), in A Miscellaneous Collection, vol. 1, 313- 323; 319.

<sup>28</sup> See, Mao Dun, "Lun wuchanjieji yishu" (On Proletarian Art), in A Miscellaneous Collection, vol. 1, 197.

<sup>29</sup> In "On Proletarian Art," Mao Dun cites Futurism, Cubism, Imagism and Expressionism as well. Significantly, battlefield metaphors abound in Ziye, a possibly indirect allusion to the dynamic aspects of Futurism, which Mao Dun evidently links to specific social forces. See Marston Anderson's discussion of Mao Dun's ambivalent attitudes to Futurism in The Limits of Realism 134- 135.

<sup>30</sup> See, Mao Dun, "On Proletarian Art" 182- 199; 196- 197.

<sup>31</sup> See Anderson, The Limits of Realism: 24. I am not reading the mimetic/expressive binary as a fact of "Western" and Chinese literary traditions; rather I am responding to this binary as a problematic suggestion in Anderson, a suggestion which does highlight some of the questions that arise in comparative poetics. See, also James J. Y. Liu for a discussion of this problem in Chinese Theories of Literature (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975). See, also, Pauline Yu, "Alienation Effects: Comparative Literature and the Chinese Tradition," in The Comparative Perspective on Literature: Approaches to Theory and Practice, ed. Clayton Koelb and Susan Noakes (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988) 162- 175.

<sup>32</sup> See, Mikhail Bakhtin, Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics, trans. Caryl Emerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984) 260.

<sup>33</sup> See, Laszlo K. Géfin, "Auerbach's Stendhal: Realism, Figuralty, and Refiguration," in Poetics Today 20. 1 (Spring 1999) 27- 40; 28.

<sup>34</sup> See, Erich Auerbach, Mimesis: The representation of Reality in Western Literature, trans., Willard R. Trask (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press) 455. Cited in Géfin, "Auerbach's Stendhal " 28.

<sup>35</sup> See, Géfin, "Auerbach's Stendhal " 29.

<sup>36</sup> See, Géfin, "Auerbach's Stendhal " 29.



<sup>37</sup> See, Géfin, "Auerbach's Stendhal " 31. And I would add in passing that even Stendhal's image of the mirror is itself intertextual, since the image itself appears first as an epigraph from Saint-Réal at the beginning of chapter thirteen: "Un roman: c'est un mirior qu'on promène le long d'un chemin." See, Stendhal [Henry Beyle], Le Rouge et le noir (Paris: Garnier- Flammarion, 1964) 100. Anderson discusses Stendhal's mirror in The Limits of Realism 10- 11.

<sup>38</sup> See, Géfin, "Auerbach's Stendhal " 33- 34.

<sup>39</sup> See, Géfin, "Auerbach's Stendhal " 36.

<sup>40</sup> See, Gregory B. Lee, Troubadors, Trumpeters, Troubled Makers: Lyricism, Nationalism, and Hybridity in China and Its Others (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996) 77.

<sup>41</sup> See, Yue Daiyun, "Modern Chinese Intellectuals in Modern Chinese Literature: *The Eclipse and Rainbow* of Mao Dun," in Intellectuals in Chinese Fiction (Berkeley: University of California Institute of East Asian Studies, 1988) 57- 82. Yue also compares passages in Zola and Mao Dun to evidence Mao Dun's use of "symbolic imagery." Her examples of Mao Dun's use of such imagery in Eclipse, where a crane is compared to a "monster," are compared to an opening passage from Zola's Germinal. Yue's example underlines another intertextual aspect of the opening passage from Midnight I cited above. See, Yue 81- 82.

<sup>42</sup> See, Rey Chow, Woman and Chinese Modernity: the Politics of Reading between East and West (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1991) 103.

<sup>43</sup> See, Roland Barthes' discussion of the "preterite" in Writing degree Zero & Elements of Semiology, trans. Annette Lavers and Colin Smith (London: Jonathan Cape, 1984) 26- 34.

<sup>44</sup> See, Shi Zhecun, "Wo de chuangzuo shenghuo de licheng" (The Career of My Creative Life), in Shi Zhecun sanwenji (Collected Essays of Shi Zhecun) (Tianjin: Baihuawenyi, 1994) 96- 104; 102- 103.

<sup>45</sup> See, Shi Zhecun, "Guihua" (Ghost Talk), in Shi Zhecun sanwenji (Collected Essays of Shi Zhecun) (Tianjin: Baihuawenyi, 1994) 47- 50; 47. The article originally appeared in the first part of a two-part special, "Gui gushi zhuanhao" (Ghost Stories Special Issue), in Lunyü 91, July 1 & 16, 1936. Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu (1814- 1873) was an Irish novelist and short story writer.

<sup>46</sup> Shi cites in passing the work Yuewei caotang biji (Random Jottings at the Cottage of Close Scrutiny), a well known zhiguai compilation by Ji Yun (1724- 1805). Pu Songlin (1640- 1715) was the author of Liaozhai zhiyi (Liaozhai's Records of the Strange), perhaps one of the best known collections of zhiguai.

<sup>47</sup> My summary here does not do justice to this complex tradition. I have relied upon two introductions: Judith T. Zeitlin, Historian of the Strange: Pu Songlin and the Chinese Classical Tale (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993) 1- 11; and Leo Tak-hung Chan, The Discourse on Foxes and Ghosts: Ji Yun and Eighteenth-Century Literati Storytelling (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998) 1- 11.

<sup>48</sup> Luo Pin (1733- 1799) was one of the the "Yangzhou baguai" (Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou) famous for his depiction of ghosts. Shi seems to be paraphrasing the poem from Luo Pin's painting Two Ghosts. See, Luo Pin, Two Ghosts in Vito Giacalone, The Eccentric Painters of Yangzhou (New York: China Institute in America, 1990) plate 32, 67- 68.

<sup>49</sup> See, Judith T. Zeitlin, Historian of the Strange 39.

<sup>50</sup> Zeitlin gives an fascinating account of this in Historian of the Strange 17- 25.

<sup>51</sup> *Fengci* is often translated by satire in English. However, in my opinion, "satire" as a genre, is more limiting than a term like *fengci* which, nevertheless, may at times share certain features of "satire." A recent study by Qi Yukun and Chen Huiqin entitled Zhongguo fengci xiaoshuo shi (The History of the Chinese Satirical Novel) (Shenyang: Liaoning renmin: 1993) attempts to establish a lineage for the "satirical" novel in Chinese literature. I discuss *fengci* in greater detail in my conclusion.

<sup>52</sup> See, Shi Zhecun, "The Career of My Creative Life" 98- 99. Lydia Liu discusses the problematic question of elite and popular literature in Translingual Practice 216- 217.

<sup>53</sup> See, Heinrich Fruehauf, "Urban Exoticism in Modern and Contemporary Chinese Literature."

<sup>54</sup> An ideology which makes it incumbent upon the critic to back up the acceptability of his choices by reference to an authoritative body of writings, either the "Confucian" classics or, for Shi's contemporary politicologues, a rational structure of social classes which links itself metonymically to a body of Marxist theory. It goes without saying that Shi's critique here is a critique of "structuralist" readings of literature.

<sup>55</sup> Stephen Owen discusses this in Readings in Chinese Literary Thought (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1992). In particular, Owen's discussion of *yin* (latent) and *xiu* (outstanding) in Liu Xie's Wenxin diaolong 262- 266.

<sup>56</sup> See, Mu Shiyong, "'Gongmu' zixu," (Introduction to "Public Cemetery") in Mu Shiyong, Nanbeiji, Gongmu (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1987) 173- 175; 174- 175.

<sup>57</sup> See Zhu Ziqing, "Lun baihua-- du Nanbeiji yu Xiao bide de ganxiang" (On the vernacular- responses to North South Poles and Little Bide) in Zhu Ziqing sanwen (Essays of Zhu Ziqing) (Beijing: Zhongguo guangbo dianshi, 1994) 492-497; also, see Qu Qiubai, "Puluo dazhong wenyi de xianshi wenti" (Practical Problems of Proletarian Popular Literature and Art) in Qu Qiubai wenji (The Complete Works of Qu Qiubai) (Beijing: Renmin wenzue, 1985) 461- 485.

<sup>58</sup> "Caishen haishi fancaishen" ("Will it be the God of Wealth or the Antigod-of-wealth?"), in Complete Works of Qu Qiubai, vol. 1, 400-418. Trumbull notes that "red radish" "[. . .] derives from Russian slang: if you are a good revolutionary, you are called a 'tomato' (red inside and out); while if you are a bad revolutionary, one who looks trustworthy but sells out at a critical moment, you are a 'radish' [. . .]" That is to say, red on the outside and white on the inside. See, Randolph Trumbull, The Shanghai Modernists, diss. Stanford University, 1989 (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1989) 207.

<sup>59</sup> "To say I've fallen behind, to say I'm a fence-sitter, to say I'm a red radish who has lost his skin, to say anything about me is alright, at least I can stand at the top of the world and cry out: 'I'm faithful to myself, and also faithful to others as well!' Faith is needed in any society!" See, Mu Shiyong "Introduction" 173.

<sup>60</sup> See, Mu Shiyong "Introduction" 173. Yan Jiayan discusses the chronology of Mu's first two volumes in Several Schools 137. Also see, Anthony Wan-hoi Pak, "The School of New Sensibilities (Xin ganjuepai) in the 1930s: a Study of Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiyong's Fiction," diss., University of Toronto, 1995, 64- 69.

<sup>61</sup> See, Mu Shiyong, "Hei Mudan," (Black Peony) in Mu Shiyong xiaoshuo quanbian (The Complete Novels of Mu Shiyong) eds. Jia Zhifang et al (Shanghai: Xuelin, 1998) 281-290; 286- 287.

<sup>62</sup> "In the *Liaozhai* tales of flower obsession, the flowers primarily assume female form in the story, although telltale clues to their floral nature are liberally provided." See, Judith T. Zeitlin, Historian of the Strange 82.

<sup>63</sup> Quoted in Plak, "The School of New Sensibilities": 49. Pak also notes that the story had been translated in the August, 1940 issue of the magazine *Intelligence* (*Chisei*).

<sup>64</sup> For a discussion of the satirical and self-satirical elements in Pu Songlin, see , Judith T. Zeitlin, Historian of the Strange 88- 97.

<sup>65</sup> The terms "double irony" and "double plot" are borrowed from William Empson, Some Versions of Pastoral (London: The Hogarth Press, 1986).

<sup>66</sup> See, Chingkiu Stephen Chan, "The Problematics of Modern Chinese Realism" 219. Chan translates the characters as: Xue [white] -- tie [iron] -- long [cage].

<sup>67</sup> See, Chingkiu Stephen Chan, "The Problematics of Modern Chinese Realism" 220.

<sup>68</sup> See, M. M. Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel" 297.

<sup>69</sup> Marián Gálík paraphrases Mao Dun's attitudes towards "new- isms" of modernism and the avant-garde: "Incomprehensibleness is, according to Mao Tun, one of the gravest pathogenic symptoms of modern art." See, Marián Gálík, Mao Tun and Modern Chinese Literary Criticism (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1969). In particular, see chapter 9: "On Contemporary Chinese Proletarian and World Avant-garde Literature" 98-110.

<sup>70</sup> See, Yan Jiayan Several Schools 132.

<sup>71</sup> See, Peter Childs, Modernism (London: Routledge, 2000) 3.

<sup>72</sup> See, M. M. Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel," in The Dialogic Imagination, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987) 259- 422; 358.

<sup>73</sup> See, M. M. Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel" 358.

<sup>74</sup> See, Shu-mei Shih, The Lure of the Modern 346. Leo Lee discusses this question in Shanghai Modern 312.

<sup>75</sup> See, M. M. Bakhtin, "From the Prehistory of Novelistic Discourse," in The Dialogic Imagination, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987) 41- 83; 67. By positing a Bakhtinian reading here I am in no way attempting to avoid the problem of semicolonialism. Indeed, it is important to note that one of Bakhtin's examples in his discussion of polyglossia is Imperial Rome.

<sup>76</sup> See, M. M. Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel" 324.

<sup>77</sup> See, M. M. Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel" 304.

<sup>78</sup> See, M. M. Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel" 312.

<sup>79</sup> See, Voices from the Iron House: a Study of Lu Xun (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987) 54.

<sup>80</sup> See, Shu-mei Shih, The Lure of the Modern 343.

<sup>81</sup> See, Peter Childs, Modernism 18 *et passim*.

<sup>82</sup> "The repeated *displacement* of subjects and objects in the dance scene testifies to the vanity of human endeavour." See, Yingjin Zhang, The City in Modern Chinese Literature and Film 163.

- <sup>83</sup> See, Mu Shiyong, "Shanghai Foxtrot" 295.
- <sup>84</sup> See, Wu Fuhui, Dushi xuanwozhong de haipai xiaoshuo (The Shanghai School Novel in the Whirl of the City) (Hunan: Hunan jiaoyu, 1995) 41- 50. On the prevalence and importance of Yangjingbangyu in Shanghai, see, Yue Zheng, Jindai Shanghai shehui xintai: 1860-1910 (Social Attitudes in Turn-of the Century Shanghai: 1860-1910). (Shanghai renmin, 1991) 200- 221. For lists of transliterated words from English, French, German and Russian, see Lydia Liu, Appendices F and G in Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity--China, 1900-1937 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995) 353- 378.
- <sup>85</sup> See, Ye Lingfeng, "Jindi (duanpian)" (Forbidden Territory-- fragment), The Complete Novels of Ye Lingfeng, eds. Jia Zhifang et al. (Shanghai: Xuelin, 1998) 259--291; 263.
- <sup>86</sup> See, Leo Ou'fan Lee, Shanghai Modern: 263. Lee translates the passages describing the night table on 258- 259.
- <sup>87</sup> Lu Xun, "Geming kafeidian" (Revolutionary Coffee Shop), in The Complete Works of Lu Xun, vol. 4, 116- 119; 117.
- <sup>88</sup> See, Ye Lingfeng, "Jiu Lümei," in The Complete Novels of Ye Lingfeng: 114- 124; 115.
- <sup>89</sup> See, Géfin, "Auerbach's Stendhal " 33- 34.
- <sup>90</sup> See, Géfin, "Auerbach's Stendhal " 36.
- <sup>91</sup> See, Heinrich Fruehauf, "Urban Exoticism in Modern and Contemporary Chinese Literature" 136- 149.
- <sup>92</sup> Gregory B. Lee, Troubadors, Trumpeters, Troubled Makers 20.
- <sup>93</sup> This phrase "the modern Chinese male consciousness" is from Tang Xiaobing, China Modern 77.
- <sup>94</sup> See, Shi Zhecun, "Minhang qiuri jishi" (Chronicle of an Autumn in Minhang) in Shinian chuanguo: Shizhecun wenji (Ten years of Creative Work: the Collected Works of Shi Zhecun) (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue: 1996) 75- 88; 78.
- <sup>95</sup> Shi Zhecun, "Lüshe" (The Inn) in Ten years of Creative Work: the Collected Works of Shi Zhecun 298- 305
- <sup>96</sup> Yuewei caotang biji (Random Jottings at the Cottage of Close Scrutiny) is a collection of *zhiguai* tales by Ji Yun (see, note 46 of this chapter). Yeyu qiudenglu (Records from Rainy Nights by an Autumn Lamp) is by Xuan Ding (1834- 1879). Lu Xun notes the text was published in sixteen volumes and cites it as part of later works "modelled on the style of *Strange tales of Liao-chai* [. . .] but they dealt less with fox-spirits and ghosts than with love and singsong girls." See, Lu Xun, A Brief History of Chinese Fiction, trans., Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang (Beijing: Foreign Languages press, 1982) 277.
- <sup>97</sup> See, Gregory B. Lee, Troubadors, Trumpeters, Troubled Makers 74.
- <sup>98</sup> See, M. M. Bakhtin, "From the Prehistory of Novelistic Discourse" 63- 65.
- <sup>99</sup> See, Leo Ou'fan Lee, Shanghai Modern 161.
- <sup>100</sup> Wen hsin-yeh, "Progressive Journalism and Shanghai's Petty Urbanites" in Shanghai Sojourners, eds. Frederic Jameson, Jr. and Wen-hsin Yeh (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, 1992) 186- 238.
- <sup>101</sup> See, Frederic Wakeman, Jr. and Wen-hsin Yeh, "Introduction" in Shanghai Sojourners 1- 14; 4.

<sup>102</sup> Other examples are the two often-discussed stories "Meiyu zhixi" (An Evening of Spring Rain) in which the man's wife is waiting for him at home in the city, and "Zai balidaxiyuan" (At the Paris Theater) where the man evidently lives alone in the city while his domestic situation is somewhere else (probably outside the city in the countryside).

<sup>103</sup> William Schaefer, "Kumarajiva's Foreign Tongue: Shi Zhecun's Modernist Historical Fiction," in Modern Chinese Literature, 1&2, 10 (Spring/Fall, 1998) 25- 70; 26.

<sup>104</sup> See, Shi Zhecun, *Modao* (The Demonic Way), in Yan Jiayan (ed.), Xin ganjuepai xiaoshuo xuan (A Selection of New Sensation Fiction) 109-126; 114.

<sup>105</sup> There is, I believe, a certain linguistic irony in Shi's use of "week-end" in the story, an expression which he may have used for its resonance in English and French.

<sup>106</sup> Zeitlin discusses this in the context of Pu Songlin: "The garden is privileged as a paramount site of erotic desire [. . .] in Ming and Qing romantic fiction and drama [. . .]" See, Judith T. Zeitlin, Historian of the Strange 133. In Shi, the garden trope occurs so frequently as to merit a paper on its own: in early stories like "Bygone Dreams" and "The Peach Orchard" the problem of recollection as nostalgia is cancelled by the implication of social (i.e., class) transgression. In "Yaksha," Bian Shiming strangles his victim in a garden. In "Princess Ahlan" the garden is a site for murder, and in "The General's Head" for capital punishment and possibly rape. This list is in no ways exhaustive.

<sup>107</sup> See, Leo Ou'fan Lee, Shanghai Modern 178. Lee also translates the passage in question.

<sup>108</sup> Citing Robert Chi, Lee discusses a notion of "cultural capital" in Shanghai Modern: 178-179.

<sup>109</sup> Or else declare the story "unresolved" as Leo Lee does in Shanghai Modern 177.

<sup>110</sup> Robert Tracy cites the writer M.R. James: "It is not amiss sometimes to leave a loophole for a natural explanation [. . .] but, I would say, let the loophole be so narrow as not to be quite practicable." See, Robert Tracy, "Introduction" to Sheridan Le Fanu, In a Glass Darkly (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1993) vii- xxviii.

<sup>111</sup> Lydia H. Liu, Translingual Practice 143.

<sup>112</sup> See, Maggie Kilgour, "Dr. Frankenstein meets Dr. Freud," in American Gothic: New Interventions in a National Narrative, eds., Robert K. Martin and Eric Savoy (Iowa city: University of Iowa Press, 1988) 40- 53; 41.

<sup>113</sup> Du Heng, "Hong yu hei" (Red and Black), in Hong yu hei (Red and Black) (Shanghai: Liangyou tushu, 1933) 1- 20.

<sup>114</sup> Furthermore, Du Heng's typification here would also seem to have been an ironic pun on the "yijiao" (one jiao, or "ten cent") series of books of edited by Zhao Jiabi, of which the title "Red and Black" was a title. See, Lydia Liu Translingual Practice 214- 215.

<sup>115</sup> See, Su Wen, "Tan wenren de jiaming" (On pseudonyms of the literati) in, Du Heng xuanji (Selected Du Heng) ed., Zhou Jin (Taipei: Zhiyan, 1989) 249- 251.

<sup>116</sup> In China there was a fascist arm of the Nationalist government that was, in fact, referred to unofficially as the "Blue Shirts." Citing an interview with Liu Chien-ch'ün, Lloyd Eastman contends "[. . .] the term Blue shirt had been first used by the Japanese to slander the movement by equating it to Mussolini's Black Shirts." See, Lloyd E. Eastman, The Abortive Revolution, China Under Nationalist Rule, 1927- 1937 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University press, 1974) 61. I discuss the Blue Shirts in the next chapter.

<sup>117</sup> Please see above for the discussion of Mu Shiying's "Introduction to 'Public Cemetery.'"

<sup>118</sup> See, Mu Shiyong, "Yezonghuili de wugeren" (Five People in a Nightclub) in eds. Jia Zhifang et al., Mu Shiyong xiaoshuo quanbian (The Complete Novels of Mu Shiyong) (Shanghai: Xuelin, 1998) 245- 267; 250.

<sup>119</sup> Lee discusses "[t]he lack of verb tenses in Chinese omitted subject [. . .]" in "Spring Sunshine" (Chunyang). See, Leo Ou'fan Lee, Shanghai Modern 171. However, modern Chinese does use auxiliaries to indicate tense, auxiliaries which are markedly lacking in Shi's interior monologues.

<sup>120</sup> The "goals" I am speaking of here are implicitly the seduction of women.

<sup>121</sup> See, for example, Yingjin Zhang The City in Modern Chinese Literature 160-164.

<sup>122</sup> This is not to simplify the ending of Cao Yü's play, of which Zhang reads in The City in Modern Chinese Literature 147.

<sup>123</sup> See, Mu Shiyong, "Yezonghuili de wugeren" (Five People in a Nightclub) 249.

<sup>124</sup> See, Yomi Braester, "Shanghai's Economy of the Spectacle: The Shanghai Race Club in Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiyong's Stories" in Modern Chinese Literature, 1, 9 (Spring 1995) 39-57

<sup>125</sup> Liu Na'ou, "Liangge shijian de bu ganzheng zhe" (Two people impervious to time), in Dushi fengjingxian (The City Skyline) (1930, Shanghai: Shanghai shuju, 1988) 89- 105; 104.

<sup>126</sup> See, Guy Debord, Society of the Spectacle, (1977, No copyright) section 150.

<sup>127</sup> See, Wen-hsin Yeh, "Corporate Space, Communal Time: Everyday Life in Shanghai's Bank of China," in American Historical Review 100. 1 (February 1995) 97- 122; 99.

<sup>128</sup> See, Chingkiu Stephen Chan, The Problematics of Modern Chinese Realism. In particular, see chapter 7, 258- 298.

<sup>129</sup> This question will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

<sup>130</sup> For an English rendering of the passage I'm referring to Shi Nai'an and Luo Guanzhong, Outlaws of the Marsh (Shuihuzhuan) trans. Sidney Shapiro, vol. 1 (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1980) 140: "Killing you isn't our idea," they said. "The other day captain Lu Qian informed us of the order of Marshal Gao [. . .] Don't blame us two brothers. We're only carrying out orders. We have no choice. You must know: *A year from this day will be the anniversary of your death!* [. . .] (italics mine)."

<sup>131</sup> Mu alludes to the novel Outlaws of the Marsh in an earlier story entitled "Hei Xuanfeng" (Black Whirlwind), in which the title and the name of the narrator are taken from one of the most violent characters in the book. The factory workers in the story are depicted as taking on the names of the characters from the seventeenth century novel.

<sup>132</sup> See, William Schaefer, "Kumarajiva's Foreign Tongue." The original episode occurs within chapters forty-four and forty-five of Outlaws of the Marsh.

<sup>133</sup> One of the clearest examples of this is the leader of the Liangshan bandits Song Jiang and his relationship to Poxi: "In the beginning, Song Jiang slept with her every night. But gradually he came to the house less frequently. Why? Well, Song Jiang was a chivalrous man whose main interest was skill with weapons. Sex had only a moderate appeal." See, Shi Nai'an and Luo Guanzhong, Outlaws of the Marsh, trans. Sidney Shapiro, vol. 1, 313.

<sup>134</sup> See, Shi Zhecun, "Shi Xiu" in Shinian chuanguo: Shizhecun wenji (Ten years of Creative Work: the Collected Works of Shi Zhecun) (Shanghai: huadong shifan daxue: 1996) 172- 211; 210. In the original Clever Cloud is cut into seven pieces without specifying the exact manner of dismemberment.

<sup>135</sup> See, William Empson, "The Ultimate Novel," in Using Biography (London: Chatto & Windus, 1984) 217- 259. My comment is also a rebuttal of Leo Lee's discussion of Mu Shiying's "Baijin de nüti de suoxiang" (The Statue of a Female Body in Platinum), in which he comments: "Yet in spite of such flashes of invention, the story's content is rather traditional and decidedly male chauvinist." See, Shanghai Modern 215. Lee's commentaries often reveal an incapacity to take irony into account.

<sup>136</sup> Xiaobing Tang, China Modern 73.

<sup>137</sup> The term, "iconoclastic revolt," is Lin Yü-sheng's, quoted in Xiaobing Tang, China Modern 66.

<sup>138</sup> See, William Schaefer, "Kumarajiva's Foreign Tongue" 60.

<sup>139</sup> As Marián Gálik notes, novels like Outlaws of the Marsh were being discussed at the time as part of a search for historical examples of revolutionary literature. See, Marián Gálik, The Genesis of Modern Chinese Literary Criticism (1917-1930) (London: Curzon Press, 1980) In particular, see Gálik's discussion of Chiang kuang-tzu 142- 190; and her discussion of Ch'ien Hsing-tsun's interest in "Water Margin" (Outlaws of the Marsh) 183.

<sup>140</sup> Shi Zhecun indicates this in the text by a mixture of direct and indirect discourse.

<sup>141</sup> Sigmund Freud, "From the History of an Infantile Neurosis," in The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, vol. XVII. Ed. James Strachey et al (London: The Hogarth Press, 1968) 3- 123; 106.

<sup>142</sup> See, Sigmund Freud, "From the History of an Infantile Neurosis": 107. The term, "iconoclastic revolt," is Lin Yü-sheng's, quoted in Xiaobing Tang, China Modern: 66.

<sup>143</sup> I am referring here to questions surrounding the oral stage suggested by Jameson and discussed in chapter three of the present thesis.

<sup>144</sup> Leo Lee's comments about the "scientific" aspects of Marxism and Freudianism are perceptive: "Besides Shi, most other Chinese writers were not ready to embrace the Freudian concept of the unconscious as some had embraced, quite fervently, the Marxist concepts of social class and historical materialism as 'scientific' laws governing 'objective' reality. In fact, Freud's theory of dreams was also first received as a science." See, Lee, Shanghai modern 147- 148. I would add, however, that just as there is the possibility of producing a "vulgar Marxism," "vulgar Freudianism" is also a possibility. I refer the reader to the rhetorical question posed by Yan Jiayan that I cited in my introduction: "If we say a schematic Marxism is out of the question, why should a schematic Freudianism be acceptable?" See, Yan Jiayan, Several Schools 161.

## **Chapter 5: The Consuming Body of Shanghai**

The fact that treaty ports like Shanghai had for a long period a special political position as foreign settlements where Chinese power could not reach was no accident, since economically they were also separate from the Chinese economy. On the one hand, they were a gate by means of which foreign goods could come in; on the other, they served as ratholes for dribbling away Chinese wealth. When I call the treaty ports "economic ratholes," I mean that they were fundamentally similar to the garrison towns, a community of consumers and not of producers.

Hsiao-tung Fei<sup>1</sup>

### **Part 1: Space, Text, History**

This chapter is a reading of gender in the fiction of the Shanghai modernists. In the last chapter, I read Mu Shiyong's "Shanghai Foxtrot" dialogically with regard to Mao Dun's Midnight. The first part of this chapter opens with an alternate reading of "Shanghai Foxtrot" which I also use to introduce Henri Lefebvre's concepts of absolute and abstract space and open up a reading of the textual construct of Shanghai. In the second part of this chapter, I continue my historical readings with a reading of women in the texts of the Shanghai modernists. In my view, the figures of women in fiction by the Shanghai modernists must be understood as a confluence of various historical discourses about women in modern Chinese society. In this way, the novelization of women as tropes in the fiction of the Shanghai modernists is read simultaneously as figures of women as social and political subalterns.

The last chapter focused upon a notion of linguistic "making strange," both in a figurative and, with respect to the genre of *zhiguai*, a literal sense. The symbolic use of



colour in these stories as self-referential signifiers may also be linked to the presence of electric lighting in the urban environment. Indeed, this is partly what makes the work of these writers "modern." As Henri Lefebvre points out in his discussion of the decline or fall of referentials (*la chute des référentiels*) at the beginning of the twentieth century:

In simpler terms, the reign of electricity, of electric lights, of electric signalization, of objects propelled and controlled electrically, begins around 1910. This important innovation affected not only industrial production; it penetrated everyday life; it altered the relations between night and day, the perception of contours. But this was not the only change, not by far. This one is singled out more as a symbol than as essential.<sup>2</sup>

However, as well as a "fall" of referentials, it is also possible to speak of the rise of a new referential system supplementing what had existed before. In her inventory of aspects indicating Shanghai's status as a "modern type" (*xiandai leixing*) of city, Li Jin notes the production of electricity began in Shanghai as early as 1895 with the first neon advertisements appearing around the end of the 1920s.<sup>3</sup> As noted in the last chapter, Li attributes the panoramic views of Shanghai in Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiying to the new perspective offered by the presence of tall buildings in the city.<sup>4</sup> For Li, this new perspective accounts for the perspectival diminution of objects after it has "passed through the filter lens of the narrator's consciousness."<sup>5</sup> My discussion in chapter two of the tautology concerning the notion of an essentially urban modernism in these Shanghai authors bears repeating: modernism is urban and the Shanghai writers wrote about Shanghai; therefore, their writing is modernist. Li's discussion of "architectural space" is important as an attempt to come to terms with descriptions in Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiying. But the problematic of urban space is, I would suggest, irreducible to one aspect (or one perspective). Thus, one tautology gives rise to another or, in Lefebvre's terms: "[. . .] the

'object' of criticism has shifted: we are concerned with practical and social activities which are supposed to contain and 'show' the truth, and which in truth *cut-out* (*découper*) space and 'show' the fallacious results of these cut-outs. The claim is that space can be *shown* by space itself. Such a procedure (also known as tautology) uses and abuses a familiar technique that is indeed as easy to abuse as it is to use-- namely, a shift from the part to the whole: metonymy."<sup>6</sup>

Henri Lefebvre's The Production of Space offers a theoretical reading of the problem of space. Lefebvre's theory of urban space could be called a Marxist post-structuralist reading. Lefebvre begins from the proposition "(Social) space is a (social) product," a proposition which Lefebvre admits is also tautologous: "Social space will be revealed in its particularity to the extent that it ceases to be indistinguishable from mental space (as defined by the philosophers and mathematicians) on the one hand, and physical space (as defined by practico-sensory activity and the perception of 'nature') on the other. What I shall be seeking to demonstrate is that such a social space is constituted neither by a collection of things or an aggregate of (sensory) data, nor by a void packed like a parcel with various contents, and that it is irreducible to a 'form' imposed upon phenomena, upon things, upon physical materiality."<sup>7</sup> Thus, Lefebvre presents series of historical hypotheses which supplement a dialectical approach with "that trinity of land- capital- labour."<sup>8</sup> Lefebvre reads space as abstraction, but his concept(s) of space remain concrete as examples of capital *spatialized*.

Lefebvre's interrogations concerning "Western" culture are culturally specific, focusing mostly upon the space of European rural and urban development.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, Lefebvre's reading of space is implicitly a reading of language. Lefebvre will

appropriate two tropes from linguistics: metaphor and metonymy, radicalized through a reading of Nietzsche.<sup>10</sup> Lefebvre's contention is that there is a dialectical relationship between language and space, and language is an act within space: "Metaphor and metonymy are not figures of speech-- at least not at the outset. They become figures of speech. In principle, they are acts. What do such acts accomplish? To be exact, they *decode*, bringing forth from the depths not what is there but what is sayable, what is susceptible to figuration -- in short, language." For Lefebvre, metaphor and metonymy are understood in a verbal sense, they are "activities which might more properly be named 'metaphorization' and 'metonymization.'" <sup>11</sup>

To account for the development of urban space, that important sign of spatial modernity, Lefebvre gives the historical outlines of what he calls absolute and abstract space: "*Absolute space* was made up of fragments of nature located at sites which were chosen for their intrinsic qualities (cave, mountaintop, spring, river), but whose very consecration ended up stripping them of their natural characteristics and uniqueness. Thus natural space was soon populated by political forces. Typically, architecture picked a site in nature and transferred it to the political realm by means of a symbolic mediation." For Lefebvre, absolute space constitutes a source or origin for mediation between socio-political forces and nature, and represents the nature of those forces: "At once civil and religious, absolute space thus preserved and incorporated bloodlines, family, unmediated relationships -- but transposed them to the city, to the political state founded on the town [ . . .]" Thus absolute space is the historical foundation of abstract space: "Absolute space, religious and political in character, was a product of the bonds of consanguinity, soil and language, but out of it evolved a space which was relativized and

*historical.*" Abstract space is itself an abstraction of absolute space: "[absolute space] set up its rule in the emptiness of a natural space confiscated from nature. Then the forces of history smashed naturalness forever and upon its ruins established the space of accumulation [. . .]" Abstract space is an autonomous quality founded upon this period of accumulation: "One 'subject' dominated this period: the historical town of the West, along with the countryside under its control. It was during this time that productive activity (labour) became no longer one with the process of reproduction which perpetuated social life; but, in becoming independent of that process, labour fell prey to abstraction, whence abstract social labour-- and *abstract space*."<sup>12</sup>

At the end of the last chapter I discussed the specific ways that time underpins the stories of Shi Zhecun, Mu Shiyong, Du Heng, and Liu Na'ou, as part of an implicit view of history. As I noted in chapter two, the definition of "urban" is relative.<sup>13</sup> When historical or literary researchers denote Shanghai as a metropolitan center of China during the Republican period, especially in the 1920s and 30s, the concept of urban space, or simply what is meant by a "city," remains an unqualified presupposition based on notions of metropolitan centers in the "West," more often on the model of European or American cities.<sup>14</sup> Christian Henriot documented the rise of Shanghai as a locally autonomous municipality after the formation of the Guomindang national government in Nanjing in 1927.<sup>15</sup> The very existence of Shanghai as a city, however, is problematic since the choice of location, so to speak, had much more to do with foreign demands than with the local economy. When Wu Fuhui and others trace elements of *haipai* (Shanghai School) culture back to the migrating Wu-Yue cultures in the Jiangnan region of southern China, such a search for pre-modern origins is also a way of grounding the location of Shanghai

historically before the Treaty of Nanjing with the British in 1842, a moment which represents the beginning of Shanghai as a treaty port that would later become the "Paris of the Orient" of cosmopolitan legend.<sup>16</sup> Lynn T. White III gives a concise account of the history of Shanghai that begins in the eighth century B.C. with the establishment of garrisons in the feudal state of Wu in East China. The early name for this location, "Hudu," meaning "fishing-stake estuary," was a reference to the main local occupation during the Tang dynasty, and the name "Shanghai," meaning embarkation point, is found in documents dating back to the Song dynasty. By the thirteenth century Shanghai would be designated a county seat where, according to White, the imperial government gave permission to build "ramparts" in the sixteenth century.<sup>17</sup> Outlines of the walls of the old city of the Shanghai county seat (*xiancheng*, county city or town) are still visible on maps. This is not the place to launch into a pre-modern history of Shanghai. But, to follow Lefebvre's terminology here, it is possible to posit notions of absolute and abstract space in the city's development. Even as a territory of foreign concessions in the first half of the twentieth century barely under control of the Guomindang government, Shanghai did not spring into being from a vacuum.

Furthermore, the "familiar concepts" of metaphor and metonymy collapse if they are only understood as concepts that revolve around each other as opposites in a binary relationship. Within the "logic of visualization" of urban space, the verticality of architecture that metaphorically "introduces a phallographic element into the visual realm," is simultaneously experienced by the "spectators-cum-tenants" as a metonymic "part and the whole" relationship.<sup>18</sup> Jacques Lacan comes to a similar conclusion when he points out the metonymic aspect implicit within metaphor: "The creative spark of the metaphor

does not spring from the presentation of two images, that is, of two signifiers equally actualized. It flashes between two signifiers one of which has taken the place of the other in the signifying chain, the occulted signifier remaining present through its (metonymic) connexion with the rest of the chain."<sup>19</sup> Thus metaphor and metonymy need not be understood as oppositional "forms" of language; rather, they are merely two sides of the same coin, as it were.<sup>20</sup> The contrasts I noted in the last chapter between the panoramic descriptions in Mao Dun Midnight and Mu Shiying's Shanghai Foxtrot may also be read as reminders of very different historical concerns of the two writers. Mao Dun's description "pans" in camera-like fashion to focus on the foreign warehouses and the neon sign "LIGHT, HEAT, POWER," and is clearly a critical effort to ground the space of Shanghai metaphorically in the metonym of foreign capital.<sup>21</sup> Mu Shiying's description, on the other hand, reaches into an absolute space of pre-modern mythological origin, in a clichéd metonymic image standing for China, that metaphorical dragon of the Orient: "The roar of a toot sounded, from beneath water level a trail of arclight beam reached up. Rumble of iron rails, railroad ties centipede-like creep forward in the beam, telephone poles appear and disappear in the pitch black, the belly of the 'Shanghai Express' shoots out, da da da, foxtrot beat, bearing the night's pearl, dragonlike whipping by, rounding that arc. Lips open again with another whistle blast, a trail of smoke trails down the tail there, the arclight beam penetrates the horizon, then disappears."<sup>22</sup> As I noted in the last chapter, notions of realism and modernism tend to become contradictory, even paradoxical, when they are applied as labels to literary forms that basically represented competing claims to denotative expressions of social actualities. Mao Dun's ad hoc dismissal of modernist and avant-garde production was reactionary, but Mao Dun's realism may be read as a type of

socio-historical critique, and his contention that new forms hide an residual ideology should not be discounted completely, in particular regarding his contemporaries in China.<sup>23</sup> The apparent modernism of a writer such as Mu Shiyong always shows itself as contradictory, because beneath the layered, technical flash, beneath the abstract referential formalism, signs accumulate and play out historical roles easily missed.

When Mu Shiyong's "Shanghai Foxtrot" looks southwest over the International Settlement and environs from a position within the north part of the city, he is also providing a perspective that may be read as particularly *Chinese*. That is to say, his narrative eye will focus upon a section of the city of Shanghai which could be identified as a place inhabited by Chinese people. Looking southwards over Shanghai, Mu Shiyong's "Shanghai Foxtrot" begins where the city of Shanghai began as a traditional pre-modern walled county seat. As White notes, the first settlement "concessions" began as alternatives to the presence of foreigners within this walled city: "At first, most Westerners resided at the Chinese houses within the walled city, but the mandarin wanted them to move to a designated area outside the wall, just as soon as new residences could be built for them."<sup>24</sup> Thus Mu's strategy, his "diagrammic" description of Huxi (West Shanghai) that piles image upon image, may be read as an example of historical metonyms, easily elided as mere imagery: "Shanghai. Heaven built on hell. West Shanghai, bright moon climbing the sky, illuminating the wasted sprawl. Ashen sprawl, blanket of silvergrey moonlight, inlay of deep grey tree shadows and village shadows pile on pile."<sup>25</sup> As Hanchao Lu has pointed out, the early foreign concessions would soon become home not only to the few foreign settlers, but to Chinese inhabitants as well, and the development of the real estate market in Shanghai began as a result of Chinese refugees who first fled

the walled city to escape the occupation of Shanghai by the Small Swords (1853-1855), and again, later during the Taiping Rebellion (1850- 1864) when thousands of Chinese fled the Jiangnan region to seek the safety of foreign controlled areas when Shanghai was again occupied by Taiping troops from 1860- 62.<sup>26</sup>

By the 1920s and 30s the historical background has shifted considerably. Nevertheless, Xiaobing Tang's notion of "historical trauma" is always present and, within the context of twentieth century China, it could be called a constant.<sup>27</sup> It is no coincidence that Mu Shiyong's "Shanghai Foxtrot" reads as a tour de force of linguistic technique that centers itself around the year 1931.<sup>28</sup> 1931 was a year of crises in China that included the flooding of the Changjiang or Yangtze river that killed millions, the further fracturing of the Guomindang party by the establishment of a dissident government in Canton, the beginning effects in China resulting from a worldwide economic depression, and the well-known "Mukden incident," in which the Japanese army used the bombing of a railway north of the city of Mukden (now Shenyang) in September of that year as a pretext for the occupation of the city and, very soon after, all of Manchuria, which would be proclaimed by the Japanese as the state of Manchukuo in 1932. A chronological signifier such as "1931" is an example of what Jameson calls an "allegorical signified," history as an event of apocalyptic importance for a nation-state, and of traumatic significance for the narrative subject.<sup>29</sup> "Shanghai Foxtrot" brackets a year of events, opening in autumn around the Mukden incident to close in December just before the invasion and subsequent aerial bombardment of Zhabei, a Chinese section in the north part of the city in January, 1932. Even if Mu was inspired by John Dos Passos' 1919 in his proposed choice of a title, that he chose to focus on 1931 would have considerable



resonance in 1932 China when "Shanghai Foxtrot" was first published, where the dust of these events would hardly have had time to settle, so to speak.<sup>30</sup>

Indeed, the space of Shanghai is may be read as a locale of a potentially limitless series of "allegorical signifieds" marked by signifiers appearing as a series of (typographical) cut-outs: "NEON LIGHT reaches coloured fingers writing large words in the blue ink of night's void. An English gentleman stands there, wearing coattails, carrying a cane under his arm, walking with a lively stride. Written underneath his feet: 'JOHNNY WALKER STILL GOING STRONG.'" At the roadside the real-estate utopia of a small grass lot, above it a Chesterfield smoking American looks on as if to say 'What a shame this lilliputian utopia; is that little lot not big enough for me to put my foot down in?' "(Foxtrot 292-293). Mu Shiyong's specular narrative has been described as filmic, but note that such a visual description would not work on film (although it might work as a comic strip).<sup>31</sup> The description works as a piece of writing because the reader follows a description of "an English gentleman" which leads to the ironic realisation that what is being described is a billboard advertisement. And such irony is also potentially duosemic: my translation, "lilliputian utopia" is actually "xiaoren de wutuobang" (a little person utopia): little person (xiaoren) from the classical Chinese phrase denoting a morally or socially inferior person. But more importantly, as I noted in the last chapter in my discussion of Du Heng's "Red and Black," Mu's *cut-outs* also return to "land rent," here concretized as chunks of real estate, reterritorialized tropes of treaty-port space deterritorialized through (foreign) extraterritoriality. Indeed, Mu's "comic strip" descriptions may be closer to the political cartoon. As I noted at the end of the last chapter, "Shanghai Foxtrot" opens up with a "shot" of a Chinese section of Shanghai, as three figures dressed in black robes shoot a

nameless pedestrian, and the centrepiece of the story is a description of a construction site where the "(t)hree armlength(s) thick" piles of the building frame, a "wooden pyramid-like structure" (jinzi ta side gao mujia) are being driven into the ground (Foxtrot 296). The word for pyramid in Chinese literally translates as "gold-character pagoda" (jinzi ta), thus Mu's description reads well as an off-handed reference to the Three Prosperities Company-- "Sanxin gongsi," which was run by the three most powerful Green Gang gangsters in Shanghai.<sup>32</sup>

My reading here of *signage* is comparable to what Homi Bhabha referred to in his discussion of "rumour": "The discursive figure of rumour produces an infectious ambivalence, an 'abyssal overlapping,' of too much meaning and a certain meaninglessness."<sup>33</sup> To talk about writing *about* an historical Shanghai is to talk about an intertextual construct, and this construct is a woman:

At the railroad crossing, the criss-crossing arclight beams of cars, the signal falls holding red and green banners, that white faced red lipped pulls up, green gem earring wearing railroad crossing. Immediately, at the crossing's signal the cars fly by, one long string. Onto a street lined with legs of white painted trees, legs of telephone poles, all still-life legs.....REVUE-like, heavily made-up thighs of young women intersecting and extending.....white painted legs in formation (Foxtrot 290).

Shanghai is "metaphorized" as woman, but this metaphor may be "metonymized" for what it/she potentially stands for. Mu's layered imagery here remains a mere metaphoric comparison of parallel forms unless these lime-painted trees are also signs and signals that refract through the text as signifiers in search of signifieds. Indeed, these "still-life legs" may be read, as Lydia Liu noted in her discussion of Shi Zhecun, as examples of "Death as Woman" in which "the eroticism of male writing plays out its ritual of necrophilia."<sup>34</sup> On one theoretical level, male descriptions of women may merely be acts

of a sexist ritual, as Liu seems to imply. On the other hand, historical events do not allow such "ritualizing" to go unanswered. "Death as Woman" is also "Woman as Death," and within Shanghai, signifiers are refracted through the allegorical signified of war where, within the war zone of Zhabei, the civic authorities would organize disinfections of the affected areas with lime.<sup>35</sup> Shi's reenacted dismemberment in "Shi Xiu," which I discussed at the end of the last chapter, reveals more than a psycho-analytical echo in the context of searches for bodies after the attack on Zhabei: the dismembered, the fragmented, must be read in this "setting" as more than the result of a psycho-analytical or filmic eye.<sup>36</sup> Indeed, Adorno's remarks concerning cubism are not inappropriate: "Historically, cubism anticipated something appallingly real, namely the aerial photographs of bombarded cities during the Second World War. For the first time in its history, art during the cubist period faced up to the fact that life is actually dead."<sup>37</sup> By 1932, Shanghai, a city administratively divided into two foreign concessions and a Chinese city, would be further divided into defense sectors during Chinese- Japanese conflicts that waged for three months.<sup>38</sup> I am not claiming a direct relation between literary narrative and historical events, but these historical particulars are often ignored in discussions of the Shanghai modernists. Historical discourse does not necessarily need to be read as a causal factor of novelized narrative; rather, I consider historical discourse as a series of discourses within the intertextual construct of Shanghai and the signifying problematic of Shanghai literature.

## Part 2: Gender, Abstract Space, Erogenous zones

When Lin Yuling looked down and saw her dress of pale blue was soaked with sweat and her nipples showed through as two round, rosy blurs, she couldn't help smiling.

Mao Dun, Midnight<sup>39</sup>

Concomitant to the actuality of war in Shanghai was a militarization of society. In the "third type of person" debate, when Su Wen (Du Heng) refutes notions of goal oriented literature and historical teleology, claiming that that "social order (shehui zhixu) has no ultimate aim," he was in a sense broaching a major political concern of the political elite in Shanghai.<sup>40</sup> As Frederic Wakeman, Jr. put it, for the authorities in Shanghai: "Civic culture was to begin with the maintenance of *zhixu*" or "social order," a "primary theme" for the Greater Municipality of Shanghai from its establishment in 1927.<sup>41</sup> And, it must be added, for the Nationalist government in Nanjing as well. Perhaps the baldest expression of social order as ideology and policy was the New Life Movement launched by Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist government in 1934. Even within her excellent discussions of semicolonial ideology amongst Chinese intellectuals, Shu-mei Shih does not take contemporaneous politics into consideration.<sup>42</sup> In my opinion, the silence and controversy that surrounded these writers and their writing has as much to do with the way in which the Republican period is regarded in Chinese historiography as with the "ideological ambiguity and instability" Shih reads in Liu Na'ou.<sup>43</sup>

As my historical sketch above would imply, the New Life Movement was launched under inauspicious circumstances. At its inception, the New Life Movement represented a

mixture of nativist and Western ideologies, at once a call for a revival of Confucian values (Confucius' birthday had been made a holiday in 1931) and a call for the modernization of the country based on totalitarian movements in Germany and Italy. But whatever its models, as Arif Dirlik points out, the movement would end up focusing of "hygienic and behavioural" reform of the Chinese people to revitalize the nation: "mass demonstrations publicized the goals of the movement by engaging in hygienic activities such as sweeping the streets."<sup>44</sup> Nevertheless, as Dirlik notes: "the study of the movement's ideology indicates that hygienic reform, far from being a superficial concern, was an integral part of a comprehensive political outlook."<sup>45</sup> According to Dirlik, hygiene and morality were the key themes in which "[t]he resultant chorus of rebuke against the people by the leadership was one of the most ironic features" of the New Life Movement.<sup>46</sup> Within a revival of the Confucian virtues of native morality of propriety, righteousness, integrity, and honour (li, yi, lian, chi), critiques would focus upon filthiness, hedonism, laziness, gambling and superstition amongst other "barbaric" traits of the Chinese people.<sup>47</sup> As Dirlik notes, despite the apparent traditionalism of its concepts "[e]ven the most conservative New Life writers did not advocate a return to the old value-institution complex but believed in the necessity of modernization."<sup>48</sup> The "moral improvement of individuals as the means to good society" was complementary to "the ideal society as a bureaucratic machine with the one purpose of serving [. . .] the cause of the state."<sup>49</sup> And, perhaps with a notion of modernization in mind, "the ideal political order in new life vision was expressed in the metaphor of the machine."<sup>50</sup> One of the most fundamental aspects of this machine state was the militarization of the citizenry as "soldier-citizens."

Which was perhaps not surprising for a movement that derived its inspiration from modern totalitarian movements.

As a strictly top-down affair, and probably due in large part to the onset of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, the New Life Movement fizzled out less than three years after its inauguration. But it might be better to view the movement less as a short-lived government programme than as one significant aspect of the general politics of the Nanjing decade (1927- 1937). In an article on film censorship during the Nanjing decade, Zhiwei Xiao's evidences tendencies in film censorship during this period towards Cantonese dialect films, "superstitious" films and films containing sexual content. His discussion of "superstitious" films (*shenguai dianying*) is significant to the writers under discussion: "The faith in science was inseparable from China's drive to modernize."<sup>51</sup> In 1928-1929 the Nationalist party launched an "antisuperstition" campaign.<sup>52</sup> According to Xiao, in urban areas the government focused on "expressions in the mass media that could be linked to religion."<sup>53</sup> This resulted in bans of foreign films such as The Ten Commandments and Ben Hur for religious content, and films such as Alice in Wonderland and Frankenstein for "strangeness" with an emphasis on "*guai* (bizarre, exotic, and strange)."<sup>54</sup> And Chinese films would also come in for criticism, notably films, known nowadays as Martial Arts films, that depicted magical skills and ghosts. My discussion of modernist *zhiguai* in the last chapter, in particular Shi Zhecun's deconstruction of leftist critique, gains a certain amount of irony in this respect: when Shi criticizes the heavy-handedness of certain critical tendencies, his comments need to be understood within the context of state intervention in the cultural field.<sup>55</sup>

For a coastal city like Shanghai, industrialization was geared primarily towards the production of consumer goods, and such a consumerization naturally included products in the cultural field.<sup>56</sup> Leo Lee notes an "orientation toward female consumers, for whom a wide range of goods for domestic use were advertised" within urban popular journalism in Shanghai.<sup>57</sup> Although more research would be needed with regard to China, part of this "orientation" may have had something to do with a new position of women as consumers. In her discussion of the *flâneuse*, a female counterpart of the *flâneur* who appears with the rise of department stores in nineteenth century France, Anne Friedberg contends a new "purchase power" changed the status of women as consumers: "[. . .] women had a new set of social prerogatives in which their social powerlessness was crossed with new paradoxes of subjective power."<sup>58</sup> Indeed, Carlton Benson has shown that, as part of the New Life Movement's efforts to promote austerity and frugality amongst Shanghai consumers, one of the main targets of the Blue Shirts, the fascist organization that made up most of the cadres of the movement, were women: "[t]o eradicate the evil customs that women had begun to practice in modern cities like Shanghai, the Blue Shirts placed especially rigid guidelines on female clothing and public behaviour. By obeying these guidelines, women would gradually acquire self-discipline, learn to practice spartan lifestyles, and sacrifice their selfish interests for the Movement's paramount leader [Chiang Kai-shek]."<sup>59</sup> Guidelines even included regulations on the length of hem lines.<sup>60</sup> Leo Lee's readings of the magazine *Liangyou huabao* (The Young Companion), what he refers to as "this new public discourse of domesticity [which] puts a great emphasis on physical health and family hygiene" takes on a slightly more ominous tone in the light of the politicization and militarization of the social sphere during this period.<sup>61</sup> That is to

say, the "new public discourse" Leo Lee reads as an aspect of modernity, indeed, modernization in China, also had links to a fascistic state ideology.

Peng Hsiao-yen notes that Liu Na'ou, Mu Shiyang and Shi Zhecun published in precisely these types of popular woman's journals such as Liangyou and Funü huabao (Woman's Pictorial).<sup>62</sup> For Peng, the "New Sensation School works" reveal the neglected "national imaginary" or "figure" (*guozu xiangxiang*) of the New Woman (*xin nüxing*) which "[. . .] was reflected in a large number of Shanghai's popular publications, films and other media that constructed a New Woman cultural imaginary," a figure of feminist movements from the late Qing and early Republican periods.<sup>63</sup> Critiquing New Sensation writing, Peng contends most of the female protagonists in the stories of Liu Na'ou, Mu Shiyang and Shi Zhecun "follow the same fixed model, [they are] apsychological [. . .]"<sup>64</sup> Such a generalization is not unwarranted, in particular when it comes to Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiyang.<sup>65</sup> Li Jin reads what she calls the figures and images of the "decadent woman" (*tuipei nüren*), influenced by male European writers of the late nineteenth century who were also confronted with the "New Woman" as a social political force and threat.<sup>66</sup> Thus, Li Jin evidences the way the Chinese writers would use similar tropes as their European counterparts, tropes that depicted women as devouring seductresses.<sup>67</sup> But I find her readings are more relevant in the way the descriptions she cites focus consistently on women (bodies) as devouring animals, especially where woman are metaphorized as snakes.<sup>68</sup>

Li Jin notes a habit in Liu Na'ou's short stories where the characters are represented as Roman initials, so that the names of the characters are relatively unimportant. Instead of particularized individuals, "people are functionalized as empty



forms" and "materialized" (wuhua); that is to say, turned into things.<sup>69</sup> In "Formula" (Fangchengshi), the wife of a mathematically minded Mr. Y passes away and he ends up marrying a Miss S after first being set up with a Miss Y and Miss W. One reason for choosing Miss S over the other two women is convenience, he wants to marry before he leaves on a business trip. But he also chooses Miss S because it was like "solving an formula."<sup>70</sup> There is, it must be said, much irony in such a gesture. For example, Liu Na'ou is quite consistent in his use of the trope "mechanical." When Mr. Y's wife is still alive, he races home every lunch hour to eat a salad she prepares, the sight of which would "mechanically sweep clean the numbers in his head [. . .]"<sup>71</sup> Recalling the machine metaphor for the state in the New Life Movement, the salary man Mr. Y is quite obviously being satirized here for being "machine-like" (jiqui side), a trope for urban life that the young journalist Ran Qing and his companion escape in "Scenery" with their erotic tryst in the countryside.<sup>72</sup> Liu's use of Roman initials may be read as a type of alienation effect in which characters become mere anonymous variables within the "formulaic devices" of love story narratives.<sup>73</sup> At the same time, these anonymous variables are coordinates within the social space of the city. As Li Jin points out, just as buildings and vehicles in the city are made strange by become living things (shengcun zhuangtai), people become things, and the so-called "New Sensation Style" often consisted of metaphorizing the city as a woman.<sup>74</sup> But in this act of metaphorization, in which the city becomes a gendered image of woman, woman also becomes metonymized as consumer, or more specifically, a consuming body.<sup>75</sup>

As I noted above, although the Nationalist government's proposed reform of the hygiene and morality of the Chinese people occurred under the New Life Movement of

1934, it's quite doubtful such an ideological tendency was limited to the movement as such. Liu Na'ou's story "Liyi he weisheng" (Etiquette and Hygiene) would seem to attest to a more generalized ideological frame of reference.<sup>76</sup> Liu's title is incredibly sarcastic. Moreover, the story itself is interesting for a number of reasons not limited to this question. As I noted in the last chapter, French culture is presented ironically. Indeed, Shu-mei Shih's bifurcation of a "metropolitan" and "colonial" "West" make sense in the context of Liu's story, in which French culture is presented as the simultaneous bearer of the "high art" culture of oil painting, and as a hypocritical colonial presence personified in the person of a French ex-diplomat. But as Gregory Lee notes "[u]nlike India, China was faced not with a unitary dominant imperialist culture but with a plethora of competing colonisers [. . .]" According to Lee there was "[. . .] a preference for the French with their seemingly more enlightened and revolutionary traditions [. . .]" which was also due to educational exchanges and accessibility in the French quarter of Shanghai, in particular.<sup>77</sup> However, as well as the problematic position of "French culture," the discourse of colonialism in "Etiquette and Hygiene" complements discourse about the "New Woman." The story centers on the relations between a lawyer named Yao Qiming, Keqiong, his wife, and her younger sister Bairan. After winning a divorce case for a female client, as a result of the "limitless arrogance of New Women," the lawyer Yao Qiming gains a reputation as a champion for women's rights. Nevertheless, Qiming monologues that would have been better if women had been born without tongues (Etiquette 109- 110). Having already separated and united twice, things start to go sour between Qiming and his wife, Keqiong, after she starts to take painting lessons from her sister's lover, Qin, a painter recently returned from France. Qiming finally has a chance to

meet Bairan and Qin when he visits Qin's studio in the French Concession. The women in the story seem to represent two "types" of New Women. Keqiong is a stay-at-home bourgeois wife, a May Fourth "Ibsenesque" image of the "emancipated Nora," the liberated wife who threatens to walk out on her husband: "[. . .] I can leave at any time [. . .]" (Etiquette 120). The character of Bairan, on the other hand, is presented as having a rather varied history with various men before settling down with the bohemian painter Qin.<sup>78</sup>

The lawyer Qiming is obviously amused by the bohemian artist's studio in which he meets a foreigner, an French ex-diplomat originally stationed in Beijing, who speaks fluent Beijing dialect and makes a living selling Chinese antiques. The Frenchman launches into a discourse on the relative merits of Chinese and Western representation in painting that quickly devolves into the relative merits of Western and Asian women.<sup>79</sup> Qiming's visit to the studio is also his first face-to-face meeting with Bairan who, much to Qiming's delight, models in the nude. In Qiming's eyes, Bairan's body is a landscape of euphemistic mountains and streams. Bairan is thus presented as a body that gains meaning and value depending upon the projections of the males in the story.<sup>80</sup> Even before he meets her, Qiming is attracted to Bairan through stories he hears about her from his wife that inspire in him a kind of "emotional EXOTISME" (Etiquette 119). But such a projection is also frustrating for Qiming. Although he is sexually aroused by Bairan's body while thinking of her "fallen" (tuitang) past, he is frustrated by her emotionless "fossilized" gaze (Etiquette 127). Bairan, with the "reticence of a clay statue" never utters a word in the story, her indifference is an "excellent contrast" to Qiming's wife, Keqiong (Etiquette 130).<sup>81</sup>

A month later Qiming meets the French ex-diplomat at a movie theater where the Frenchman, in effect, implies Qiming has failed to appreciate his own wife and thus offers to trade the antiques in his store for Keqiong. As the Frenchman puts it: "[. . .] after all, nowadays everything can be regarded as [having] a fixed commodity value" (Etiquette 138). The Frenchman's polite business proposal is perhaps the sarcastic "Etiquette" of the story's title, and the meeting between the two men could be read as an example of a "orientalist" colonial regard that intimates a clear materialism on the part of a foreigner who takes for granted a Chinese man would be willing to "sell" his wife. But the story finds its punch line, so to speak, when Qiming hurries home to find a note from his wife telling him she has indeed gone off for a fling with the Frenchman. Ironically, while the Frenchman may think he has "bought" Qiming's wife, she refers to the Frenchman as her "PEKINESE," telling Qiming she will be back in two weeks. And to take her place while she's away, Keqiong has fixed Qiming up with her sister, warning Qiming "[. . .] what comes easy is often unhygienic (fei weishengde) [. . .] hope you care for her properly (haoshengdi)" (Etiquette 140).

Liu marks his characters according to class. But, the potential colonial critique is, it should be noted, overturned, because Qiming in fact "gets" the woman he desired partly on account of intervention of the French colonial. The story "Etiquette and Hygiene" could be read as a send up of class, race and gender politics in which the swapping turns out fairly for all parties.<sup>82</sup> However, if the flippant irony Liu's story reveals important attitudes towards the institution of marriage, such an irony is more revealing in its implicit suspicion of women in marriage. In Liu's "Flow," the protagonist Jing Qui and his employers' son Tang Wen, while watching what could be pornographic films in a theatre,

will spot the employer's third wife, Qing Yun, with another man. "Flow" presents three "types" of women: the bourgeois kept woman Qing Yun; the employers' daughter, the thirteen year old "Miss," for whom the protagonist is being kept as a future husband; and the communist activist, Ni Xiaoying, described as a "contemporary manly girl" with dark skin and short hair who never wears make-up. Jing Qiu is consistently rebuffed by Xiaoying, who only consults him on questions about materialist philosophy. In one crucial scene after Jing Qiu has once more been rebuffed-- consulted by Xiaoying for the definitions of "historic" and "a priori" in a book by Bucharin-- the thirteen year old "Miss" childishly puckers her lips for a kiss. Jing Qiu hesitates but quickly gives into her invitation "[. . .] Jing Qiu bent down and planted a passionate kiss, taking the emotion that couldn't be let out to Xiaoying and inserting [it] into these small, small lips" (Flow 53).

Jing Qiu's "kiss" is a very thinly disguised reference to coitus, and women are strange bodies who are not necessarily women. Women are interchangeable, like signifiers in a chain. Jing Qiu is an object of desire for the women in the story who are in turn categorized within the narrative as gender types of the protagonist. Through the particulars of the narrative, women are delineated according to social position as aspects of the male protagonist. After he has "kissed" the thirteen-year-old girl, Jing Qiu returns to his room to find Xiaoying waiting for him. But this time she hasn't come to consult him about a word: 'I won't consult you about some word, go ahead and sleep.' 'Sleep in front of a LADY? You're trying for a reform of ETIQUETTE, aren't you?' (Flow 54). Thus, like the characters in "Etiquette and Hygiene," the masculine Xiaoying has come to swap positions, to initiate the act of sex. Xiaoying probably decides to sleep with Jing Qiu to win his support in the workers' strike at his employer's factory, but in his description of the love scene, Liu resorts

to a euphemistic language that also constitutes the most detailed description of the male protagonist in the story: "Jing Qiu felt like he had been enchanted by a fox spirit, and was disoriented for a moment, but it was as if his large, powerful arms had gotten hold of some pretty pastry, [he] bit into the resilient flesh. Above was a heavy shower of kisses" (Flow 54). But the euphemism of the passage is problematic because the physical details of the male character read like an assemblage recalling the description of Xiaoying herself, the "contemporary manly girl" with "well-developed limbs like a mother animal thick and resilient" (Flow 46). Indeed, it is quite difficult to say who has gotten hold of whom.

At once feminine *and* masculine, what Rey Chow has described in another context as "feminine" detail here reveals a *slippage* in language that reveals an indeterminacy implicit in the act of authorial narration. The hybridity I spoke of in the last chapter reveals itself here as a slippage in gender signification.<sup>83</sup> And a slippage of signifiers, intentional or not, is perhaps understandable as a sort of displacement occurring within the context of a language "made strange" which, it must be said, also constitutes a problem that results from the repetition of tropes to the point of cliché. Liu's euphemistic description of intercourse in "Flow" reproduces the same phrase of the closing paragraph of "Etiquette and Hygiene": "Immediately after reading [Keqiong's] note, Qiming *felt like he had been enchanted by a fox spirit* and couldn't clear his head. Still in a state between sleeping and waking, he suddenly felt someone's breath behind him. As he turned around, there was Bairan standing at the top of the stairs smiling subtly, but as usual those small lips were sealed" (Etiquette 141, italics mine). Thus the text is marked by the trope of trauma, here linked explicitly to sex. And such an ending is open-ended, so to speak, because the woman is

not. And the woman fulfills another form of etiquette: her mouth is open because she will keep her mouth shut: the New Woman will either withhold or give-up.

The fox spirit (*hujing*) is a well-known trope for women from *zhiguai* and *chuanqi* that even resonates in the title of Mu Shiyong's "Shanghai Foxtrot."<sup>84</sup> But I'm not arguing for a continuity of tradition here. That the trope of the woman as a wondrous animal, whether a fox spirit or a snake for example, originates in Europe or China, is of little consequence for what it says about the way in which women are metaphorized and metonymized as bodies: "In abstract space, where an anaphorization occurs that transforms the body by transporting it outside itself and onto an ideal-- visual realm, we also encounter a strange substitution concerning sex [. . .] The space where this substitution occurs, where nature is replaced by cold abstraction and by the absence of pleasure, is the mental space of castration (at once imaginary and real, symbolic and concrete): the space of a metaphorization whereby the image of the woman supplants the woman herself, whereby her body is fragmented, desire shattered, and life explodes into a thousand pieces."<sup>85</sup> For Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiyong the signifier(s) for woman are assemblages, collages of race, class, and, especially for Mu, film celebrities (whose Romanized names probably stand for roles that stand for race and class anyways).<sup>86</sup> The body is the site where absolute and abstract space meet: "[i]ts natural status gone, its appeals for a 'culture' of the body unheeded, sex itself becomes no more than another localization, specificity or specialization, with its own particular location and organs-- 'erotogenic zones' (as assigned by sexologists), 'organs' of reproduction, and the like."<sup>87</sup> Metaphor and metonymy reduce the irreducible, they reduce space to the body, and the body in space.

The conceptions of women in Liu Na'ou noted above have one thing in common, they reduce women to an orifice, a mouth, one 'erogenous zone' amongst others.<sup>88</sup> For Liu Na'ou, this devouring mouth seems to have been related to a particular regard for sex as gender and that gender as sex: "Women are stupid trash, she always ends up raping me, insatiable human beast, demon-like vampire, except for self-indulgent sexual desire, what do these things know anyways?"<sup>89</sup> Thus, woman as erogenous orifice and devouring mouth contains the irony of a misogynistic marking. Such a marking, moreover, resonates as a lack, a signifying variable, a hole, as it were, which demands to be filled in order to reassure the privileged social position of the male. For the character Qiming of "Etiquette and Hygiene," the mere idea of his sister-in-law's "willingness" is potentially dominated through a paternal relationship based on resemblance "[. . .] because with regard to [her] looks, it could be said she was half his wife" (Etiquette 119). Moreover, the New Woman as nude model, as Yingjing Zhang notes, could have certain links to the concubine and the prostitute.<sup>90</sup>

The absolute space of Shanghai is posited in the Shanghai woman as devouring orifice, and she is also the locus for abstract space: she is the consumer "commodified." As I noted in the last chapter, Mu Shiyong's story "Bei dangzuo xiaoqianpin de nanzi" (The Man Who was Turned into a Diversion) incited Qu Qiubai's contempt for what he considered its bourgeois content.<sup>91</sup> But the story is quite ironical, and in my opinion, humorous as a study of gender relations. More importantly, Mu's story rehearses many themes relevant to my argument. Told in the first person, the story concerns the adventures of a young male narrator, "Alexy," and a young woman named Rongzi on a university campus. The story rehearses one theme common to Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiyong: the



frustratingly unsuccessful pursuit of an unfaithful lover. A culture of consumption permeates the narrative, and underlying this is woman metonymized as a body, as the metaphorized sex that eats. The New Woman, in this way, becomes the simultaneous site of absolute and abstract space. The narrator's love interest, Rongzi, leaves him messages asking him to come and see her. She teases the narrator for his attention to which he declares "How terrible (zogaona)!" while giving in each time. Woman is an orifice, a hole, the cipher of an assemblage, a collage of women: "But how terrible! I feel as if every O character is her lip trace, the eyes of Vilma Banky tacked to the wall, it's like they're her eyes, Nancy Carrol's smile is like hers, what's really strange is that her nose has moved over to Norma Shearer's face. In the end the flower of these lips is blooming on the shaft of this pen, blooming on Tolstoy's bald head, blooming on the paper ..... on the lampshade painted with roses [ . . .]"<sup>92</sup> This fragmented woman, one woman abstracted into all women, is slightly different from the dance hall hostess in "Black Peony" who is described for her quasi-ethnic "Spanish style."<sup>93</sup> For one thing, Rongzi is a university student, a cultured bourgeois who enjoys reading Paul Morand, Yokomitsu Riichi, Horiguchi Daigaku, Lewis (Sinclair): "[ . . . ] yes I really like Lewis" (Diversion 104). And Mu was not above 'plugging' his friends as well when Rongzi lists her favourite Chinese writers and artists: "I like Liu Na'ou's new techniques (huashu), Guo Jianying's caricatures, and your brutal writing, that vulgar flavour [ . . .]" (Diversion 104). Mu's cigarette smoking narrator could be read as an exercise in self-promotion, a cultivated persona, as I noted in chapter one, inextricably linked to the figure of the writer as celebrity. Ye Lingfeng was fond of this trope, or figure, of the well-known writer who is pursued by fans. But Mu's narrator is constantly frustrated, rebuffed like the protagonist Jing Qiu in "Flow." Mu's tough-guy narrator is even described by Rongzi as a

"woman-hating-illness-sufferer" (nüxing xianwu zhenghuanzhe), possibly a translation of "misogynist" (Diversion 98).

For the male narrator, the trope of trauma is also evident as "neurasthenia" (shenjing shuairuobing) (Diversion 105). And the narrator's pursuit is described in what would be, in "Western" terms at least, the most clichéd tropes of the hunter and the hunted. Rongzi is constantly referred to as a "dangerous animal" (weixian de dongwu). But, as Lacan puts it, "an animal does not pretend to pretend."<sup>94</sup> And the narrator constantly fears Rongzi is lying. At one point she constructs a narrative in which she is the suffering daughter of a rich family for whom the parents are constantly trying to arrange a marriage, or she is already married and awaiting her soccer player husband who went to America to study (Diversion 116- 117). Rongzi is the epitome of the modern girl: "[You're] really a girl who lives on excitement (ciji) and speed, Rongzi! JAZZ, machines, urban culture, American style, beauty of the age ..... of a product of an aggregate (de chanwu de jiheti)" (Diversion 104). The story's title is, however, indicative of the underlying trope that serves as the basis for the back and forth hunt, the game played by both the narrator and Rongzi. My translation "The Man Who was Turned into a Diversion" captures the passive form of "Bei dangzuo xiaoqianpin de nanzi." But "xiaoqianpin," "diversion," is a derivative of "xiao," which can mean to divert or pass the time, but also to disappear, to eliminate, to dispel (xiaochu) and more relevantly "xiaohua"-- to digest. The narrator's fears he will be turned into the diversion that gets eaten: "Terrible, she takes me for a spicy stimulant (cijiwu)" (Diversion 97). And while the narrator suffers from misogyny, the modern girl Rongzi suffers from indigestion (xiaohua buliangzheng). She is always surrounded by men who "wear sad faces," she is an automaton who devours men like food (and food like men): "The cause of this is simply that girls like

eating snacks too much. You [girls] take Nestlé's chocolate, SUNKIST, Shanghai beer, sugared chestnuts, peanuts, mixed them all together and gobble them all up, naturally you're going to get indigestion. The chocolate and SUNKIST you excrete (paixie) ..... is it any wonder they wear sad faces" (Diversion 97- 98)?<sup>95</sup> When the narrator gives an ultimatum to Rongzi to "Expel (paixie) all that filth" (Diversion 108), namely, the other men in her life, it's possible to ask whether the young woman is suffering from indigestion or constipation.

And the narrative may be read within an allegorical signified as the narrator tells Rongzi: "A new 1931 discovery: the bacteria of misogyny gives effective relief from stomach illness" (Diversion 104). As Wen-hsin Yeh notes, the university campus was an important space of intervention by the state after the Nationalists came to power in 1927. One aspect of this intervention was an attempted "partification" (danghua) of institutions of higher learning.<sup>96</sup> Mu Shiyong's university lovers, the cigarette smoking narrator and his partying, unfaithful lover, Rongzi, would have been perceived as thoroughly Westernized in their outlook and lifestyle. As Yeh notes: "[. . .] when ideologues of the New Life Movement considered problems of higher education, they instantly identified the urban character of student culture as the source of all academic troubles."<sup>97</sup> Furthermore, the fragmented woman, her face a collage of Hollywood stars, must be read as provocative in such a context: "The ideologues of the New Life Movement lashed out in particular against what they perceived as the decadent and corrosive side of an urban milieu, epitomized by the popularity of Hollywood films. The highly lucrative business of showing American films with sensual scenes encapsulated for the conservative Right-- as for the radical Left-- the most objectionable aspects of an urban lifestyle polluted by

the values of commercial culture and corrupted by the moral laxity of bourgeois society."<sup>98</sup>

On the one hand, representations of gender in the stories I've discussed in this chapter are metaphoric and metonymic reductions of women as consumers, as bodies that consume. Nevertheless, I contend that such reductions in turn resist theoretical reduction because the texts, as examples of discourses on gender, may be opened up to produce many ideological variables. As images of the "New Woman," they are negative, but not unambiguously so. As I noted above, Peng Hsiao-yen described these women as "apsychological" which I agree is a valid critique. But, by the same token, these narrated women aren't "apolitical," and the difference is quite important. For example, these images of women as consumers, as bodies that consume, inspire contradictory responses from the male narrative subjects, responses that belie simultaneous frustration and attraction. Mu Shiyong's Rongzi will inspire a kind of pity as she fades away, emaciated from indigestion (or constipation), to leave the campus, perhaps to live with relatives, and to leave the narrator to mistake fragments of her in other women's dresses, high-heeled shoes, eyes, voices. In "Etiquette and Hygiene," Yao Qiming is sexually aroused by Bai Ran precisely because she is a "fallen" woman: "[ . . . ] when people find out about her past history, everyone says she's a pitiful young woman, but Bairan doesn't think of herself as pitiful or anything like that. Because [whatever happened] was as a result of her own willingness."<sup>99</sup> I suggest that these (represented) women (bodies) must be read within broader political and social discourses.

Starting from the problem of semicolonialism, Gail Hershatter's discussion of the subaltern in twentieth century China is relevant here: "Chinese intellectuals of the 1920s

and 1930s, for instance, often took it as their project to voice the grievances [. . .] of workers, peasants, prostitutes, and other candidates for subalternity. It is important to remember that these intellectuals were writing to and against a world in which they felt themselves to be (and were seen to be) profoundly subaltern with respect to Western governments and Western intellectuals. Their sense of their own subordination shaped the rhetorical uses that intellectuals made of subaltern groups."<sup>100</sup> In her discussion of the fluidity of semicolonial subalternity, Hershatter's focuses on the relationship between elites and the prostitutes in Shanghai: "[. . .] to call attention to the ways in which one set of people who were simultaneously privileged and subordinate (Chinese intellectuals in semicolonial Shanghai) used an even more subordinated group (prostitutes) as a metaphor through which to articulate their own subordination."<sup>101</sup> Hershatter contends that very often prostitutes used "stratagems" that "can be read against the grain [. . .] as possible points of negotiation or resistance on the part of the prostitutes, who tried to maximize both their income and their autonomy vis-à-vis both madames and customers."<sup>102</sup> This included strategies of self-representation that used the ambiguous legal status of women to their own advantage: "Prostitution per se was not illegal in Republican China, but trafficking was. Because of the structure of Republican laws about prostitution, women could obtain legal protection in exiting a brothel if they asserted that they had been removed from a respectable family and sold into prostitution."<sup>103</sup>

Interestingly, in the "third type of person" debate, Su Wen uses the trope of the "prostituted wife" as a metaphor for literature, a use I also noted in Mu Shiying's image of a married woman forced into prostitution in "Shanghai Foxtrot." But except for rare instances, the writers discussed in this thesis usually didn't write about prostitutes per se.

Mu Shiyong's dance hall hostesses are important reminders, however, that questions concerning the definition of prostitution were quite fluid. Andrew D. Field contends the dance hall hostess of 1920s and 30s Shanghai was linked historically to the nineteenth century courtesan.<sup>104</sup> Mu Shiyong's "Benpu xinwenlan bianjishili yizha feigaoshang de gushi" (Story on a discarded draft in a news editor's office in this port) is a concrete example of such a linkage as the narrator traces the story of a hostess arrested for causing a commotion at a dance hall. The story is an incredible example of multivocal reportage in which the narrator, beginning with a story found in a wastepaper basket, interviews a series of people to find out why the young woman was thrown in jail. When he finally visits the young woman in the jail cell, she tells him she was in fact first forced into prostitution and the story ends when the narrator asks the young woman if she needs money and, when she refuses, he retreats. The young woman is described, through intertextual newspaper reports and interviews, as a downtrodden woman, a victim. And, as an alterity who refuses the aid that money might bring in her release, she announces her position as subaltern in the form of intransigent refusal. The representations of women in the stories I've discussed are negative if read solely as (male) ironic critiques of New Women. But even Liu Na'ou's misogynistically marked women tend to be gender types of an "internal dialogue" centering around the protagonist.<sup>105</sup> Liu Na'ou's Bairan from "Etiquette and Hygiene," is clearly delineated as an "indifferent" figure of modern aesthetics. Mu Shiyong's Rongzi, as I noted above, becomes a figure for modern literary and artistic production which must be appreciated as provocative within the context of the moralistic ideology of the period. These narrated "New Women" consume all that the modern world has to offer without regard to morality, nationality or, political and

ideological affiliation. As such, the ironic critique of the New Woman must also be read as critically ironical. In other words, presented through their refusal to commit, these figures of the New Woman are examples of intransigent subalternity, they are literary figures of particular social and political discourses on gender that simultaneously serve as figures of the Chinese "modernist" literary production.

Mu Shiyong's "CRAVEN 'A' " is an important example of a female figure who is not a prostitute, but whose position is like that of a prostitute. The narrator, a lawyer, meets her at a dance hall where she is constantly referred to by patrons as "CHEAP."<sup>106</sup> The narrator gives her the name CRAVEN "A" because this is her favorite brand of cigarette, a fact she announces by reciting what reads like a catch phrase from an advertisement: "I love its light, silvery flavour."<sup>107</sup> CRAVEN "A" is an automaton, an assemblage who dances the Rumba like an African black woman and mimics the Hollywood actress Norma Shearer. Thus, Mu Shiyong's use of brand names, of catch phrases from advertising, of female Hollywood actors, is inscribed in this woman named CRAVEN "A." CRAVEN "A" is consistently referred to as "like a child" (haizi side). As she tells the narrator herself, at the age of seventeen she was plied with alcohol and raped, and thus she is constantly represented, as a "self-representation," in a drunken stupor, only to be carried home at one point by the narrator who almost rapes her himself. Importantly, it is precisely this image of the subaltern as a passive victim which attracts the narrator: "A despised young woman travelling short stopovers beautiful charming scenery in dance halls ocean beaches movie theatres suburbs gardens public parks growing up Hong Kong toyed and toying with despised despised squeezed out by society unfortunate person" (CRAVEN "A" 141). Like the story of dance hall hostess found in a wastebasket,

CRAVEN "A" has been "squeezed out" or rejected by society (ji chulai de), tossed to the side, marginalized, and the narrator is attracted to her as a result. Nevertheless, the narrator contributes in no small part to her status as a social outcast, at one point almost forgetting her because he must argue three inheritance cases in court. The narrator is attracted to CRAVEN "A," but he is attracted to her precisely because of her negative social position. And the subaltern CRAVEN "A" is also a figure of national allegory. The most detailed physical description of CRAVEN "A" is given by the narrator who literally "maps" her as an "exquisite national map." CRAVEN "A" is metaphorized so to speak, starting from the "northern frontier" of her hair, the narrative maps the body of CRAVEN "A" to end with "[. . .] the map below obstructed by a table in the middle!":

Between the two dikes, judging from its topography, is a triangular alluvial plain. Near the ocean must be an important harbour, a large commercial port. Otherwise why should such exquisite dikes be built? The night scene of the metropolis is lovely-- just think about the sunset glow on the dikes, the sound of the waves on the docks, the majesty of the steamships as they enter the harbour, the spray from the bows, and the tall buildings crowding the bank (CRAVEN "A" 140).<sup>108</sup>

This unseen part of the map is imaginary: "[t]he Phallus is seen. The female genital organ, representing the world, remains hidden."<sup>109</sup> As Shu Mei-shi notes: "In no other New Sensation story can one find such a sustained use of simile, nor such an intense eroticization and objectification of the female body in seductive, voyeuristic language."<sup>110</sup> But for Shih, although Mu seems to allegorize Shanghai and China in this mapping of a woman's body "[w]here there is ample opportunity for Mu Shiying to make allegorical links between the modern girl and Shanghai's semicolonial condition, he simply chooses to disengage from questions of the national in political terms."<sup>111</sup> In clear-cut political terms perhaps, but I would contend that such a mapping is allegorical



precisely because Shanghai, and by extension China, is being mapped *as a woman*.<sup>112</sup> In the context of the story, the image of CRAVEN "A" as "a harbour, a large commercial port" *is* allegorized as a contrast to the phallic steamships penetrating the harbour and the "tall buildings crowding the bank." And it is worthwhile recalling that the narrator, the narrative subject responsible for the very nomination of CRAVEN "A" is a lawyer: "Paternity's imposition of its juridical law (the Law) on maternity promoted abstraction to the rank of a law of thought. Abstraction was introduced-- and presupposed-- by the Father's dominion over the soil, over possessions, over children, over servants and slaves, and over women. Assigned to the feminine sphere were immediate experience, the reproduction of life (which was to begin with, inextricably bound up with agricultural production), pleasure and pain, the earth, and the abyss below."<sup>113</sup> However, what I find most problematic about Mu's metaphor of CRAVEN "A" is the *slippage* in signification that occurs denoting the "important harbour" between her legs. Because although the obvious linkage would point to a comparison to CRAVEN "A" 's vagina, the compound in Chinese for "harbour" is "gangkou," linked by phonetic and anatomical contiguity to "gangmen"-- anus. Like Rongzi of "The Man Who was Turned into a Diversion," CRAVEN "A" is metonymically (etymologically) linked to consumption with "a pair of crafty, rat-like deep black eyes" (CRAVEN "A" 138), she is a "youthful body" "wasting" or "consuming" (xiaofeizhe) her youth with a different man every day (CRAVEN "A" 144).<sup>114</sup> Thus, while her vagina is metaphorized as a harbour, her vagina is metonymized as her anus.<sup>115</sup>

At any rate, Mu Shiyong's "harbour (mouth)" (gangkou) for the character CRAVEN "A" would have been, I contend, sufficiently provocative as an (national)

allegorical signifier. That Shu-mei Shih searches in vain to find a politicized gesture in such a trope is perhaps a problem for the critical-theorist rather than the text's author. As textual representations, I contend that such women are figures for the subaltern who speaks through her (self) representation as an agent of social and political intransigence. These intertextual constructs of women are examples of absolute space abstracted.<sup>116</sup> And such abstractions were not limited to allegories of China, as the "Freudianist" character Jin Zhongnian in Mu Shiyong's "PIERROT" blurts out at one point: "The masses conceal a primitive nature. Primitive people worshipped the genitals, worshipping all types of spirits that symbolized genitals from the beginning of culture, such as eastern people who worshipped snakes, the middle ages worshipped the cross, people of the middle ages were fond of Gothic architecture because it symbolized the structure of the mouth (men) of women's genitals, modern people love dancing [. . .]"<sup>117</sup> Such a parodic passage perhaps reveals more about the discourse of Freudianism as such, as a vulgar correspondence between sex and life. But the "Freudianism" of Shi Zhecun's narratives do reveal a fascinating and problematic allegorizing which may be linked to the appearance of a teleological historical view in which Freud's stages are being applied to the Chinese subject in a similar manner as the schematic use of Western Marxist categories in Chinese historiography.<sup>118</sup>

In the last chapter I discussed the way in which Shi Zhecun stories, in particular "Shi Xiu," may be read as a critique of the male psychology, as a psychoanalytic reduction of male sexuality as a form of oral erotism. I would suggest that part of his interest in psychoanalysis is evidenced in a use of Freudian "stages," and, in addition to the "oral stage" Shi's stories also reveal a number of "anal" characters. The male narrator

of "Zai balidaxiyuan" (At the Paris Theatre) is delineated as orally *and* anally fixated as he wipes his hands with his lover's handkerchief after they are covered with the chocolate ice cream he has eaten. Bringing the handkerchief up to his mouth he sniffs his lover's scent and tastes her sweat and snots. The images are incredibly grotesque, but the scene is a metaphor for their relations, since both the man and his lover are having clandestine affairs outside of marriage. Obsessed with being splashed with mud from motorcycles, the male narrator of "Meiyu zhixi" (An Evening of Spring Rain) still insists on walking home in the rain. His colleagues tell him there's no reason to save money for transportation when it rains, but he insists on walking, claiming he enjoys the sight of the street lights in the rain. At the same time he stays at the office to work longer, because "for one thing, what's left (shengde) will only accumulate even more so tomorrow [ . . .]"<sup>119</sup> Shi is clearly playing with concepts from psychoanalysis in the sexuality of his characters, and one salient form in Shi is the "transformed erotism" discussed by Freud as anal erotism "to be found in the treatment of money."<sup>120</sup>

Although Shi's "Freudianism" has been discussed by many critics, the problem of the specific Freudian concepts he uses are rarely discussed. For Freud, anal erotism is a type of pregenital erotism: "It is probable that the first meaning which a child's interest in faeces develops is that of 'gift' rather than 'gold' or 'money.' The child knows no money apart from what is given him-- no money acquired and none inherited of his own. Since his faeces are his first gift, the child easily transfers his interest from that substance to the new one which he comes across as the most valuable gift in life."<sup>121</sup> And I would suggest that in these narratives, this is one locus for a type of "intransigence" that I've spoke about above: "Anal erotism finds a narcissistic application in the production of defiance, which constitutes an

important reaction on the part of the ego against demands made by other people."<sup>122</sup> In an earlier essay, Freud contended that anal erotism had a determining role in the formation of a type of character "[. . .] noteworthy for a regular combination of the three following characteristics. They are especially *orderly*, *parsimonious* and *obstinate*."<sup>123</sup> Freud contends such traits originate early pleasures associated with defecation and later "holding back the stool," a form of behaviour which, according to Freud, is transferred in adulthood to money. Shi Zhecun's critique of male psychology finds an analogue in his treatment of women as anal. The story "Chunyang" (Spring Sunshine) was part of the collection Shannüren xingpin (The Exemplary Conduct of Virtuous Women).<sup>124</sup> As Leo Lee notes, the collection's title is an ironic reference to "traditional hagiographic accounts of chaste women (*jiefu*)."<sup>125</sup> But the irony is not that these women aren't "exemplary"; rather, by psychoanalysing the characters, Shi classifies them and through such classification critiques the very meaning of exemplary virtue in Chinese culture. "Spring Sunshine" is the story of Auntie Chan from Kunshan, a small city near Suzhou, who comes to Shanghai to go to the bank and take in the sights. She is carefully delineated as a woman whose husband died 75 days before their arranged marriage twelve or thirteen years ago. Well regarded for her virtue, Auntie Chan, with a "sacrificial spirit" or "consciousness" (*xisheng jingshen*), chose to "bao paiwei"-- to maintain her status as wife, that is to say, to remain an unmarried virgin and inherit her dead husband's ancestral estate. This trope of inheritance underlines an ironized notion of virtue, because she maintains her status even as her husband's family awaits her death to split up the property. And obviously they will have to wait a long time since "Auntie" Chan is only about 34 or 35 years old. However, although Auntie Chan has what is probably a considerable amount of property and money, she has an anal retentive regard for money, and

she walks down the main commercial thoroughfare of Nanjing Road in Shanghai estimating costs of the products in the store windows, afraid to spend money. Auntie Chan, after carefully estimating the cost of each item on the menu, finally decides to stop for a bite at a restaurant, where, like the narrator of "Demonic Way," she monopolizes four seats. At the restaurant she feels lonely as she watches a young family and fantasizes about talking to a male patron. Instead, however, she goes to the bank to check her safety deposit box. She may have come to Shanghai for this purpose, and she returns at the end of the story once again to make sure her safety deposit box is locked.

Thus Auntie Chan is a *flâneuse*; it's just that she's anal.<sup>126</sup> She counts her pennies. Shu-mei Shih claims Shi Zhecun's female characters are sexually repressed because he thought Chinese women had been "subjected to the dictates of traditional ethical injunctions for centuries."<sup>127</sup> But as Leo Lee points out, Shi's women are "*not* liberated," thus, they represent a contrast to the May Fourth "emancipated Nora" figures that anticipate the fiction of Zhang Ailing in the 1940s.<sup>128</sup> Also, Auntie Chan is from "Kunshan," the birthplace of "Kunqu," a style of Southern opera that began in the Ming Dynasty. Thus, Auntie Chan could be read as an ironic figure of *haipai* culture and by extension, Shanghai. It's important to point out that to this day Shanghai people are still referred to as stingy (*xiaoqi*), penny-pinching people over concerned with questions of money. Female characters in Du Heng are also delineated in this regard. In "Unemployment," Mrs. Gan is a sexless middle-aged housewife who, in the midst of taking care of the house, suddenly launches into a discourse on inflation: "Second grade foreign rice has gone up to 9 kuai 6; Crucian carp is over 90 a liang,\* can't [afford to] eat it; before five or six coppers could buy half a kilo of vegetables,

---

\* A liang is a unit of weight equal to around 50 grams.

now more than a hundred's still not enough."<sup>129</sup> The single mother in "Tingzijian li de fangke" (Boarders in a garret apartment) turns out her boarders, a single mother and daughter, for having stolen 10 kuai, when it turns out that her own son had forgotten to tell his mother he had taken the money to go on a date with the daughter. Du Heng's "Ren yu nüren" (People and Women) could be read for an aspect of parsimony that "may appear in the exaggerated form of avarice."<sup>130</sup> In "People and Women," seventeen year old Zhenbao, a factory worker, becomes obsessed with the thick wide, gold ring she sees on her co-worker's finger: "It was as if Zhenbao had swallowed that gold ring but had trouble digesting it."<sup>131</sup> That is to say, she couldn't comprehend how the other factory worker was able to own such a ring. Whereas Mu Shiyong uses a physical ailment like "indigestion" to metaphorize (and carnivalize) the character Rongzi in "The Man Who was Turned into a Diversion," Du Heng reveals the way in which everyday speech performs the same function.<sup>132</sup> And Zhenbao will imitate and follow her co-worker, Wangcui, "that type of person," into a life of prostitution. Du Heng's narrative is also a subtle interplay of family relations, and the story could be read as a critique of women (as the title implies) within the context of social class and urban culture.<sup>133</sup>

Du Heng's focus on (money) *trivialities* (suocuide shiqing), one aspect of his attention to details, to social minutiae, is based on a particular view of materialism that represented a (mis)reading of Marxist critique as a type of economism, a vulgar reduction of life as money and money as life.<sup>134</sup> As I have tried to make clear in this chapter, these narratives have lost their historical context, a context linked to the Nanjing decade and the New Life Movement. For example, contemporary critics of the Movement were quick to note its contradictory aspects: "Given the poverty of China and the suffering of the people,

they [critics] pointed out, it was meaningless to talk of hygienic and moral reform. Injunctions on frugality made little sense to a population that lacked even the basic necessities of life."<sup>135</sup> The women in Shi Zhecun and Du Heng, unlike the urban bourgeois women in the stories I've discussed by Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiying, are usually lower or middle class, therefore more traditional. And this probably explains, more than anything else, their "anal" traits. Furthermore, "anal" must be understood as a term of convenience, one 'erogenous zone' amongst others, which would also have to include the esophagus and the digestive tract.<sup>136</sup> At the other end of parsimony, so to speak, is Freud's "infantile *incontinentia alvi* [fecal incontinence],"<sup>137</sup> described by Karl Abraham as an aspect of anal character, an "excessive spending of money" during anxiety states.<sup>138</sup> For Abraham, such a trait occurred as "street anxiety" in his patients after they left home. Abraham found his example in an anally fixated young woman for whom "emptying her bowels without parental superintendence signified independence." Thus when the young woman left the house she was overcome by anxiety she would spend money randomly: "She was giving out *money* instead of *libido*. The explanation of this compensatory significance of money is derived from the unconscious equation of money and faeces."<sup>139</sup> Furthermore, such a contention is significant for what it says not merely about the simplistic equivalence of money and faeces, but women and consumption as a category worthy of comparative literary theory. Above, I cited Anne Friedberg's discussion of the appearance of women as *flâneuses* in France in the nineteenth century, and such a linkage is clear in early twentieth century China. And it is a linkage that appears to be a trope worthy of new concepts of *globality*, or global capitalism, a trope which creates an equivalency between women and consumers in the adman's clichéd phrase: "The consumer isn't a moron; she is your wife."<sup>140</sup>

The representations of women in Shi Zhecun and Du Heng discussed in this chapter correspond in a striking way to Freud's contentions about anal erotism. But as I noted above: either she will withhold or she will give up. Either the women are depicted as constipated or incontinent. In Du Heng's "Hai xiaozhe" (The Smiling Sea) a young bride joins her husband of an arranged marriage in Shanghai. The story, however, quickly turns into a coarse cautionary tale of the materialism of Shanghai consumer culture as the young woman overspends until the husband leaves the city to return to his parent's house and the young wife is left to pawn off their furniture and drown herself in the ocean. At the same time, Du Heng's story also implies a certain sublimation of sex for spending, an implication also evidenced when the "third wife" in Liu Na'ou's "Flow," Qing Yun, meets the protagonist Jing Qiu one day on Nanjing Road loaded down with parcels. As she squeezes Jing Qiu's legs under the restaurant table, her spending habits are merely one more indication of her lavish lifestyle and her sexual "appetite."

As I have noted in this chapter, the women as narrative subjects, gendered figures, and social agents are described negatively, as threatening New Women predators to the male protagonists, or as parsimonious shrews. However, such representations must be understood as potentially provocative, even subversive, within the wider context of the period. These women as consumers and consuming bodies are tropes with very specific historical resonance. They may be read as male textual constructs of women (which they are), as sexist, reductive constructs. However, read solely in this manner, such constructs become depoliticized within an (ahistorical) critique of gender representation. For the sake of argument, I would note this type of irony as "gendered." And gendered irony, sufficiently evident in the stories I've discussed, could be read as merely part of Lydia Liu's comments



on sexist ritual noted at the beginning of this chapter.<sup>141</sup> But such an irony swings both ways, so to speak. As Leo Lee notes, Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiyong often used the "modern boy-meets-girl" plot.<sup>142</sup> One of the stories Lee focuses on is Mu Shiyong's "Luotuo•nicaizhuyizhe yu nüren" (Camel•Nietzschean and Woman). Lee claims that "[n]ot only does the encounter lead to the predictable result of the man being outwitted, but the process takes on a more elaborate form and details as well [. . .] a tour de force of Mu's characteristic flair."<sup>143</sup> A tour de force indeed, but the "elaborate form and details" are only there if the story is read historically. The plot is short and direct. A Camel cigarette smoking man enters a CAFÉ NAPOLI and meets a young woman with eyebrows like Garbo. He flirts with her by criticizing the way she smokes cigarettes and drinks coffee. The woman invites him to join her, since her date never showed up, and she proceeds to teach him about 375 brands of cigarettes, 23 kinds of coffee, and 5 000 recipes for mixed drinks. In the end he capitulates and gives in to her charms, so to speak. But to read this story as merely part of a "boy-meets-girl" formula is a very questionable misreading. The story opens with a quote from part one Nietzsche's Thus Spake Zarathustra from "Of the Tree Metamorphoses," notably the passages pertaining to the camel, parodically linked by Mu to the Camel cigarettes smoked by the male character.

<sup>144</sup> The male character may be flirting with the young woman, but he also refers to her as a "heretic" (yijiaotu), and his "challenge," as Leo Lee puts it, reads as more of an interrogation of the young woman. Mu's imagery is actually quite layered and complex, but to my mind the two most important images are the sand colored smoke from the Camel cigarettes, repeated throughout the story, and the blue interior of the CAFÉ NAPOLI, where the narrative takes place. The story is clearly a play of national types: a

(German) "Nietzschean" enters an Italian café and meets a modern young woman with eyebrows like the Swedish Hollywood actress Garbo. Thus, the story is an obvious allegory of national types, but more importantly, these national types are unmistakably playing out a New Life Movement farce. The male character is a very thinly disguised Blue Shirt, a fascist disciplinarian who is seduced by the consumer he attempts to reform. But what is most surprising in this story of "boy-meets-girl," is the image of male capitulation, which could be called a capitulation of the phallus. The male character leaves with the woman who gives herself up to the man on the streetcar: "[. . .] he stared at her, felt as if her silk top became thinner [. . .]"<sup>145</sup> But the verb Mu uses represents a most unusual slippage: her silk top "bole qilai," an obvious homonym for "bo qilai"- that is, to rise (perhaps like her breasts) or, in this instance, to get an erection, which the male character does in the next line: "A gust of primitive passion surged up from his lower half."<sup>146</sup> And he thrusts away the sand colored Camel while thinking, "Maybe Nietzsche was impotent after all!"<sup>147</sup> But Mu's pun clearly displaces the penis onto the woman and the passage seems to act out an aspect of Lacan's "signification of the phallus":

"If, in effect, the man finds satisfaction for his demand for love in the relation with the woman, in as much as the signifier of the phallus constitutes her as giving in love what she does not have-- conversely, his own desire for the phallus will make its signifier emerge in its persistent divergence towards 'another woman' who may signify this phallus in various ways, either as a virgin or a prostitute. There results from this a centrifugal tendency of the genital drive in love life, which makes impotence much more difficult to bear for him, while the *Verdrängung* inherent in desire is more important."<sup>148</sup>

As Rey Chow notes: "[f]emale breasts were a 'new' figure at the time; their visibility in public signifies 'progress' and their inclusion in rational prose signifies a legitimation, hence demystification, of an embarrassing kind of detail [. . .]" But, as Chow also notes,

"[i]n another sense [. . .] the breasts establish a gap in the narrative language [. . .]"<sup>149</sup> As Lacan would have it, the phallus "[. . .] is the signifier intended to designate as a whole the effects of the signified, in that the signifier conditions them by its presence as a signifier."<sup>150</sup> But clearly the phallus here (as a "signifier" of a "signified" penis) is split, and doubled, as it were. More likelier it could be said that the woman here is an embodiment of the "phallic mother."<sup>151</sup> As the phallic mother, and within what Lefebvre calls "the dominance of the male principal, with its violence and love of warfare" are the seeds of the subversion of the phallus.<sup>152</sup> Thus the "female principle" does have its revenge on the phallographic male principle, but not in the abolition of private property, as Lefebvre would have us believe.<sup>153</sup> Although the phallus would dominate the woman, she knows full well that only through her can domination be fulfilled; only through the woman can domination be *evidenced* (seen) as domination. But while the male would dominate this particular and that, at the very moment the heavy hand of ad hoc domination falls, woman gives birth to multitudes, and absolute space recalls to abstraction its origins as absolute space abstracted. The phallus, therefore, loses its signifying power in the multitude. The phallus becomes reduced, as it were, to a mere metonym of the penis, and of its own (impotent) verticality. As Lacan noted: "The fact that the phallus is a signifier means that it is in the place of the Other that the subject has access to it."<sup>154</sup> But the phallus *as* signifier is split, because the Other has a penis too. Which is a possible explanation for why consumers are always among the first to be blamed by the state for an economic crisis.

---

<sup>1</sup> Hsiao-tung Fei, China's Gentry: Essays in Rural-Urban Relations, Revised and edited by Margaret Park Redfield (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953) 105.

<sup>2</sup> Henri Lefebvre, Everyday Life in the Modern World, trans. Sacha Rabinovitch (London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 1971) 112. This passage is part of a longer discussion that takes place in chapter 3, "Linguistic Phenomena" 110- 142. I've altered the translation somewhat. See, Henri Lefebvre, La vie quotidienne dans le monde moderne (Paris: Gallimard, 1968) 213.

<sup>3</sup> Li Jin, Haipai xiaoshuo yu xiandai dushi wenhua (The Shanghai School Novel and Modern Urban Culture) (Hefei: Anwei jiaoyu, 2000). See, chapter 1, 8- 43.

<sup>4</sup> See, Li Jin, The Shanghai School Novel and Modern Urban Culture 16- 21. Although it could also be argued this had as much to do with long shots of the city in the relatively new medium of cinema.

<sup>5</sup> In one example, Li refers to the metaphorical descriptions of pedestrians as "ants" in Liu Na'ou. See, Li Jin 22. My translation.

<sup>6</sup> Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991) 96. I've altered the translation of this passage slightly. See, Henri Lefebvre, La Production de l'espace (Paris: Éditions anthropos, 1974) 115.

<sup>7</sup> See, Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space 27.

<sup>8</sup> Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space 282. An approach which seems to be informed, at least partly, by a reading of Marx's Grundrisse. See, Lefebvre 67. See, also, Lefebvre's discussion of historical materialism 128- 129.

<sup>9</sup> See, Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space 78- 79 for an example of the problematic relationship between space and language in his discussion of the transformation of the latifundia, through what Lefebvre refers to as the urban oligarchy in Tuscany, at the beginning of the thirteenth century. As I noted in chapter two, Lefebvre also intersperses a dialogue with "a Japanese philosopher of Buddhist background" 152- 153.

<sup>10</sup> "In Nietzschean thought [. . .] *meta-* is understood in a very radical manner. Metaphor and metonymy make their appearance here at the simplest level of language: words as such are already metaphoric and metonymic for Nietzsche [. . .] Words themselves go beyond the immediate, beyond the perceptible - that is to say, beyond the chaos of sense impressions and stimuli. When this chaos is replaced by an image, by an audible representation, by a word and then by a concept, it undergoes a metamorphosis. The words of spoken language are simply metaphors for things. The concept arises from an identification of things which are not identical - i.e. from metonymy." See, Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space 138.

<sup>11</sup> See, Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space 139.

<sup>12</sup> See, Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space 48- 49.

<sup>13</sup> See, Hsiao-tung Fei, China's Gentry: Essays in Rural-Urban Relations, Revised and edited by Margaret Park Redfield (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953) 91. I discuss Fei's contentions in chapter two.

<sup>14</sup> The Republican period runs from the founding of the Republic in 1911 until the founding of the People's Republic in 1949.

<sup>15</sup> See, Christian Henriot, Shanghai 1927-1937: Elites locales et modernisation dans la Chine nationaliste (Paris: Editions de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1991) 39 *et passim*.

<sup>16</sup> See, Wu Fuhui, The Shanghai School Novel in the Whirl of the City (Hunan: Hunan jiaoyu, 1995) 41- 59.

<sup>17</sup> Lynn T. White III, "Non-governmentalism in the Historical Development of Modern Shanghai," in Urban Development in Modern China, ed. Laurence J. C. Ma and Edward W. Hanten (Boulder: Westview Press, 1981) 19- 57; 20 - 21. See, also, appendix 1, "Shanghai lishi dashiji" (Major Events in Shanghai history) in Shanghai cidian (The Shanghai Dictionary) (Shanghai: Fudan daxue, 1988) 520- 529; 521. In the Shanghai Dictionary the date of 1553 is given as well as the dimensions of the walls.

<sup>18</sup> See, Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space 98- 99.

<sup>19</sup> Jacques Lacan, "The agency of the letter in the unconscious or reason since Freud," in Écrits: A Selection, trans., Alan Sheridan (New York: W. W. Norton, 1977) 146- 175; 157.

<sup>20</sup> With the stipulation that Lefebvre understands the "subject" as a social entity, while Lacan's subject enunciates (itself) through speech.

<sup>21</sup> Mao Dun, Midnight, trans. Hsu Meng-hsiung (Beijing: Foreign languages Press, 1957) 9. An image which is personified in Wu Sunfu's comprador-nemesis Zhao Botao.

<sup>22</sup> Mu Shiyong, "Shanghai de hubuwu" (Shanghai Foxtrot) in Nanbeiji, Gongmu (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1987) 289-301. My translation.

<sup>23</sup> See, Mao Dun, "'Minzu zhuyi wenyi' de xianxing" ('Nationalistic Art and Literature' Betrays Itself), in Mao Dun wenyi zalunji (A Miscellaneous Collection of Mao Dun's Essays on Literature and Art) vol. 1, 313- 323. I discuss Mao Dun's attitudes towards the European avant-garde in the last chapter.

<sup>24</sup> Lynn T. White III, "Non-governmentalism in the Historical Development of Modern Shanghai" 22.

<sup>25</sup> Mu Shiyong, "Shanghai de hubuwu" (Shanghai Foxtrot) in Nanbeiji, Gongmu (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1987) 289-301; 289.

<sup>26</sup> See, Hanchao Lu, "'The Seventy-two Tenants': Residence and Commerce in Shanghai's *Shikumen* Houses, 1872- 1951," in Inventing Nanjing Road: Commercial Culture in Shanghai, 1900- 1945, ed., Sherman Cochran (Ithaca: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 1999) 133- 184.

<sup>27</sup> See, Xiaobing Tang, "Trauma and Passion in *The Sea of Regret: The Ambiguous Beginnings of Modern Chinese Literature*," in Chinese Modern, the Heroic and the Quotidian (Durham: Duke University press, 2000) 11- 48, where Tang focuses on the Boxer movement. I discuss Tang's category in greater detail in chapter three.

<sup>28</sup> As I noted in the last chapter, Mu describes "Shanghai Foxtrot" as a "technical exercise and experiment" that was to be part of a longer work entitled Zhongguo yijiusanyi (China 1931)." See, "Introduction" to Public Cemetery in Mu Shiyong, Nanbeiji, Gongmu (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1987) 173- 175. Even without such a contention, "Foxtrot" is marked as occurring in 1931 through the interior monologue of the "writer": "[. . .] 1931 is my time [. . .]" See, Mu Shiyong, "Shanghai Foxtrot" 298.

<sup>29</sup> See Fredric Jameson, Fables of Aggression: Wyndham Lewis, the Modernist as Fascist (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979) 91. Also, see chapter three of the present thesis.

<sup>30</sup> See, Shu-mei Shih, The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in semicolonial China, 1917- 1937 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001) 316. Shih cites Yan Jiayan's citation of a letter from Mu Shiyong's friend Zhao Jiabi.

<sup>31</sup> As I noted in my introduction, Leo Lee cites Frans Masreel in, Shanghai Modern 222- 223.

<sup>32</sup> See "Sanxin gongsi," in Shanghai cidian (The Shanghai Dictionary) (Shanghai: Fudan daxue, 1988). According to the Shanghai Dictionary, the name originated from the fact that the names of these underworld bosses all contained the character for gold: Huang Jinrong, Jin Yanjun, and Du Yuesheng (whose given name was Lian, for "sickle"). The number three fills the narrative of "Foxtrot" like a repetitive beat. Coincidentally, the gangster population of Shanghai in the 1920s and 30s is usually estimated to have been around three percent. A curious statistic: see, Marie-Claire Bergère, "Modernisation économique et société urbaine," in La Chine au XXe siècle (1895-1949): d'une révolution à l'autre (Mesnil-sur-l'Estrée: Fayard, 1989) 295-323; 311. Also, see Yang Dongping, Chengshi jifeng (Urban Monsoon) (Beijing: Dongfang, 1995) 168; Brian G. Martin, The Shanghai Green Gang: Politics and Organized Crime, 1919-1937 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996) 35.

<sup>33</sup> See, Homi Bhabha The Location of Culture (London: Routledge, 1994) 202.

<sup>34</sup> See, Liu, Translingual Practice 143.

<sup>35</sup> See, Christian Henriot, Shanghai 1927-1937 116.

<sup>36</sup> For example, see Yu Dafu's Ta shi yige ruo nüzi (She's a Weak Woman) in which the protagonist Zheng Xiuyue's corpse is discovered (her right breast cut off). See, Ta shi yige ruo nüzi (She's a Weak Woman) in Yu dafu xiaoshuo ji (The Collected Novels of Yu Dafu) 610- 697; 696.

<sup>37</sup> Theodor W. Adorno, Aesthetic theory, C. Lenhardt (trans.) (London: Rutledge & Kegan Paul, 1984) 418-419.

<sup>38</sup> There was a sector controlled by British troops, a U.S. Marines sector, a French sector, a sector controlled by U.S. and British troops and the Shanghai Volunteer Corps, and a Japanese sector. See, Henry L. Stimson, The Far Eastern Crisis: Recollections and Observations (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1936).

<sup>39</sup> Mao Dun, Midnight, trans. Hsu Meng-hsiung (Beijing: Foreign languages Press, 1957) 296. With slight changes.

<sup>40</sup> See, Su Wen, "Lun wenxueshang de ganshezhuayi" (On Literary Interventionism), in Su Wen, (ed.) Wenyi ziyou lunbianji (The Debate on Literary and Artistic Freedom Anthology) (1933, reprint. Hong Kong: Sun Chau, no date) 179- 194; 181. Also, see chapter one of the present thesis.

<sup>41</sup> See, Frederic Wakeman Jr., "Licensing Leisure: The Chinese Nationalists' Attempt to Regulate Shanghai, 1927- 49" in The Journal of Asian Studies 54. 1 (February 1995) 19- 42; 23.

<sup>42</sup> See, Shu-mei Shih, The Lure of the Modern 35

<sup>43</sup> See, Shu-mei Shih, The Lure of the Modern 286.

<sup>44</sup> See, Arif Dirlik, "The Ideological Foundations of the New Life Movement: A Study in Counterevolution," in Journal of Asian Studies XXXIV. 4 (August 1975) 945- 980; 949. Dirlik cites a number of models that inspired the New Life Movement including the Kemalists in Turkey (Dirlik 946). However, according to Dirlik: "Contemporary Germany and Italy remained as standards for the movement in China. But these were not the only examples. It was possible even to praise the archenemy, the Soviet Union, when its achievements corresponded to what the New Life Movement hoped to accomplish" (Dirlik 974).

<sup>45</sup> See, Arif Dirlik, "The Ideological Foundations of the New Life Movement" 953.

- <sup>46</sup> See, Arif Dirlik, "Ideological Foundations" 954.
- <sup>47</sup> See, Arif Dirlik, "Ideological Foundations" 954- 956.
- <sup>48</sup> See, Arif Dirlik, "Ideological Foundations" 963.
- <sup>49</sup> See, Arif Dirlik, "Ideological Foundations" 968.
- <sup>50</sup> See, Arif Dirlik, "Ideological Foundations" 971.
- <sup>51</sup> See, Zhiwei Xiao, "Constructing a New National Culture: Film Censorship and the Issues of Cantonese Dialect, Superstition, and Sex in the Nanjing Decade," in Cinema and Urban Culture, 1922- 1943, ed., Yinjing Zhang (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999) 183-199; 190.
- <sup>52</sup> Prasenjit Duara discusses this campaign within the broader context of the Republican period (1911- 1949). See, Prasenjit Duara, "Knowledge and Power in the Discourse of Modernity: The Campaign Against Popular religion in Early twentieth century China," in Journal of East Asian Studies 50. 1 (Feb. 1991) 67- 83.
- <sup>53</sup> See, Zhiwei Xiao, "Constructing a New National Culture" 190.
- <sup>54</sup> See, Zhiwei Xiao, "Constructing a New National Culture" 190.
- <sup>55</sup> Interestingly, Xiao cites Mao Dun's criticism of the popular forms of the genre 191. According to Lloyd E. Eastman, approximately 1800 books and journals were banned during the decade: "Armed with the authority of the Press Law, the censors mounted a full scale assault on the nation's publishing industry. Between 1929 and 1936, 458 literary works were banned usually under the charge that they advocated class struggle, slandered the authorities, or were 'proletarian literature.' Foreign authors on the banned list included John Dos Passos, Theodore Dreiser, Bertrand Russell, Gorki, and Upton Sinclair." See, Lloyd E. Eastman, The Abortive Revolution, China Under Nationalist Rule, 1927- 1937 (Cambridge, (Mass.): Harvard University press, 1974) 26. Michael Hockx' work on censorship during this period, a revisionist attempt to counter Communist historiography, while pointing out certain generalizations concerning censorship of Marxist literature, unfortunately fails to specify just what types of literature the Nationalists actually censored. See, Michael Hockx, "In Defense of the Censor: Literary Autonomy and State Authority in Shanghai, 1930- 1936," in Journal of Modern literature in Chinese 2. 1 (July 1998) 1- 30.
- <sup>56</sup> See, Marie-Claire Bergère, "Modernisation économique et société urbaine" in La Chine au XXe Siècle: d'une révolution a l'autre, 1895- 1949, eds. Marie-Claire Bergère, Lucien Bianco, Jürgen Domes (Mesnil-sur-l'Estrée: Fayard, 1989) 295- 323.
- <sup>57</sup> See, Leo Lee, Shanghai Modern 93.
- <sup>58</sup> See, Anne Friedberg, Window Shopping and the Postmodern (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) 35. See 32- 37, where Friedberg develops her argument for the appearance of the *flâneuse*.
- <sup>59</sup> See, Carlton Benson, "Consumers are Also Soldiers: Subversive Songs from Nanjing Road during the New Life Movement," in Inventing Nanjing Road: Commercial Culture in Shanghai, 1900- 1945, ed. Sherman Cochran (Ithaca: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 1999) 91- 132. Benson focuses on radio advertisements.
- <sup>60</sup> See, Jonathan D. Spence, The Search for Modern China (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1990) 416. Cited in Carlton Benson, "Consumers are Also Soldiers" 94.
- <sup>61</sup> See, Leo Lee, Shanghai Modern 69.

<sup>62</sup> See, Peng Hsiao-yen, "Xinnüxing yu Shanghai dushi wenhua" (The New Woman and Shanghai's Urban Culture) in Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiu jikan (Bulletin of Chinese Literature and Philosophy) 10 (March 1997) 317- 355. My translations.

<sup>63</sup> See, Peng Hsiao-yen, "The New Woman and Shanghai's Urban Culture" 318.

<sup>64</sup> See, Peng Hsiao-yen, "The New Woman and Shanghai's Urban Culture" 321.

<sup>65</sup> Although Shi Zhecun's female characters, in my opinion, have considerably more psychological depth than Peng gives him credit for. Peng's criticism neglects to mention that the male characters, in Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiyong at least, could also be said to be "apsychological" (Peng uses the term in English).

<sup>66</sup> See, Li Jin, The Shanghai School Novel and Modern Urban Culture 105- 135.

<sup>67</sup> Li Jin's documentation is convincing, but problematic, since her readings are couched within the notion of a direct "influence" of primarily "foreign" (European) sources.

<sup>68</sup> Li Jin cites Baudelaire as influential in this regard. As with Peng Hsiao-yen's readings, however, Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiyong are made to stand as exemplary "New Sensation School" authors. Li Jin does, however, cite the Japanese writer Tanizaki Junichiro, as well as a few passages from Ye Lingfeng and Hei Ying, a younger writer associated with "New Sensation" writing in China.

<sup>69</sup> See, Li Jin, The Shanghai School Novel and Modern Urban Culture 35. Like Peng Hsiao-yen, Li Jin overgeneralizes this trope to cover "New Sensation School" writing.

<sup>70</sup> Liu Na'ou, "Equation" (Fangchengshi), in Dushi fengjingxian (The City Skyline) (1930, Shanghai: Shanghai shuju, 1988) 167- 180.

<sup>71</sup> Liu Na'ou, "Equation" 170.

<sup>72</sup> See, Liu Na'ou, 'Fengjing', (Landscape) in Dushi fengjingxian (The City Skyline) (1930, Rpt. Shanghai: Shanghai shuju, 1988) 21-33. I discuss this story in greater detail in chapter two. Mu Shiyong takes up this "mechanical" trope for urban life as well.

<sup>73</sup> The phrase "formulaic devices" is Leo Lee's. See, Shanghai Modern 209.

<sup>74</sup> See, Li Jin, The Shanghai School Novel and Modern Urban Culture 22- 23.

<sup>75</sup> The phrase "gendered image" is used by Yingjin Zhang in his discussion of Mao Dun in The City in Modern Chinese Literature and Film 137.

<sup>76</sup> The story appears in the 1930 volume The City Skyline, although it may have been published earlier. See, Liu Na'ou, "Liyi he weisheng" (Etiquette and Hygiene) in Dushi fengjingxian (The City Skyline) (1930, Shanghai: Shanghai shuju, 1988) 109- 141.

<sup>77</sup> See, Gregory B. Lee, Troubadors, Trumpeters, Troubled Makers: Lyricism, Nationalism, and Hybridity in China and Its Others (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996) 74- 75.

<sup>78</sup> The word "bohemian" is used in transliterated Chinese form in the text: "bo-xi-mi-an" (Etiquette 128- 129).

<sup>79</sup> The story in this regard represents a rare instance in modern Chinese literature of the discourse of a (white) "foreigner."

<sup>80</sup> Bairan is her lover Qin's "inspirational angel (anqi'er)" and "model (moter)," and Qin is first attracted to her because her body resembles subjects found in the paintings of a modern French painter (Etiquette 118- 119). The reference is to a contemporary French master "degan," which may have been Kees van Dongen. It is interesting to note that the transliteration "moter" for "model" is still used in contemporary Chinese.

<sup>81</sup> Mu Shiyong rehearses a similar image of the "woman as statue" in "The Platinum Statue of a Woman." See, Mu Shiyong "Baijin de nüti suxiang" (The Platinum Statue of a Woman)



in, Mu Shiyong xiaoshuo quanbian (The Complete Novels of Mu Shiyong) ed. Jia Zhifang et al. (Shanghai: Xuelin, 1998) 439- 448.

<sup>82</sup> Mu Shiyong writes about legal marriage with the same sort of cynicism in "Shanghai Foxtrot," describing one character, Liu Youde's wife Yanrongzhu "[. . .] by age his daughter-in-law, by law his wife" (Foxtrot 291), who seems to be having quasi-incestuous affair with her "legal son." Mu even rehearses the same type of "swapping" as Liu Yanrongzhu and the son Xiaoliu end up swapping (dancing and sex) partners with "a fake French gentleman Belgian jewel broker" and "movie star Yin Furong" (Foxtrot 294).

<sup>83</sup> Rey Chow discusses the question of "details and the feminine" in Rey Chow, Woman and Chinese Modernity: the Politics of Reading between East and West (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1991) 84- 120.

<sup>84</sup> Or Mu's "Black Peony" described by the narrator as having the "body of a black fox." See, Mu Shiyong, "Hei Mudan," (Black Peony) in Mu Shiyong xiaoshuo quanbian (The Complete Novels of Mu Shiyong) eds. Jia Zhifang et al (Shanghai: Xuelin, 1998) 281- 290; 282.

<sup>85</sup> See, Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space 310.

<sup>86</sup> On Mu Shiyong's use of Hollywood female actors, see Li Jin, The Shanghai School Novel and Modern Urban Culture: 141- 157; also, see Shu-mei Shih The Lure of the Modern for discussions of racialized women in Liu Na'ou (278- 285), and Mu Shiyong's female characters (316- 323).

<sup>87</sup> See, Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space 310- 311.

<sup>88</sup> As Lacan seems to imply: "The very delimitation of the 'erogenous zone' that the drive isolates from the metabolism for the function (the act of devouring concerns other organs than the mouth-- ask one of Pavlov's dogs) is the result of a cut (*coupure*) expressed in the anatomical mark (*trait*) of a margin or border-- lips, 'the enclosure of the teeth,' the rim of the anus, the tip of the penis, the vagina, the slit formed by the eyelids, even the horn-shaped aperture of the ear [. . .]" See, Jacques Lacan, "The Subversion of the subject in the dialectic of desire in the Freudian unconscious," in Écrits: A Selection, trans., Alan Sheridan (New York: W. W. Norton, 1977) 292- 325; 314- 315.

<sup>89</sup> The passage comes from Liu Na'ou's diary, May 18, 19, 1927. Cited in Li Jin, The Shanghai School Novel and Modern Urban Culture 110.

<sup>90</sup> Yingjing Zhang discusses the new regard for women as objects of the male gaze with links to French nude painting in representations of courtesan and prostitutes in early twentieth century China. See, Yingjin Zhang, "Prostitution and Urban Imagination: Negotiating the Public and the Private in Chinese Films of the 1930s," in Cinema and Urban Culture, 1922- 1943, ed., Yingjing Zhang (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999) 160- 180.

<sup>91</sup> See, Qu Qiubai, "Caishen haishi fancaishen" ("Will it be the God of Wealth or the Antigod-of-wealth?"), in Qu Qiubai wenji (The Complete Works of Qu Qiubai) vol. 1 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue, 1985) 400- 418.

<sup>92</sup> See, Mu Shiyong, "Bei dangzuo xiaoqianpin de nanzi" (The Man Who was Turned into a Diversion) in eds. Jia Zhifang et al., Mu Shiyong xiaoshuo quanbian (The Complete Novels of Mu Shiyong) (Shanghai: Xuelin, 1998) 96- 121; 102. Instead of the Chinese character for zero (ling), Mu uses the "O" character (zi).

<sup>93</sup> See, Mu Shiyong, "Black Peony" in Mu Shiyong, Mu Shiyong xiaoshuo quanbian (The Complete Novels of Mu Shiyong) eds. Jia Zhifang et al (Shanghai: Xuelin, 1998) 281.

<sup>94</sup> See, Jacques Lacan, "The Subversion of the subject in the dialectic of desire in the Freudian unconscious" 305.

<sup>95</sup> For a notion of the automaton, I am indebted to Livia Monnet, "The Automatic Shoujo: Cinema and the Comic in the Work of Ozaki Midori," in Asiatische Studien/ Études Asiatiques, 53. 2 (1999) 303- 351.

<sup>96</sup> See, Wen-hsin Yeh, The Alienated Academy: Culture and Politics in Republican China, 1919- 1937 (Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1990). In particular, see 173-179.

<sup>97</sup> See, Wen-hsin Yeh, The Alienated Academy 191.

<sup>98</sup> See, Wen-hsin Yeh, The Alienated Academy 192.

<sup>99</sup> See, Liu Na'ou, "Etiquette and Hygiene" 118. The lines are spoken by Keqiong.

<sup>100</sup> See, Gail Hershatter, "The Subaltern Talks Back: Reflections on Subaltern Theory and Chinese History," in positions: east asian cultures critique 1. 1 (Spring, 1993) 103- 130; 109.

<sup>101</sup> See, Gail Hershatter, "The Subaltern Talks Back" 112.

<sup>102</sup> See, Gail Hershatter, "The Subaltern Talks Back" 120.

<sup>103</sup> See, Gail Hershatter, "The Subaltern Talks Back" 121. Hershatter reads this tendency in newspapers of the period.

<sup>104</sup> See, Andrew D. Field, "Selling Souls in Sin City: Shanghai Singing and Dancing Hostesses in Print, Film, and Politics, 1920- 49," in Cinema and Urban Culture, 1922- 1943, ed., Yinjing Zhang (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999) 99- 127. Fields discusses Mu Shiyong's stories, in particular "Black Peony" 116- 118. Christian Henriot notes a certain fluidity in the titles given to prostitutes in " 'From a throne of Glory to a Seat of Ignominy': Shanghai Prostitution Revisited (1848- 1949)" in Modern China 22. 2 (April 1996) 132-163. Also, see Hershatter's reply to Henriot: "A Response" in the same issue 164- 169.

<sup>105</sup> See, Mikhail Bakhtin, Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics, trans. Caryl Emerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press) 260.

<sup>106</sup> See, Mu Shiyong, "CRAVEN 'A' " in Mu Shiyong xiaoshuo quanbian (The Complete Novels of Mu Shiyong) eds. Jia Zhifang et al (Shanghai: Xuelin, 1998) 138- 154. The English word stands for "jainhuo"-- cheap goods, a common insult for immoral women in Chinese.

<sup>107</sup> See, Mu Shiyong, "CRAVEN 'A' " 142.

<sup>108</sup> My translation is based on the excellent translation made of this whole passage by Shu-mei Shih. See Shu-mei Shih, The Lure of the Modern 319.

<sup>109</sup> See, Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space 262.

<sup>110</sup> Shih, The Lure of the Modern 319. It could also be asked, is there a such a sustained description in modern Chinese literature?

<sup>111</sup> Shih, The Lure of the Modern 320.

<sup>112</sup> Chow discusses an aspect of China allegorized as a woman as an aspect of "male masochism" in Yu Dafu. In my opinion, her comments are not relevant to Mu's story here. See, Rey Chow, Woman and Chinese Modernity 144- 145. On the other hand, certain "allegorical" contentions she makes in her readings of "Mandarin Duck and Butterfly Fiction" may have more relevance to Mu's mapped "details": "[. . .] they shamelessly regarded their own work as play (*youxi wenzhang*), as a withdrawal into the ideological leftovers of a social and political world that was collapsing but which still constituted, in broken-up forms, the materiality of people's lives. Their fiction lacked that urgent sense of a

complete break with the past, and contradicted the optimism of a liberated and enlightened China." (65).

<sup>113</sup> See, Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space 243.

<sup>114</sup> As the narrator notes in a passage from his diary: "But I love her, because she has an old heart, a youthful body" (CRAVEN "A" 144). In contemporary Chinese, the character "xiao" which forms the compound "xiaofei"-- to consume, or waste, is also the derivative of "xiaofeipin"-- consumer goods, and "xiaofeizhe"-- consumer. Moreover, the compound for rat-- "haozi"-- is derived from the verb "hao": "to consume," or "to cost" (a certain amount of money or time).

<sup>115</sup> My definition of homonym here is loose and would necessitate a change in tones in standard Mandarin. But the coincidence is, nevertheless, rather striking.

<sup>116</sup> To paraphrase Lefebvre.

<sup>117</sup> Mu Shiyong, "PIERROT," in Mu Shiyong xiaoshuo quanbian (The Complete Novels of Mu Shiyong) eds. Jia Zhifang et al (Shanghai: Xuelin, 1998) 410- 438; 418.

<sup>118</sup> As I noted in the "liberal" and "third type of person" debates in chapter one of the present thesis.

<sup>119</sup> See, Shi Zhecun, "Meiyu zhixi" (An Evening of Spring Rain) in Ten Years of Creative Work: the Collected Works of Shi Zhecun: 247- 258; 248. Shu-mei Shih's contention that Shi Zhecun's male characters evidence the way "[. . .] the shortage of money prevents urban men of varying classes from participating fully in the consumptive culture of the city [. . .]" is certainly not born out in either of these stories. See, Shih, The Lure of the Modern 354.

<sup>120</sup> See, Sigmund Freud, "From the History of an Infantile Neurosis," in The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, vol. XVII, 3- 123; 72.

<sup>121</sup> See, Sigmund Freud, "On Transformations of Instinct as Exemplified in Anal Erotism," in The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, vol. XVII, 125- 133; 130- 131.

<sup>122</sup> See, Freud, "On transformations of Instinct as Exemplified in Anal Erotism" 132.

<sup>123</sup> See, Sigmund Freud, "Character and Anal Erotism," in The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, vol. IX. Ed. James Strachey et al (London: The Hogarth Press, 1968) 167- 175; 169.

<sup>124</sup> See, Shi Zhecun, "Chunyang" (Spring Sunshine) in Ten Years of Creative Work: the Collected Works of Shi Zhecun 437- 445.

<sup>125</sup> See, Leo Lee, Shanghai Modern 168.

<sup>126</sup> "She is certainly no *flâneuse*." See, Leo Lee, Shanghai Modern 171.

<sup>127</sup> See Shu-mei Shih, The Lure of the Modern: 349, note 24, where she cites an interview with Shih. Shi Zhecun has been the subject of many interviews. The responses, obviously, seem to have something to do with the questions. For example, I can only surmise Shi was answering a question like: why are your female characters so repressed?

<sup>128</sup> See, Leo Lee, Shanghai Modern 168- 169. One good example of such a repressed female character Zhang Ailing is "Qiqiao" of "Jinsuoji" (The Golden Manacle).

<sup>129</sup> Du Heng, "Shiye" (Unemployment) in Xiandai zashi (Les Contemporains) 4. 6 (April 1934) 1000-1012; 1003.

<sup>130</sup> See, Sigmund Freud, "Character and Anal Erotism" 169.

<sup>131</sup> Du Heng, "Ren yu nüren" (People and Women) in Huaxiangji (Homesickness) (1933. Rpt. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian 1986) 123- 149; 125.

<sup>132</sup> "Xiaohua buliao,"-- "Indigestible," is also the colloquial Chinese phrase denoting incomprehension. Du Heng works with *zhiguai* images in a similar manner in "Black and Red." By reinscribing such imagery in colloquial speech, he de-emphasizes metaphorical language in an almost minimalist fashion.

<sup>133</sup> I found the naive teenage character Zhenbao of "People and Women," approaches the treatment of female characters in Gertrude Stein's Three Lives.

<sup>134</sup> Du Heng, "Tingzijian li de fangke" (Boarders in a garret apartment) in Hong yu hei (Red and Black) (Shanghai: Liangyou tushu, 1933) 21- 39; 25.

<sup>135</sup> See, Arif Dirlik, "The Ideological Foundations of the New Life Movement" 978. Du Heng's "Unemployment" was published in 1934, the same year as the inauguration of the New Life Movement.

<sup>136</sup> "Why are the so-called erogenous zones recognized only in those points that are differentiated for us by their rim-like structure? Why does one speak of the mouth and not of the oesophagus, or the stomach? They participate just as much in the oral function [. . .]" See, Jacques Lacan, The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-analysis, trans., Alan Sheridan (New York: W. W. Norton, 1978) 168- 169. Also, see Freud, "Character and Anal Erotism": "Important contributions to 'sexual excitation' are furnished by the peripheral excitations of certain specially designated parts of the body (the genitals, mouth, anus, urethra), which therefore deserve to be described as 'erotogenic zones' " (170- 171). See note 87 of the present chapter where I cite Jacques Lacan, "The Subversion of the subject in the dialectic of desire in the Freudian unconscious" 314-315. Also, see Freud, "Transformations of Instinct as Exemplified in Anal Erotism": "Faeces, penis and baby are all three solid bodies; they all three, by forcible entry or expulsion, stimulate the membranous passage, i.e. the rectum and the vagina, the latter being 'taken on lease' from the rectum, as Lou Andreas-Salomé aptly remarks" (133).

<sup>137</sup> See, Freud, "Character and Anal Erotism": 170. And, as Freud notes in the same essay: "'Orderly' covers the notion of bodily cleanliness, as well as conscientiousness in carrying out small duties and trustworthiness. Its opposite would be 'untidy' and 'neglectful' " (169).

<sup>138</sup> Karl Abraham, "The Spending of Money in Anxiety States" in The Psychoanalysis of Money, ed., Ernest Bornemann (New York: Urizen Books, 1976) 99- 102.

<sup>139</sup> Karl Abraham, "The Spending of Money in Anxiety States" 101.

<sup>140</sup> See, David Ogilvy, Confessions of an Advertising Man (New York: Dell, 1963) 119.

<sup>141</sup> I am paraphrasing Lydia Liu's comment on "the eroticism of male writing plays out its ritual of necrophilia." See, Liu, Translingual Practice 143.

<sup>142</sup> See, Leo Lee, Shanghai Modern 211.

<sup>143</sup> See, Leo Lee, Shanghai Modern 211. Lee discusses this story on 211- 212.

<sup>144</sup> See, Mu Shiyong, "Luotuo·nicaizhuyizhe yu nüren" (Camel·Nietzschean and Woman) in Jia Zhifang et al. (eds.) The Complete Novels of Mu Shiyong 482- 487; 482.

<sup>145</sup> See, Mu Shiyong, "Camel·Nietzschean and Woman" 486.

<sup>146</sup> See, Mu Shiyong, "Camel·Nietzschean and Woman" 486- 487.

<sup>147</sup> See, Mu Shiyong, "Camel·Nietzschean and Woman" 487.

<sup>148</sup> See, Jacques Lacan, "The signification of the phallus," in Alan Sheridan (trans.), Écrits: A Selection. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1977) 281- 291; 290.

<sup>149</sup> See, Rey Chow, Woman and Chinese Modernity 106- 107. Chow is discussing Mao Dun's Rainbow. As noted in the epigraph to this section, and the discussion of "verticality"

---

in Midnight, the problem Chow reads in "details" is worth researching in Mao Dun within the context of the phallus as well.

<sup>150</sup> See, Jacques Lacan, "The signification of the phallus" 285.

<sup>151</sup> See, Jacques Lacan, "The signification of the phallus" 282.

<sup>152</sup> See, Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space 409.

<sup>153</sup> See, Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space 410.

<sup>154</sup> See, Jacques Lacan, "The signification of the phallus" 282.

## A conclusion

"333333333333 ..... "

Mu Shiyong, "Black Peony"<sup>1</sup>

This thesis is situated within an historic context of studies concerning so-called "New Sensation School" writing and modern Chinese literature "modernism" studies, both of which dovetail in discussions of Liu Na'ou, Mu Shiyong, She Zhecun, Ye Lingfeng and, my own modest addition, Du Heng (and, in the case of the "third type of person" debate, Dai Keqiong's other nom de plume, Su Wen). As I noted at the beginning of this thesis, these writers may be linked together by two "prosopographical coincidences." The first coincidence concerned "regional origin," because except for Liu Na'ou, the other writers all came from the Jiangnan region of China. However, such an alignment is insufficient to account for the common strategies they used in their writing. Shi Zhecun and Du Heng knew each other from childhood, studying in the same middle-school, but their writing styles and many of their concerns, are nevertheless, quite different. Indeed, the "New Sensation School" title has more often been applied to Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiyong chiefly, as I have noted throughout my study, for relatively superficial features, such as the fact that the city of Shanghai tends to be a major "setting" for their writing, and their use of "montage," which is usually linked, rather problematically to my mind, solely to an interest in film. "Montage" must be understood as a technique (or trick) within *literary* narrative if it is to have any relevance to literary studies, which is what I attempted to do in particular in chapters three and four.

The second "prosopographical coincidence" I noted is far more promising. That is to say, most of the writing by these writers was produced within what is often referred to as the Nanjing decade (1927- 1937). Indeed, all of the writers stopped producing fiction by the end of this period, which could be attributed to the onset of the Sino-Japanese war. Although I am certainly not claiming the Nanjing decade "produced" such writing, acknowledging the historical context of this period is crucial to an understanding of the cultural production that came out of it. As I noted in chapter two, the Nanjing decade in government was also the "Left League Decade" in Shanghai, where the League dominated much of the cultural field. The "liberal" and "third type of person" debate, is evidence of the importance of political-historical discourse, invaluable to an understanding of intertextual or dialogical aspects of Chinese modernism. Autonomy in cultural production evidences itself through opposition, and with regard to the Chinese modernists, autonomy as opposition would spell itself out as a response to the cultural-theoretical legitimation undertaken by the Left League in the 1930s.

Su Wen's baldly problematic statement of autonomy in the "third type of person" was a seemingly apolitical gesture made as a challenge to the Left League, and possibly as a critique of the political situation of China at the time. At the same time, Su Wen's formulation also fits rather nicely into traditional views of the Chinese intellectual as an elite class that served as guardian for the masses. This is the reason why I wished to characterize autonomy as a type of trauma for the intellectual, as the loss of social authority that came about with the loss of traditional positions held by intellectuals in state institutions. Su Wen's "third type of person" finds its most detailed presentation in Du Heng's Pantu (The Traitor). The novel began as "Zai liangxie" (A Little Bit More Light) a serialization that started in

1934 in Les Contemporains and ran for five more issues until the magazine changed hands and subsequently ceased publication.<sup>2</sup> To my knowledge, The Traitor has received no attention from critics inside or outside of China. In the opening chapter, the novel is inscribed in the national allegorical mode in the figure of an anonymous Russian man who served as an officer beneath a general loyal to the Czar. The man wanders through the streets of Shanghai, bemoaning the victory of the Bolsheviks in 1917. But such an allegorical "historicization" also serves as a reminder that Marxist historiography, as a teleological inevitability, was being projected upon China in "193X." In other words, Russia's recent past is projected upon China as a fatalistic future.<sup>3</sup>

But the rest of Du's novel is less of an allegory than a novel in the realist tradition. In the context of modern Chinese literature, it could be said that The Traitor is an example of realism without the Marxist ideology, a realism that reads like a reaction to one type of "realism" promoted in the 1930s in China. The Traitor is the story of Lao Zhang, a communist operative, who becomes a traitor to the communists by collaborating with the Nationalist government. Du Heng's The Traitor reads well as a fictionalized account of the "Gu Shuzhuang Affair," for the chief of the Chinese Communist Party Red Brigade, Gu Shuzhuang, who was captured by the Guomindang's Special Services Bureau in April 1931.<sup>4</sup> Du Heng's Lao Zhang also resembles the gambler of the story I discussed in chapter four, "Hong yu hei" (Red and Black), because his name, his address, everything is open to doubt. The novel revolves around two themes of certainty and belief, personified in the character Lao Zhang, for which, and about whom, nothing is certain. Du Heng constantly hammers home this point with the character "ding" and its compounds: "guding," "yiding" "kending." Thus, indeterminacy is expressed as an inability to "fix" meaning, to arrive at any



certainty in social relations. Du Heng is not, like Liu Na'ou, Mu Shiyong, Shi Zhecun, and Ye Lingfeng, a writer who experiments, who plays with the possibilities of formal representation. Du Heng's The Traitor cannot be called modernist in style, but its content is through and through inscribed with indeterminacy as a psychological condition. There is no interior monologue in The Traitor, and physical description is frustratingly minimal. Du Heng instead resorts to a form of free indirect discourse as deictic markers for characters, whose psychological "actions" are described in minute detail.

Lao Zhang's existence is marked by utter paranoia, paranoia of the authorities, and of his own comrades. Indeed, the relations between Lao Zhang and his captors are no more problematic than the relations between Lao Zhang and his fellow operatives. In a sense, an "unconscious" (qian yishi) that one reads in Shi Zhecun for example, is replaced by a "latent tendency" (qian shili), in which the psychology of the characters is "exteriorized" in totally politicized social relations.<sup>5</sup> However, Du Heng's political thriller is balanced by one unambiguously sympathetic character, Lao Zhang's lover Liu Jingyi. But Liu Jingyi reads too much as an allegorical figure recalling Su Wen's feminized trope for literature, the "prostituted wife."<sup>6</sup> Indeed, her transformation in the novel could be described as a "pilgrim's progress" for the "third type of person." Jingyi goes from being an innocent lover who causes Lao Zhang to question his loyalty to the party, to a "changfu" or prostitute, kept by Lao Zhang's Guomindang nemesis Tang Dingwu. Nevertheless, the "figure" of Liu Jingyi also relates to the other theme explored by the novel; namely, belief. After Lao Zhang has been captured, his lover searches for him and goes to the residence of the Guomindang agent Tang Dingwu. She is made to wait in the guest area and, in perhaps the most visual chapter of the novel, lightning flashes in the room illuminating a painting of Christ.<sup>7</sup> Thus,

her "fall" into prostitution is foreshadowed figurally, as she becomes a figure of the martyred intellectual. The image is an important one if we remember that Du Heng would convert to Catholicism a few years later. Indeed, Lao Zhang's uncertainty is underlined through questions of belief or faith (*xinyang*) and trust (*xinren*), questions which arise around Lao Zhang's relationship to the party, and in his comrades' relationship to Lao Zhang. The true martyr of The Traitor is Lao Zhang, who returns to the communist side only to die in a hail of police gunfire at the end of the novel, punctuated by the commentary of perhaps the only true friend he had amongst the other communists, Wang Jun, who declares: "He committed suicide, another type of suicide!"<sup>8</sup>

The novel The Traitor is, however, a "dead-ended" affair. Du Heng's only "way out" for this "third type of person" is *refigured* as either an ambiguous Christian gesture, or a vague May Fourth individualism. The novel seems to say that Lao Zhang has failed to make the right choices as an individual. In a similar manner to Su Wen's "third type of person," Du Heng's The Traitor attempts to transcend a politicized aesthetics with an aestheticized politics that places the whole question of autonomy in the lap of individual belief. But Du Heng's gamble here cannot pay off because the uncertainty that cancels belief is concretely inscribed as an actual indeterminacy immanent in the political situation of Shanghai, China, 193X. Thus, the logic of this realistic narrative is directly attributable to the situation Du Heng claims to transcend through the tragic representation of Lao Zhang, who makes a martyr of his lover, just as he is made a martyr of by his own nation's politics. In a sense, what Du Heng wants, in the dual sense of a "lack" and a "desire," is a stability, something to ground and fix the indeterminacy of social relations, and, finally, signification.

Shu-mei Shih gives an important overview of what she refers to as "[a] separate, more radical movement [. . .] being formed concurrently with the efforts of *Trackless Train*, *La Nouvelle Littérature*, and *Les Contemporains*."<sup>9</sup> This "movement" would model itself on European decadent literature, and one of the writers involved was none other than Ye Lingfeng. Originally associated with the Creation Society, these writers "took Guo Moruo's 'explosion of the self' and Yu Dafu's self-indulgence to an extreme, aggrandizing the self in defiance of all constrictive norms and celebrating sexuality [. . .]"<sup>10</sup> Ye Lingfeng's friend Pan Hannian "advocated what he called a 'New Hooliganism' (*xin liumang zhuyi*), blaming the so-called 'righteous men, *junzi*, gentlemen and scholars' for having caused the demise of China."<sup>11</sup> "New Hooliganism" was inscribed as an act of rebellion against social norms and Shih's sketch is important as one more example of claims to artistic autonomy in Shanghai.

However, as with the "third type of person" debate, such claims of autonomous opposition were made within specific dialogical frames of reference. Furthermore, although the period was politically charged, at times it's difficult to differentiate a political from a personal denunciation. In the 1920s, as well as for his novels, short stories, and editing, Ye Lingfeng was also known for his artwork. Indeed, Ye's artwork would bring him in for criticism by Lu Xun. And the feeling seems to have been mutual. Yingjin Zhang mentions a caricature of Lu Xun which appeared in a magazine edited by Ye.<sup>12</sup> The leftists of the time in Shanghai were quick to criticize what they perceived as bourgeois cultural production, but Lu Xun's well-known 1931 critique of Ye Lingfeng, "A Glance at Shanghai Literature and Art," seems to have been a direct response to "New

Hooliganism." Lu Xun singles out Ye Lingfeng's art as the type of art produced by "scholars + hooligans" (caizi + liumang):

Recently, another hooligan artist has appeared, Mr. Ye Lingfeng. Mr. Ye's pictures are lifted from the English artist Aubrey Beardsley. Beardsley is part of that "l'art pour l'art" school, his work shows a great deal of influence from the Japanese "UKIYOE." Although UKIYOE was a form of folk art, prostitutes and actors were often depicted, with plump bodies and shifty eyes---- EROTIC eyes. Of course the figures in Beardsley's pictures are quite slender, but the reason for that is simply the fact that he's part of the school of DECADENCE. The people in the Decadent school are gaunt and listless, they feel a little bit ashamed around healthy looking women, so they find them unpleasant. Our Mr. Ye's new shifty eyed pictures seems to follow quite well with Wu Youru's old shifty eyed pictures, so naturally they should remain popular for a quite a number of years.<sup>13</sup>

Lu Xun is being incredibly loose here with his terms. The Ukiyoe refers to a type of art produced during the Edo period in Japan, which stretches from the seventeenth to the late nineteenth century. Wu Youru (? -1893) was an artist known for his ink drawings for book illustrations and Shanghai periodicals in the late nineteenth century. But the allusions are less important than what Lu Xun implies in his denunciation of Ye Lingfeng through an association to Beardsley, who Lu Xun claims drew inspiration from the *shunga* (literally, spring paintings), the erotic art of the Ukiyoe. In effect, Lu Xun reads sexual content as negative and, through a critique as guilt by association, Lu Xun implies Ye himself may have questionable responses to "healthy" (zhuangjian de) women. Lu Xun's critique continues with a discussion of Ye's drawing of a worker which he describes as unrealistic, but the bulk of the critique rests on an attack of Ye's questionable sexuality. Whether or not Lu Xun's attack had anything to do with it is uncertain, but by the 1930s, Ye had completely given up illustration.

Lu Xun's critique here is less political than "sexual," and personal. As Leo Lee points out, Lu Xun's moral attack (*daode gongji*) on Ye Lingfeng was unfair, as Lu Xun himself had already published a selection of Beardsley's work.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, Lu Xun's criticism probably played no small part in later evaluations of Ye Lingfeng, including suggestions that he was affiliated with the Nationalist government and a Japanese collaborator.<sup>15</sup> But, as I said above, the feeling was mutual, and Ye Lingfeng's "Di qihao nüxing" (Female no. 7) is best read as a reply to Lu Xun's critique. An excellent example of Ye's use of intertextual narrative and parody, "Female no. 7," narrates the story of a famous writer who takes the same bus everyday during a tramway strike. As I noted in chapter one, the story may be read as a novelization of the "third type of person" debate. However, like the ironized male subjects I discussed in chapter four, the narrator is quite obviously being mocked. When the narrator declares "[. . .] I have become the third type of person. My only wish is that the buses keep running, I don't care which side wins," the phrase "third type of person" ironically undercuts the narrator as apolitical.<sup>16</sup> But the irony is double, so to speak, because the story takes place on a bus travelling along North Sichuan Road with the "Japan-China skyline, floating within an eighty degree sea of light [. . .]"<sup>17</sup> The phrase I've translated by "Japan-China" is "Ri-zhi," "Ri(ben)"--Japan, and "Zhi(na)," a derogatory Japanese term for China. The route travelled by the bus, within which most of the narrative takes place, runs through the Hongkou section of Shanghai, a section of Shanghai where many Japanese residents lived and which would fall under control of the Japanese navy after their invasion and bombing of Zhabei in 1931. I contend Ye picked this area because Lu Xun lived for a time on North Sichuan Road.<sup>18</sup>

Moreover, Lu Xun was well-known for frequenting the Uchiyama Bookstore, a Japanese bookstore run by Uchiyama Kanzo that served as an important meeting place for many Chinese writers in Shanghai. The narrator is attracted to "Female no. 7" because she reads "modern" literature, in this case a collection of short stories by Tanizaki Junichiro. Indeed, the narrative of "Female no. 7" is inscribed as a Tanizaki "GROTESQUE" novel or story, the narrator ironized for his masochistic interest in the young woman as he takes the same bus everyday to meet the objects of his desire in spite of the threat of attacks by strikers.<sup>19</sup> The setting for the story is also war, or more appropriately, invasion. The narrator and "Female no. 7" exchange their first words beside a Japanese battalion with machine-gun fire echoing in a park nearby. Thus, the narrator, as well as expressing a masochistically perverse interest in the young woman, is also an implicit "collaborator" with the invading Japanese. Recall that Lu Xun had associated Ye with European decadents who were "a little bit ashamed around healthy looking women," whereas "Female no. 7" is described as resembling the women in the eighteenth century English neo-classical painter Sir Joshua Reynolds. Moreover, the narrator's fetishistic sexuality is ironized through a repetition of the number seven (qi) and his reading material The Sun Also Rises, the title of which is given in the Chinese Taiyang you qilaile. As in Mu's "Camel·Nietzschean and Woman," the combination hints at a possible reference for the male erection. The title to Hemingway's novel also alludes in a combinatory manner, to the "Empire of the Rising Sun," i.e., Japan, and to the impotent male protagonist of The Sun Also Rises. The narrator of "Female no. 7" is ironized as impotent and deriving sexual pleasure from Japanese military presence.

At any rate, the narrator's interest in "Female no. 7" is solely scopic, because the moment the young woman returns his gaze, he looks away, and the narrative becomes inscribed within a trope of trauma as the bus "speeds towards the neurasthenic riverbank" and is attacked by strikers. The narrator loses consciousness only to wake up with his head in bandages and "Female no. 7" sitting by his side at a hospital. However, the clearest evidence that the story is an attack on Lu Xun is implied through the narrator's relationship to the women on the bus, clearly delineated as a type of teacher/student relationship. The narrator numbers and marks the women in a diary with grades, "Female no. 7" having received the highest score of "A+ 100%."<sup>20</sup> "Female no. 7" was published in Les Contemporains and, by coincidence, the magazine's next issue ran a photo of Lu Xun surrounded by young women at a female teacher's university in the then city of Beiping (Beijing). Lu Xun had just given a number of talks in Beiping, including a talk on the "third type of person" at the teacher's university. And beneath the photo, in which he is purportedly surrounded by female students, is a sketch, captioned as purportedly done during Lu Xun's talk. However, the sketch, which had been slipped in at the last minute before publication, is actually an anonymous caricature of Lu Xun as an "upside-down paint brush."<sup>21</sup>

The story's jabs only work if the narrative is understood as inscribed within a ironical nationalistic critique. The story is well-written, but the nationalism is problematic because it is difficult to take Ye's critique seriously. Ye had already dealt with the question of Chinese nationalism towards the Japanese in an earlier story entitled "Guochou" (Enemies of the Nation), in which a Chinese man in Shanghai rents a room from a Japanese landlord. The Chinese man, a bachelor who masturbates constantly over the landlord's

Chinese maid, leaves the apartment because he cannot sleep with the maid, who is having an affair with her employer. However, when the Chinese man meets a friend after he moves out, he claims he has left the apartment because the Japanese army had just occupied Jinan in Shandong province: "[the Japanese] are enemies of our nation, I'll never put up with them!"<sup>22</sup> I contend the "nationalistic" elements of Ye's "Female no. 7" are not ideological, they are personal. Ye appropriates the discourse of nationalism to attack Lu Xun in a manner similar to the way Lu Xun had attacked Ye Lingfeng, through a critique as guilt by association. Nevertheless, Ye's counter-attack on Lu Xun is significant for what it says about the Shanghai modernists.

In chapter four I discussed the Shanghai modernists under the trope of *fengci*, that is to say, ironic critique. The intertextual nature of the novel has sometimes been read as a reason to deny the very existence of the author, as in Barthes' well-known formulation: "We now know that a text is not a line of words releasing a single 'theological' meaning (the 'message' of the Author-God) but a multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash."<sup>23</sup> The problem with such a notion of the author is, first of all, it is practically ahistorical. But more importantly, the cultural implications of an "author-god" do not hold up very well, certainly with regard to Chinese literature, where originality was never considered separate from intertextuality. At the very least, writings may be considered as "contained" by a particular author. Indeed, this is why Géfin's notion of the refigurality that occurs within realism is important: "the persistence of figurality, [. . .] motivates and structures the modern novel, because in it figurality has been disfigured-- or at least *refigured*-- in accordance with the



thwarted expectations and nostalgic desires of the novelistic subject, if not the novelist himself."<sup>24</sup>

As Lefebvre noted, tropes, or "figures of speech," may be understood as "acts."<sup>25</sup> Indeed, I used the verb *to ironize* often in this thesis, an obvious "francicization" of English. But the verb "ironiser" in French also best corresponds to the Chinese term for irony: *fengci*, which functions as a noun and verb. And, although English shows itself as wanting because it lacks the verb "to ironize," William Empson's concept of the trope of irony very succinctly introduces irony as an act: "The basic situation of this trope, without which it would not have been invented, involves three people. There is a speaker, 'A,' an understanding hearer, 'B,' and a censor who can be outwitted, a stupid tyrant, 'C.'"<sup>26</sup> Empson's example here, although presented in quasi-logical terms with the use of Roman capitals, cannot be overplayed, since he probably has a very specific case in mind.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, Empson's model is appropriate in the context of Chinese literature. *Fengci*, as a critical term describing a literary trope has a very long history in China. One of the earliest formulations of an aspect of *fengci* goes back to the "Daxu," The "Great Preface" to the classic Confucian anthology the Shijing, the Book of Songs, believed to be written by Wei Hong in the first century A.D. James J. Y. Liu and Stephen Owen read one sense of "feng" as admonition.<sup>28</sup> However, Owen's translation of the passage in the "Great Preface" is more specific: "By *feng*, those above transform those below; also by *feng*, those below criticize those above."<sup>29</sup> Owen contends that *feng* "is here defined as a movement between social classes."<sup>30</sup> Indeed, *feng* also represented a whole section in the Book of Songs that "was often taken as criticisms of government,"<sup>31</sup> although oftentimes such ironic critique could only be made indirectly "as a response from a social threat."<sup>32</sup>

The history of a trope like *fengci* is incredibly complex and certainly too long to go into here. But I do believe this early use of *fengci* reiterates the notion of the trope of irony as an act. Indeed, in the "Great Preface," such an act is unambiguously spatialized as an above and a below.

More importantly, *fengci*, as a form of irony between social classes or groups remains an important trope in modern Chinese literature. As noted above, Although Ye's criticism is probably not made wholeheartedly, that is to say, as an ideological statement of Ye Lingfeng's nationalism, his ironization of Lu Xun in "Female no. 7" resonates as an ironic critique precisely through the narrator's implied position as a "third type of person" and a foreign collaborator. Ye appropriates such a nationalistic position as a way to attack his opponent. As I noted in chapter four, Shi Zhecun uses a similar strategy in his defence of *zhiguai*: "[. . .] it seems that none of those ghosts in [Pu Songlin's] Liaozhai's Records of the Strange are ghosts---- either they're ghosts who've already been reincarnated, or else they're people who haven't died yet [. . .] even very well-told ghost stories will be praised as such if the ghosts in them aren't ghosts. There's a specific term for this, the term is '*fengci*,' allegedly falling within the parameters of realism" (italics mine).<sup>33</sup> And Shi probably made such a statement with Lu Xun in mind as well.<sup>34</sup> Lu Xun, known for his use of ironic criticism, was already ensconced as a leading cultural figure by the 1930s. But his canonization as the most important literary figure of Chinese modern literature would be brought about at the behest of the Chinese Communist Party, and specifically Mao Zedong. Mao's "Talks at the Yan'an conference on literature and art" were critical in this regard. Bonnie S. McDougall contends these talks are important for what they offer literary theory, as she notes: "Lu Xun and Mao, while conscious heirs to

the elite classical tradition of their own country, nevertheless appreciated the diversity of currents within the bounds of traditional Chinese culture and drew attention to their artistic validity."<sup>35</sup>

I agree with Mcdougall's contention as to the importance of these talks. But for Mao, the importance of literature was, to put it mildly, somewhat limited to a sort of instrumentality which is hard to ignore. However, when Mao praises Lu Xun in the Yan'an talks, it is important to note that he is not only citing Lu Xun but a type of writing as well; namely, *fengci*:

"It is still the age of essays, and we still need the Lu Xun style." If we take the essay and the Lu Xun style just to mean ironic critique (*fengci*), then this view is only correct when it applies to enemies of the people. Lu Xun lived under the rule of the forces of darkness, where there was no freedom of speech, and it was therefore absolutely correct of Lu Xun to use the essay form, with its cold ridicule and burning ironic critique, to do battle. We also have a need for sharp ridicule to direct at fascist and Chinese reactionaries, but in the anti-Japanese bases in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border Areas and elsewhere behind the enemy lines, where revolutionary writers and artists are given complete democratic freedom and only the counterrevolutionary and Special branch elements are denied it, the essay should not take the same form as Lu Xun's; it can shout at the top of its voice, but it shouldn't be obscure or devious, something that the popular masses can't understand."<sup>36</sup>

Mao's language is quite clear, *fengci* is useful only in certain cases: "[. . .] the people's shortcomings must be criticized, but we must speak from genuine identification with the people and total devotion to their protection and education. If we treat comrades with the ruthless methods required against the enemy, then we are identifying ourselves with the enemy."<sup>37</sup> Mao's use of *fengci* is at once radically different and similar to the traditional concept, because for Mao *fengci* is appropriated as a political tool to admonish and transform group formations: "Should we get rid of ironic critique? There are several kinds of

ironic critique, for use against the enemy, friends, or our own ranks; each of these attitudes is different. We certainly won't get rid of ironic critique in general, but we must get rid of its indiscriminate use."<sup>38</sup>

Whether or not *fengci* remained acceptable as a trope after Mao gave his talks in 1942 is open for debate, but as McDougall notes "[. . .] it can hardly be argued that a cohesive and comprehensive 'theory' emerges in the course of Mao's 'Talks' [. . .]"<sup>39</sup> In his discussion of Lu Xun and "several kinds of" *fengci*, he doesn't actually enumerate any types of the trope, only types of people as political formations. Admittedly, Mao Zedong's talks were made at a particular moment in history, but it is significant that he would identify one of the oldest and most universal tropes as fundamentally social and political, perhaps even the key to placing cultural production under the supervision of the party (and a future state). *Fengci*, or irony, far from being a recourse to the formalism of traditional literary terminology, opens up the text to aesthetic and political alignments and the way in which writers situate themselves within the many competing discourses of a particular historical moment.

During the 1930s, when the Shanghai modernists produced most of their work, political discussions often centered around a choice between two types of government: "democracy" or "dictatorship."<sup>40</sup> It could be said that it is within just such a context that the "liberal" and "third type of person" debate played itself out. Although some of the writing by the Shanghai modernists was "morally" shocking at times, the clearest reason for the critical silence that surrounded modernist writing on the Chinese Mainland at least, was political, directly related to party affiliation. Mu Shiyong, Shi Zhecun, Ye Lingfeng, and Du Heng were practically relegated to footnotes in writers such as Lu Xun,

Zhu Ziqing, and Qu Qiubai until the 1980s.<sup>41</sup> As I have tried to show in my readings, it is quite impossible, and I would add, hardly interesting, to read the literary production of these writers from *one* particular theoretical viewpoint, whether that viewpoint is informed by aesthetic, political or historical theory. But the question of political affiliation still sticks at the back of the throat, so to speak.

Unfortunately for Lu Xun, writers who were his contemporaries often received the brunt of disagreements they had with him in the 1930s right up to the Cultural Revolution. Shi Zhecun seems to have purposely avoided political disagreements. Indeed, that Les Contemporains maintained a certain neutrality, at least with respect to political issues, was probably due to Shi's editorial control. Nevertheless, Shi would receive his share of Lu Xun's criticism in 1933 for making the modest suggestion in the literary section of a Shanghai newspaper that young writers read Zhuangzi and Wenxuan, well known compilations in classical Chinese.<sup>42</sup> And Lu Xun's denunciation probably resulted in a chorus, so that Shi ended up publishing a defense of himself in Les Contemporains to refute false statements that were being made about his opinions on classical Chinese. Shi tacitly defends himself against a critic named "Hui" in this short article, taking aim at the criticism that claimed he had suggested a usefulness of the "[literary] heritage of earlier ages." The name of the writer is consistently referred to in quotation marks, and it's possible Shi may have felt the writer was using a pseudonym, which was not uncommon in political attacks published in the periodicals of the time. Part of Shi's article hinges on a deconstruction of the term "wenxue de yichan" which Shi translates into English, implying that the likely meaning, "Literary Heritage," would be more appropriately translated as "Literary Remains." However, Shi's main point concerning the origin of the

term "wenxue de yichan" is worth citing: "The peculiar term 'literary heritage' originated in the Soviet Union. Similarly, literary and artistic theory (or to put it another way, policy) with respect to attitudes regarding older periods of literature is in a state of constant flux in the Soviet Union."<sup>43</sup> As I said, Shi is tacitly defending himself in this article. But the article was published in 1934, the same year Chiang Kai-shek launched his New Life Movement whose main goal, as I noted in the last chapter, focused upon the revival of traditional Chinese culture as part of a government policy of modernization. Thus, although Shi's defence may be read as an effort to clarify and distance himself from his critic's position, he does this by pointing out the problems with state policy in the Soviet Union, a *specific* state policy concerning, as Shi reads it, the question of "Literary Heritage."<sup>44</sup>

Such a position can be interpreted in at least two ways. Maintaining his claim to neutrality, Shi distances himself from a "leftist" position while at the same time distancing himself from an official government position. But another reading is just as possible. Indeed, Shi's self-defence may also be read as an indirect critique of intervention by the Nationalist government. Textual evidence against these writers points to both possibilities, and Shu-mei Shih's reading of "ideological ambiguity and instability" in Liu Na'ou may, I put out, be read in the other Shanghai modernists as well.<sup>45</sup> There is a constant tension between at least two competing political discourses. But because of later historiographical (which was more often than not merely "bibliographical") evidence, the Shanghai modernists were usually lumped in an "anti-communist" category. However, as I noted in the "third type of person" debate, Du Heng's generalizations on "literary interventionism" take place at a time when the Guomindang were in the midst of cracking

down on bookstores and printers. Therefore, even when debates took place between the Shanghai modernists and their leftist critics, it's important to remember that within such debates, the "leftist" position often dovetailed ironically with the position of the government in power, the Guomindang. The critical position a writer like Mao Dun adopted towards "strange" avant-garde art and residual forms of "feudal" culture in China coincide in a roundabout way with the anti-superstition/modernization policies of the Guomindang.

As D. W. Y. Kwok notes, the Communists and the Guomindang both lay claim to a revolutionary discourse of legitimation: "Unsuccessful revolutions, such as that of the Nationalists in 1926- 27 which disappointed many, gave added credence to Lenin's dictum, 'without a correct revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary practice.' The polemicists competed with each other in applying this first law of societal dynamics to Chinese history. The debate was not restricted to convinced Communists; Kuomintang (Guomindang) theorists used the same scheme of argument."<sup>46</sup> Indeed, the bickering and infighting amongst intellectuals in the 1930s may have even detracted from possible critiques of government. In May, 1933, the writer Ding Ling disappeared and was thought to have been executed by the Guomindang police. According to Shi Zhecun, in the paragraph following mention of the disappearance in Les Contemporains, Shi inserted a note about German writers going into exile because of Fascism in their country, while suggesting readers pay attention to a correspondence from Dai Wangshu (then living at the time in France) on literary and artistic anti-fascist movements in Europe. According to Shi, his note and the publication of Dai's letter was meant as an indirect criticism of the government "to denounce Chiang Kai-chek's fascist outrages." Dai Wangshu's letter

however, included a reference to Gide as a "third type of person," thus inviting intervention from Lu Xun in the form of another critique of the "third type of person."<sup>47</sup>

Leo Lee claims that "[Shi Zhecun's] modernism is [. . .] indisputably urban [. . .]"<sup>48</sup> That Lee reads notions of urban modernism in Les Contemporains is not surprising in a sense. Editorial considerations for the publication of a journal like Les Contemporains would perhaps necessitate a certain amount of uniformity, at least with respect to the overall content of a periodical. But as I indicated in chapter two, fiction by the Shanghai modernists belies a particular view of the countryside as backwards, as a nostalgic site representing an historical past that contrasts with an up-to-date urban present. Moreover, such an "urban consciousness" is difficult to separate from historical factors, particularly the urbanization taking place under the Guomindang. Although I am not suggesting a reading of Chinese modernism as part of a state ideology of modernization, I do think possible ideological positions that may be read in the fiction of these writers vis-à-vis certain state *ideologies* is important.

Politics during the Nanjing decade are still problematic for historians and the fascistic leanings of Chiang Kai-shek's government I discussed in the last chapter are perhaps the most problematic aspects of the politics at the time. But, as one historian puts it, in the 1930s, the Guomindang was not alone, "fascism did appear as a workable and progressive system to observers all over the world."<sup>49</sup> Although the brutality of the Guomindang may have driven many intellectuals over to the left, as Lloyd Eastman comments, "events in the United States and Britain strengthened the Chinese trend away from democracy. For even these prototypes of the democratic experience seemed to be jettisoning democracy as their own countries lay in the grips of the economic depression [. . .



.]”<sup>50</sup> Although Chiang Kai-shek practiced an diplomacy of appeasement towards the Japanese government, the most overtly fascist element of the Guomindang, the Blue Shirts, may have had other purposes for the Nationalist government besides the political repression of its citizens: “No one [. . .] was more disturbed by the Blue shirts than were the Japanese.” As well as being an arm of political repression, the Blue Shirts may have also been an anti-imperialist arm of the Guomindang.<sup>51</sup>

Just as the Shanghai modernists wrote “structures of feeling” over the countryside that may be read within the context of state ideologies of modernization and urbanization, their views of gender in narratives about women, as I noted in the last chapter, also represented a confluence of discourses about women that may be read in political, juridical and social discourses of the 1930s. Discourse of the period isolated women as consumers and victims, and the tropes of women in fiction by the Shanghai modernists inscribed women in a similar manner as social subalterns. But the subaltern figuration of women, although probably attributable to the status of women in society, also has important precedents in China. Yi-tsi mei Feuerwerker notes a particular representation of women as subalterns as a significant aspect of traditional (pre-modern) Chinese literature. In her discussion of “autobiographical self-representation” as part of “an inherited textual tradition,” the historian Sima Qian serves as an exemplary figure in what Feuerwerker calls “a tradition of literary martyrdom, of “great men who had produced important writings not only under conditions of physical suffering but also while in trouble with political authority.”<sup>52</sup> Feuerwerker notes that “[w]hile it was Sima Qian who gave the most explicit expression to the ‘martyr syndrom’ in his simultaneous construction of the writing self and the literary tradition, it is the figure of Qu Yuan [. . .] China’s first named poet, that has been

most frequently celebrated (or lamented) as the writer/martyr par excellence [. . .] continually evoked down through the twentieth century."<sup>53</sup> Feuerwerker claims that through Sima Qian's biography, Qu Yuan "as exemplified in the text has defined the Qu Yuan legacy."<sup>54</sup> As well exemplifying the correct relationship between a subject and his ruler in the biographical figure of the poet, Qu Yuan's long poem "Lisao" (Encountering Sorrow) is exemplary of a particular form of writing, of the use of complaint (yuan) and historic examples " 'to criticize (*ci*) contemporary affairs (*shi shi*).' "<sup>55</sup> Moreover, as Feuerwerker notes "[i]n the *Lisao*, the poet at times adopts a female voice lamenting the separation from his ruler or expressing his longing for recognition. The tradition of female impersonation was established early in the *Shijing* (*The Book of Songs*), most often in poems expressing the sorrow and longing of a neglected or abandoned woman [. . .] Just as women were subordinate to and dependent on men, so were intellectuals in relation to their rulers, the apex of power in the patriarchal structure."<sup>56</sup> It could be said that such a feminized trope goes to the heart of a "Confucian" tradition of poetics which prescribed a proper way for the ruled to criticize their rulers.

Of course, such a problematic must be weighed against the actualities of modern China, to determine if residual aspects of such a patriarchal system actually existed. As I showed in chapter five, at least for the Shanghai modernists, one doesn't need to read very far for residues of patriarchal structures. More importantly, with an historical figure such as Qu Yuan, a notion of "figuration" is also applicable to Chinese literature. My discussion in chapter five of Laszlo Géfin's reading of Auerbachian mimesis as intertextual "refiguration" in the novel was an attempt to bypass the binary of "Western" mimetic and Chinese "expressive" theories of literature. However, as I showed, a concept of "refiguration" is as

relevant to the Chinese modern novel as it is to the European. Furthermore, "refiguration" of an historical figure such as Qu Yuan also occurs as a tropic refiguration of *fengci*. The gendered trope of "woman" may be read as a point of intersection for various discourses about women, but female figures in fiction by the Shanghai modernists are marked most often by a refusal or intransigence, they are "consumers" who lack moral, national or political affiliation. And, as such, these figures of social and political discourses on gender simultaneously serve as figures of the Chinese "modernist" literary production. Thus, as tropic figures of critique, these women also become an aspect "textual self-representation" in which "even as intellectuals and writers reach for new autonomous definitions of the self, in many respects the new selves continue to be layered onto the old."<sup>57</sup>

Even Mao Zedong's radicalized, politicized inscription of *fengci* is readable within traditional Chinese poetics. During the "third type of person" debate, when Qu Qiubai mocks Su Wen's "society of writers" (*zuozhe zhi qun*) as a "flock" of sheep, he alludes to Su Wen's use of the word "*qun*," and the famous passage in the *Analects* where Confucius states: "An apt quotation from the *Odes* may serve to *stimulate the imagination* (*xing*), to *show one's breeding* (*guan*), to *smooth over difficulties in a group* (*qun*) and to *give expression to complaints* (*yuan*)."<sup>58</sup> I do not wish to reinscribe modern political formations within traditional poetics but, in my opinion, language has resonance only if it is understood as dialogical. In other words, history creates its own "hybridizations": "a mixture of two social languages within the limits of a single utterance, an encounter, within the arena of an utterance, between two different linguistic consciousnesses, separated from one another by an epoch, by social differentiation or by some other factor."<sup>59</sup> Moreover, within the intertextual aspects of dialogism "lurk vestiges of the figural interpretation

ostensibly extinguished" with the ruptures of modern history.<sup>60</sup> Indeed, hybridization and refiguration occur, first of all, within the productive capacities of language itself. Because of historical factors, the Shanghai modernists differentiated themselves with regards to members of the Left League like Lu Xun and Qu Qiubai. But in many ways the Left League, despite attempts to distance itself from the May Fourth legacy, still upheld a basically heuristic position of literature, and by extension, the writer, as a responsible member of society and the state.

*Fengci*, or ironic critique, as a marker for group formation finds a notable example in Mu Shiyong's novella "Wu yue" (May). As I pointed out in my introduction, there was no "New Sensation School" in China, but Mu's "May" is the most explicit example I've read of a formation of writers who would later be referred to under the title "New Sensation School." Although Mu never published a full-length novel, "May" is the longest of Mu's published works.<sup>61</sup> National allegory, montage, parody, hybridization, all form part this modernist love story. Moreover, the story is explicitly inscribed as a *national* refiguration, as Mu ends the narrative with the date May 5, 1933, May fifth being the Gregorian calendrical date for the Dragon Boat Festival that commemorates the suicide of the poet and patriotic martyr Qu Yuan. "May" is inscribed as a *refigured* allegory of the nation in the character of Cai Peipei, a young woman pursued by three suitors, Liu Cangbo, Jiang Jun and Song Yiping. In addition, the suitors assume roles that make the novel a *roman à clef* of Chinese modernism, because the suitors are clearly playful references to Liu Na'ou, Shi Zhecun and Ye Lingfeng. In effect, the love story is filled with parodic pastiches of Liu, Shi, and Ye's writing, the novel's overall form recalling Ye Lingfeng's *Shidai guniang* (A Young

Woman of the Age), interspersed as it is with diary entries of the young, "virginal" Cai Peipei.<sup>62</sup>

Moreover, as the novella incorporates textual hybridization, Cai Peipei is described in part two of the first chapter, "Jiapu he lüli" (Geneology and Experience), as "a mixed [child] of three nationalities." Her grandfather, from Guangdong province, married five wives,<sup>63</sup> one of them a Japanese woman who was Cai Peipei's paternal grandmother. Her father, a businessman in San Francisco with a doctorate in economics from Harvard, married an American woman, and Cai Peipei was the youngest child of three. The mixed lineage of Cai Peipei is not difficult to read as reminder of the city of Shanghai, occupied by that time by the Japanese army, and governed by an elite from Guangdong, many of whom had been educated in the United States. But the prominence given to the number three also recalls the origins of the the Republic of China in the "Guofu" (Father of the Nation)" of the modern Chinese state, Sun Yat-sen, and his "Three Principles of the People": the principle of nationalism in the recuperation of power from the Manchu's by the Chinese nation; the principle of democracy, of democratic rights within a republican form of government, and the principle of livelihood, or economic equality.

Thus, like the narrator of Mu's "Old House" and "Father," Cai Peipei reads well as another "child of the republic." "May" narrates the unsuccessful pursuit of Cai Peipei by her three suitors Liu Cangbo, Jiang Jun and Song Yiping. Indeed, it is tempting to read the novella schematically, the three suitors representing a division into "Three Principles." Song Yiping, for example, introduces his surname as "the Song in Song Ziwen," an obvious reference to T. V. Soong, a Harvard educated economist from Guangdong who served as

minister of finance for the Guomindang from 1927- 1933. But the three suitors as allegorical figures overlap, as the narrative progresses in a contrapuntal manner to recount the relationships between Cai Peipei and her suitors. Nevertheless, a literal reading is warranted by the allegorical markers in the text, in the form the novella takes as a *roman à clef*, and the sometimes sentimental interplay between the allegorized protagonist and her suitors. The denouement occurs on Cai Peipei's birthday as her three suitors each make competing claims over the young woman and she rejects all of them as a result. In the end, Cai Peipei, the "mixed" young woman, ends up alone in her room, her pet parrot repeating the phrases of her suitors, only to fall into the arms of her sister's lover simply because he enters her room.

The implication of such an ending speaks problematically on several levels. Cai Peipei, as a figure of textual and cultural hybridity, could be read as a negative figure of colonial or semicolonial mimicry.<sup>64</sup> Cai Peipei is a mere echo of the other, she is a subject who lacks content, as hollow as that other national allegorical figure of modern Chinese literature, Lu Xun's Ah Q. However, Mu Shiyong also implicates himself in the figure of this young woman who mimics or echoes the other, because the dates from Cai Peipei's diary are brought to a close, so to speak, with the date that closes the novella. And the narrative itself is, as I said, a pastiche of Liu Na'ou, Shi Zhecun and Ye Lingfeng, in which Mu's young woman is a sort of "signified" that the three suitor/authors have failed to capture in their particular styles of modernist signification. But as such, modernism itself is read as a fundamentally appropriable and ineffectual surface. In effect, Mu appropriates the styles of his friends *as styles*, thus modernism itself is read as nothing more than particular styles of

writing, styles which are, moreover, inscribed as ineffectual as a result of their inability to signify anything besides themselves.

Thus, Mu's "May" is haunted by an indeterminacy of the signifier. And such an indeterminacy is also attributed to a lack. On one hand, there is a lack of subjectivity, of subjecthood, so to speak, personified in Cai Peipei, the figure of mimicry, of the echo, as mere modernist style. Indeed, Mu's love story figure recalls what one critic calls a "Modernist disorientation" in which "[t]here is no authority in the novel, mimicking the absence of certainty in the larger world."<sup>65</sup> Such a self-referentiality is evident in Mu's work. However, although Cai Peipei is something of a subjective cipher, certain of her physical features are repeated throughout the novella, notably: "a large black mole by her lips and five plum spots at the corner of her eye near her temple." In this way, Cai Peipei is also a "national map" in the manner of "CRAVEN 'A'." Cai Peipei reads well as a map of treaty ports representing the six major powers in 1930s China of Japan, France, Britain, the USSR, the United States, and Germany. More importantly, however, the most curious suitor is Jiang Jun, whose name also functions as a homonym for Shi Zhecun's collection of historical stories Jiangjun di tou (The General's Head). Indeed, I contend Mu's Jiang Jun *refigures* the title story of Shi Zhecun's collection, a fictionalized account of a Tang Dynasty General Hua, itself a *refiguration* of the historical figure as a double personality representing an interior conflict between "nationality" and "sexual desire."<sup>66</sup> Mu's reading is a playful parody of Shi's style, but the interiority of Mu's Jiang Jun in "May" is clearly ineffectual, and it is an ineffectual interior monologue because it lacks physical expression. Indeed, Cai Peipei is repulsed by Jiang Jun because he lacks the physical force needed to submit her to male authority, he is unable to fulfill her desire to become a subaltern. Jiang Jun, as a

"general," is clearly a figure of military power, a military power which is ineffectual because it fails to satisfy the subaltern's desire for subordination.

The indeterminacy implicit in Mu's modernist love story is inscribed in the figure of military weakness and a notion of the nation state in which "[t]he awareness of the nation state's location in the world system system necessitates its military and fiscal modernization which, in turn, requires an unprecedented intervention in society to extract the needed resources."<sup>67</sup> I do not wish to place the Shanghai modernists beneath the rubric of "nation building," but I do want to point out a certain tension readable in these "modernist" texts. Just as hybridity, or hybridization, presupposes the intersection of national myths perceived as totalities, I suggest the subversion inherent in such hybridity presupposes the existence of a nation state.<sup>68</sup> In 1930s, just as parts of China were expropriated extraterritorial concessions, China was forced to use a mixed currency.<sup>69</sup> And the legal structure in the city of Shanghai was dominated by the Mixed Court, which consisted of a patchwork of the laws and juridical bodies of various nations. Thus, even law courts were an aspect of the circulation of wealth, sources of revenue that accompanied the division of private property.<sup>70</sup>

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak notes the term for political representation in Marx's The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte is *vertreten*.<sup>71</sup> And, as Spivak notes, "Marx seems to be working within a patriarchal metaphors."<sup>72</sup> Spivak's contention is important. However, in The Brumaire, Marx's notion of representation as patriarchal is also juridical: "Historical tradition gave rise to the belief of the French peasants in the miracle that a man named Napoleon would bring all the glory back to them. And an individual turned up who gives himself out as the man because he bears the name of Napoleon, in consequence of the



Code Napoléon, which lays down that la recherche de la paternité est interdite."<sup>73</sup> Marx is killing two birds with one stone here. At one fell swoop he critiques the French peasantry within the figuration of French history in Louis Bonaparte as the farcical repetition of the tragedy of his uncle Napoleon. In Marx, the famous phrase "[t]hey cannot represent themselves, they must be represented"<sup>74</sup> carries an incredible sarcasm, a denial of historical subjectivity to the French peasantry who Marx believed did not form a coherent class. Spivak's appropriation of Marx's famous phrase is apropos of her notion of the subaltern, not as a class that will not speak, but of a gender that cannot speak, women. But with regard to the Shanghai modernists, I propose "[t]hey cannot represent themselves, they must be represented" may be rephrased as "they represent themselves and they are represented." This is evident in the light of the gendered trope of woman I discussed in the last chapter. Even as figures in the text, narrative subjects as "types" may be read as traces in history, representations of *possible* historical subjects as textual constructs.

And of course, standing behind such constructs are the authors themselves, which, to a certain extent, are no more real than the texts they produce. As Barthes put it in his well-known formulation: "We now know that a text is not a line of words releasing a single 'theological' meaning (the 'message' of the Author-God) but a multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash."<sup>75</sup> But why should the author be a god, why not a father or a mother? My question is not rhetorical, and goes to the heart of an important point made by Edward Said about modern cultural history "in which the failure of the generative impulse-- the failure of the capacity to produce or generate children-- is portrayed in such a way as to stand for a general condition afflicting society and culture together, to say nothing of individual men and women."<sup>76</sup> Said claims

that "[c]hildless couples, orphaned children, aborted childbirths, and unregeneratively celibate men and women populate the world of high modernism, all of them suggesting the difficulties of filiation." According to Said, such a loss of natural filiation lead to "the pressure to produce new and different ways of conceiving human relationships [. . .] that would substitute for those ties that connect members of the same family across generations?"<sup>77</sup> For Said, this substitute is found in "affiliative" relationships: "[. . .] the transition from a failed idea or possibility of filiation to a kind of compensatory order that, whether it is a party, an institution, a culture, a set of beliefs, or even a world-vision, provides men and women with a new form of relationship, which I have been calling affiliation but which is also a new system."<sup>78</sup>

For China in the 1920s and 1930s, the nation state was just such a new system. Traditional Chinese society often did not go further than the family ties in a village.<sup>79</sup> The problem is an important one for early twentieth century China. Nevertheless, when I discussed "national allegory," Jameson's statements of this "now outmoded narrative system"<sup>80</sup> in European modernism are carried over in his discussion of "Third World" intellectuals who embrace "that old thing called 'nationalism,' long since liquidated here and rightly so."<sup>81</sup> That nationalism had (when Jameson was writing in the 1980s) or, indeed, has disappeared, even from the United States, is very doubtful. The Shanghai modernists wrote women as subalterns which at the same time posited a subaltern status for the male authors themselves, a status that is best appreciated as a position vis-à-vis the state in modern China. Although they were citizens in the semicolonial treaty port of Shanghai, the Shanghai modernists were cosmopolitans. Shu-mei Shih claims the situation of "Third World" made them "asymmetrical cosmopolitans" in a "Western dominated world view."<sup>82</sup> The point is well

taken. But the Shanghai modernists were cosmopolitans in another sense as well. They were cosmopolitans *because* they were subalterns to the state, and I am compelled to call this attitude gramscian, by an idea in Antonio Gramsci which is not often referred to by that name. This is a meaning of subalternity which Antonio Gramsci grapples with in his notebooks when he discusses the problem of the emigration of the cosmopolitan intellectuals and educated classes: "It has not given the people national discipline, it has not made them abandon provincialism in order to attain a higher level of unity [it has not created the economic conditions to reabsorb the labour force that emigrated], so that for the most part these elements have been wasted, and they have become incorporated in foreign nationalities in a subaltern role."<sup>83</sup> Thus, it is essential to recall the dual meaning of subaltern, as "subordinate" not only in the socio-political sense, but also in the military sense; that is, the subaltern as a rank in an army, *and the state*: "Intellectuals of the urban type are closely tied to industry. They have the same function as subaltern officers in the army: they establish the relationship between the entrepreneur and the instrumental masses, they execute the production plan drawn by the general staff of industry."<sup>84</sup> Research into the Shanghai modernists began on the Mainland in the 1980s. But such research may be best understood as an aspect of research into Shanghai urban culture that began after the change in state policy in China in 1978, and the subsequent drive towards modernization. Indeed, it could be said that the present study has benefitted indirectly from such a change in state policy as well.

---

<sup>1</sup> See, Mu Shiyong, "Hei Mudan," (Black Peony) in Mu Shiyong xiaoshuo quanbian (The Complete Novels of Mu Shiyong) eds. Jia Zhifang et al (Shanghai: Xuelin, 1998) 281-290; 290. This passage occurs at the end of the story. The narrator is taking leave of his friend Sheng Wu and "Black Peony":

"Such happy people!  
 Life trivialized until [it] resembles ants.  
 One after another lines of number 3-like ants.  
 Really! Really!  
 33333333333 ..... endlessly from all directions crawling towards me, can't keep  
 up, can't get away .  
 Crushed! Really crushed!" (Black Peony 290).

<sup>2</sup> That is to say, "Zai liangxie" ran in Xindai Zazhi (Les Contemporains) 5. 1 (May, 1934) to 6. 1 (November 1934).

<sup>3</sup> See, Du Heng, Pantu (The Traitor) (Shanghai: Jindai shuju, 1936) 1- 16.

<sup>4</sup> Frederic Wakeman, Jr. discusses this incident in "The Gu Shunzhang Affair and the White terror," in Frederic Wakeman, Jr., Policing Shanghai 1927- 1937 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995) 151- 161.

<sup>5</sup> See, Du Heng, Pantu 93.

<sup>6</sup> See, chapter one of the present thesis.

<sup>7</sup> See, Du Heng, Pantu 218.

<sup>8</sup> See, Du Heng, Pantu 407.

<sup>9</sup> See, Shu-mei Shih, The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in semicolonial China, 1917- 1937 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001) 253. Trackless Train and La Nouvelle Littérature were both journals published by Liu Na'ou, Dai Wangshu and Shi Zhecun in the late 1920s, Les Contemporains was edited by Shi Zhecun and later, Du Heng, from 1932- 1935. I discuss some of the circumstances surrounding the publication of these journals in my introduction.

<sup>10</sup> See, Shu-mei Shih, The Lure of the Modern 255.

<sup>11</sup> See, Shu-mei Shih, The Lure of the Modern 255.

<sup>12</sup> "In 1928, Ye edited a bimonthly Gebi (Desert); its May 15 issue had a caricature of Lu Xun in the cubist fashion, thereby provoking an attack by Lu Xun on Ye as, sarcastically, a 'young revolutionary artist.' " See, Yingjin Zhang, The City in Modern Chinese Literature and Film: Configurations of Space, Time, and Gender (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996) 208. Zhang is referring to Lu Xun's article "Geming kafeidian" (The Revolutionary Café) in The Complete Works of Lu Xun (Lu Xun quanji) vol. 4 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue, 1995) 116- 119; 117.

<sup>13</sup> See, Lu Xun, "A Glance at Shanghai Literature and Art" (Shanghai wenyi zhi yi pie) in The Complete Works of Lu Xun (Lu Xun quanji) vol. 4 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue, 1995) 291- 307; 293. The words "Ukiyoe," "Erotic," and "Decadence" are written in Chinese and romanized script.

<sup>14</sup> See, Leo Ou-fan Lee (Li Ou-fan), "Zhongguo xiandai wenxue de 'tuifei' ji zuojia" ("Decadence" and its Writers in Chinese Modern Literature) in Dangdai (Taiwan) 93 (Jan. 1994) 22-47; 40. Lu Xun's beard-sley selection was published in 1929. See, The Complete Works of Lu Xun (Lu Xun quanji) vol. 3 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue, 1995) 240, note 42. Lu Xun also discussed Wu Youru with a slightly more open mind in "Afterword" in The Complete Works of Lu Xun vol. 2, 321- 337; 326.

<sup>15</sup> See, Yingjin Zhang, The City in Modern Chinese Literature and Film 316, note 43. The problem of political affiliation is always subject to review. Zhang's example is quite

telling: "A footnote to the 1957 edition of Lu Xun quanji [The Complete Works of Lu Xun] accuses Ye Lingfeng of (1) being affiliated with the Nationalist government and (2) being a 'Japanese collaborator' (*hanjian wenren*). In the 1981 edition (published six years after Ye's death), these two accusations were removed."

<sup>16</sup> See, Ye Lingfeng, "Diqihao nüxing" (Female No. 7) in Ye Lingfeng xiaoshuo quanbian (The Complete Novels of Ye Lingfeng) eds., Jia Zhifang et al (Shanghai: Xuelin, 1998) 335- 343; 338.

<sup>17</sup> See, Ye Lingfeng, "Female no. 7" 338.

<sup>18</sup> See, Wang Shiqing, Lu Xun: a Biography trans. Zhang Peiji (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1984) 251.

<sup>19</sup> Shu-mei Shih notes that "[w]hen Tanizaki visited Shanghai in 1926, Uchiyama arranged a party for the Chinese writers to meet with him [. . .]" See, Shu-mei Shih, The Lure of the Modern 141. The word "grotesque" appears in English reference to Tanizaki's novels. See, Ye Lingfeng, "Female no. 7" 342.

<sup>20</sup> See, Ye Lingfeng, "Female no. 7" 337.

<sup>21</sup> "Female no. 7" appeared in Xiandai zazhi (Les Contemporains) 2. 3 (January 1933) 407-413. The photos and caricature appear in "Wenyi huabao" (The Literature and Art pictorial section) in Xiandai zazhi (Les Contemporains) 2. 4 (February 1933) no page numbers. Although captioned as a sketch made during one of Lu Xun's lectures in Beijing, it's a crude portrait of Lu Xun as an "upside-down paint brush," as Shi puts it. See, Shi Zhecun, "Recollections of Lu Xun" in Footprints in the Sand (Shashang de Jiaoji) (Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyu, 1995) 110- 116; 115- 116. As to who slipped the sketch in, Shi merely states that it was the "person in charge of art" at Les Contemporains. However, in another article on Les Contemporains, he mentions that Ye Lingfeng was in charge of collecting the pictures for the journal. See "Recollection of Les Contemporains" in Footprints in the Sand 26- 57; 57.

<sup>22</sup> See, Ye Lingfeng, "Guochou" (Enemies of the Nation) in The Complete Novels of Ye Lingfeng 204- 212; 212.

<sup>23</sup> See, Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author," Image, Text, Music, trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977) 142- 148; 146.

<sup>24</sup> See, Laszlo K. Géfin, "Auerbach's Stendhal: Realism, Figuralty, and Refiguration," in Poetics Today 20. 1 (Spring 1999) 27- 40; 29.

<sup>25</sup> Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991) 139. I discuss this question in greater detail in chapter five.

<sup>26</sup> See, William Empson, "The Voice of the Underdog" in The Journal of General Education XXVI. 4 (Winter 1975) 335- 341; 335.

<sup>27</sup> Namely, Alexander Pope's "Epistle to Augustus." See, William Empson, "The Voice of the Underdog" 335.

<sup>28</sup> See, James J. Y. Liu, Chinese Theories of Literature (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975) 64; and Stephen Owen, Readings in Chinese Literary Thought (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1992) 46.

<sup>29</sup> See, Stephen Owen, Readings in Chinese Literary Thought 46.

<sup>30</sup> See, Stephen Owen, Readings in Chinese Literary Thought 46.

<sup>31</sup> See, Stephen Owen, Readings in Chinese Literary Thought 257. Owen is discussing Liu Xie's Wenxin diaolong.

<sup>32</sup> See, Stephen Owen, Readings in Chinese Literary Thought 257.

<sup>33</sup> See, Shi Zhecun, "Guihua" (Ghost Talk), in Shi Zhecun sanwenji (Collected Essays of Shi Zhecun) (Tianjin: Baihuawenyi, 1994) 47- 50; 48.

<sup>34</sup> See, for example Lu Xun, "Lun fengci" (On fengci) in Lu Xun quanji (The Complete Works of Lu Xun) vol. 5 (Beijing: Renmin wenzue, 1995) 277- 279. Also see, "Shenme shi fengci?" (What is fengci?) in The Complete Works of Lu Xun vol. 5, 328- 330.

<sup>35</sup> See, Bonnie S. McDougall, "Introduction: The Yan'an 'Talks' as Literary Theory," in Bonnie S. McDougall, trans., Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yan'an conference on literature and art." (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1980) 3- 54; 5.

<sup>36</sup> See, Bonnie S. McDougall, trans. Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yan'an conference on literature and art." (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1980) 81. McDougall translates *fengci* as satire, but I've translated it as "ironic critique."

<sup>37</sup> See, Bonnie S. McDougall, trans. Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yan'an conference 81.

<sup>38</sup> See, Bonnie S. McDougall, trans. Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yan'an conference 81.

<sup>39</sup> See, Bonnie S. McDougall, "Introduction" 3.

<sup>40</sup> See, Lloyd E. Eastman, The Abortive Revolution, China Under Nationalist Rule, 1927-1937 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University press, 1974) 140- 180. Also, see, Jerome B. Greider, Intellectuals and the State in Modern China: A Narrative History (New York: The Free Press, 1981) 326- 350.

<sup>41</sup> Moreover, it was never just a question of "modernist" writing. Writers such as Zhou Zuoren, Shen Congwen and Qian Zhongshu (to name three) would also have to wait until the 1980s to be rediscovered. However, Du Heng is still in the footnotes.

<sup>42</sup> C. T. Hsia discusses this incident. See, C. T. Hsia, A History of Modern Chinese Fiction (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974) 570, note 19.

<sup>43</sup> See, Shi Zhecun, "Wo yu wenyan wen" (Classical Language and I) in Xiandai zazhi (Les Contemporains) 5. 5 (September 1934) 680- 683; 681.

<sup>44</sup> In his translated pun on "Literary Heritage," Shi notes newly discovered essays and poems by Turgenev as "Literary Remains."

<sup>45</sup> See, Shu-mei Shih, The Lure of the Modern 286.

<sup>46</sup> See, D. W. Y. Kwok, Scientism in Chinese Thought: 1900- 1950 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965) 165.

<sup>47</sup> Shi claims that his comments and the letter were meant to "zhi sang ma huai"-- to point at the mulberry and abuse the locust tree; that is, to discuss German fascism as an indirect critique of the Guomindang. See, Shi Zhecun, "<<Xiandai>> zaji" (Random Recollections of Les Contemporains), in Shashang de Jiaoji (Footprints in the Sand) (Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 1995) 26- 57; 42- 43. Shi mentions the article by Lu Xun entitled "Youlun 'disanzhongren' " (More on the "Third Type of person"). Dai Wangshu's letter appears in Xiandai zashi (Les Contemporains) 3. 2 (June 1933) 305- 308. Dai's letter is about fascism in Europe, but he does seem to get in a jab at Lu Xun when he comments "[. . .] we could say Gide is a 'third type of person' [. . .] faithful to his art. However, a writer who is faithful to his art is not necessarily a "hack" for the capitalist classes [. . .]" The term "hack"(bangxianzhe) was a favorite expression of Lu Xun's. Shi Zhecun's comments appear on the very last page of the same issue.

<sup>48</sup> See, Leo Ou'fan Lee, Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930- 1945. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999) 142.

- <sup>49</sup> See, Michael R. Godley, "Lessons From an Italian Connection," in Ideal and Reality: Social and Political Change in Modern China, 1860- 1949, eds. David Pong and Edmund S. K. Fung (Lanham: University press of America, 1985) 93- 123; 101.
- <sup>50</sup> See, Lloyd E. Eastman, The Abortive Revolution 146.
- <sup>51</sup> See, Lloyd E. Eastman, The Abortive Revolution 78.
- <sup>52</sup> See, Yi-tsi Mei Feuerwerker, Ideology, Power, Text: Self-Representation and the Peasant "Other" in Modern Chinese Literature (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998) 17- 18. Sima Qian (145- 87? B.C.) was the Han Dynasty historian who had chosen castration over death for offending the Emperor.
- <sup>53</sup> See, Yi-tsi Mei Feuerwerker, Ideology, Power, Text 18. In his lifetime, Qu Yuan was supposed to have been banished and recalled several times by the court of King Huai of Chu (328- 299 B.C.). Threatened by the neighboring state of Qin, King Huai agreed to travel there for a conference with the king of Qin against the advice of Qu Yuan. King Huai was held prisoner by the Qin only to die in captivity. The Qin invaded the capital of Chu and Qu Yuan, in patriotic despair, drowned himself in the Mi Luo river in what is now Hunan province. According to tradition, Qu Yuan drowned himself on the fifth day of the fifth month of the lunar calendar, a date which is still commemorated with the Dragon Boat Festival.
- <sup>54</sup> See, Yi-tsi Mei Feuerwerker, Ideology, Power, Text 19.
- <sup>55</sup> See, Yi-tsi Mei Feuerwerker, Ideology, Power, Text 18. Feuerwerker is citing Sima Qian's biography of Qu Yuan.
- <sup>56</sup> See, Yi-tsi Mei Feuerwerker, Ideology, Power, Text 19.
- <sup>57</sup> See, Yi-tsi Mei Feuerwerker, Ideology, Power, Text 19.
- <sup>58</sup> Italics mine. See, Yi Jia (Qu Qiubai), "Wenyi de ziyou and wenxuejia de buziyou" (Literary and Artistic Freedom and the Writer's Lack of Freedom) 80-81. I've used D. C. Lau's translation. See, The Analects, trans., D.C. Lau, XVII. 9, 145.
- <sup>59</sup> See, M. M. Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel," in The Dialogic Imagination, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987) 259- 422; 358.
- <sup>60</sup> See, G  fin, "Auerbach's Stendhal " 29.
- <sup>61</sup> See, Mu Shiyong "Wu yue" (May) in Mu Shiyong xiaoshuo quanbian (The Complete Novels of Mu Shiyong) ed. Jia Zhifang et al. (Shanghai: Xuelin, 1998) 313- 369.
- <sup>62</sup> Liu Cangbo is homonymically close to Liu Na'ou's given name Liu Canbo, while Jiang Jun reads like a homonym for Jiangjun (general) as in Jiangjun di tou (The General's Head) the important volume of Shi's historical fiction. Song Yiping is a bit of a stretch, but the structure of the novel is unmistakable.
- <sup>63</sup> That is, one "wife" (qi) and four "concubines" (qie).
- <sup>64</sup> See, Shu-mei Shih, The Lure of the Modern 24- 25.
- <sup>65</sup> See, Peter Childs, Modernism (London: Routledge, 2000) 145- 146.
- <sup>66</sup> See, Anonymous, "Ping <<Jiangjun di tou>>" (Review of <<The General's Head>>), in Xiandai zazhi (Les Contemporains) 1.5 (Sept. 1932) 734- 735. For a detailed discussion of "The General's Head" see, William Schaefer, "Kumarajiva's Foreign tongue: Shi Zhecun's Modernist historical Fiction," in Modern Chinese Literature, 1&2, 10 (Spring/Fall, 1998) 25- 70.

<sup>67</sup> See, Prasenjit Duara, "Knowledge and Power in the Discourse of Modernity: The Campaign Against Popular religion in Early twentieth century China," in Journal of East Asian Studies 50. 1 (Feb. 1991) 67- 83; 74.

<sup>68</sup> On the intersection of national myths perceived as totalities, see, M. M. Bakhtin, "From the Prehistory of Novelistic Discourse" 63- 65; on subversive hybridity see, Gregory B. Lee, Lyricism, Nationalism, and Hybridity in China and Its Others 20.

<sup>69</sup> A point I make in my discussion of Jean-Joseph Goux at the end of chapter three.

<sup>70</sup> See, Michel Foucault, "Sur la justice populaire: Débat avec les maos," in Dits et écrits, eds. Daniel Deefert, François Ewald, and Jacques Lagrange (Paris: Gallimard, 1994) vol. 2, 341- 369; 343.

<sup>71</sup> See, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader, ed., ed. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994) 66-111.

<sup>72</sup> See, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" 73.

<sup>73</sup> See, Karl Marx, The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Selected Works (in one volume) (New York: International Publishers, 1969) 95-180; 172.

<sup>74</sup> See, Karl Marx, The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte 172.

<sup>75</sup> See, Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author," Image, Text, Music, trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977) 142- 148; 146.

<sup>76</sup> See, Edward Said, The World, the Text, and the Critic (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983) 16.

<sup>77</sup> See, Edward Said, The World, the Text, and the Critic 17.

<sup>78</sup> See, Edward Said, The World, the Text, and the Critic 19.

<sup>79</sup> One sociological writer offers an interesting, contemporary (i.e., 1930s) discussion of this: "The family in China was not only the real unit of government [. . .] but it was also the heart of Chinese society. All values were determined according to their affect upon the welfare of the state, of which the Chinese masses could hardly conceive [. . .] Politically, China's continuous defeats by Western nations in the various wars have made her conscious of national solidarity and anxious to adopt Western political organization [. . .]" See, Ching-yueh Yen, "Crime in Relation to Social Change in China," in American Journal of Sociology 40. 3 (1934- 35) 298- 308; 299- 301.

<sup>80</sup> See, Fredric Jameson, Fables of Aggression: Wyndham Lewis, the Modernist as Fascist (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979) 93.

<sup>81</sup> See, Fredric Jameson "Third-World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism" in Social Text 15 (Fall 1986): 65-88; 65.

<sup>82</sup> See, Shu-mei Shih, The Lure of the Modern 97

<sup>83</sup> See, Antonio Gramsci, Prison Notebooks, trans. Joseph A. Buttigieg, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996) vol. II, 104.

<sup>84</sup> This passage comes from Gramsci's well-known analysis of the intellectuals. See, "The intellectuals" in Prison Notebooks, vol. II, 199-210; 201.



## Bibliography

- Abraham, Karl. "The Spending of Money in Anxiety States." The Psychoanalysis of Money. Ed. Ernest Bornemann. New York: Urizen Books, 1976. 99- 102.
- Adorno, Theodor W. Aesthetic theory. Trans. C. Lenhardt. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984.
- . Philosophy of Modern Music. Trans. Ann G. Mitchell and Wesley V. Blomster. New York: Seabury Press, 1973.
- Ahmad, Aijaz. "Jameson's Rhetoric of Otherness and the 'National Allegory.'" Social Text 17 (1987) 3-25.
- Anderson, Marston. The Limits of Realism: Chinese Fiction in the Revolutionary Period. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
- Bakhtin, M. M. The Dialogic Imagination. Trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987.
- . Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics. Trans. Caryl Emerson. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984.
- Barthes, Roland. "The Death of the Author." Image, Text, Music. Trans. Stephen Heath. New York: Hill and Wang, 1977. 142- 148.
- . Writing Degree Zero & Elements of Semiology. Trans. Annette Lavers and Colin Smith. London: Jonathan Cape, 1984.
- Benjamin, Walter. "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." Illuminations. Trans. Harry Zohn. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1955. 219- 253.
- Benson, Carlton. "Consumers are Also Soldiers: Subversive Songs from Nanjing Road During the New Life Movement." Inventing Nanjing Road: Commercial Culture in Shanghai, 1900- 1945. Ed. Sherman Cochran. Ithaca: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 1999. 91- 132.
- Bergère, Marie-Claire. L'age d'or de la bourgeoisie chinoise. Paris: Flammarion: 1986.
- . "Modernisation économique et société urbaine." La Chine au XXe Siècle: d'une révolution à l'autre, 1895- 1949. Eds. Marie-Claire Bergère, Lucien

- Bianco, Jürgen Domes (Mesnil-sur-l'Estrée: Fayard, 1989) 295- 323.
- Bergère, Marie-Claire, Noël Castelino, Christian Henriot, Pui-yin Ho. "Essai de prosopographie des élites Shanghaiennes a l'époque républicaine, 1911- 1949." Annales ESC 4 (1985) 901- 929.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field. Trans. Susan Emmanuel. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995.
- Braester, Yomi. "Shanghai's Economy of the Spectacle: The Shanghai Race Club in Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiyong's Stories." Modern Chinese Literature. 1. 9 (1995) 39-57.
- Bürger, Peter. Theory of the Avant-Garde. Trans. Michael Shaw. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984.
- Chan, Chingkiu Stephen. The Problematics of Modern Chinese Realism: Mao Dun and His Contemporaries (1919-1937). Diss. University of California, San Diego, 1986. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1989.
- Childs, Peter. Modernism. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Chow, Rey. Woman and Chinese Modernity: the Politics of Reading between East and West. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1991.
- Confucius. The Analects. Trans. D. C. Lau. London: Penguin, 1979.
- Crow, Thomas. "Modernism and Mass Culture in the Visual Arts." Modernism and Modernity. Ed. Benjamin H. D. Buchloh et al. Halifax: The Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1983. 215- 264.
- . "Modernism and Mass Culture in the Visual Arts." Modern Art in the Common Culture. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996. 3- 37.
- de Bary, Wm. Theodore, et al., comp. Sources of the Chinese Tradition. New York: Columbia University Press, 1960. 2 vols.
- Deleuze, Gilles and Félix Guattari. A Thousand Plateaus : Capitalism and Schizophrenia. Trans. Brian Massumi. Minneapolis : University of Minnesota Press, 1987.
- de Man, Paul. "Hypogram and Inscription." The Resistance to Theory. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1986. 27- 53.
- Denton, Kirk A., ed. Modern Chinese Literary Thought. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.
- Derrida, Jacques. Writing and Difference Trans. Alan Bass. London: Routledge, Kegan

and Paul, 1985.

Dews, Peter. The Logics of Disintegration: Post-structuralist Thought and the Claims of Critical Theory. London: Verso, 1988.

Dirlik, Arif. "The Ideological Foundations of the New Life Movement: A Study in Counterevolution." Journal of Asian Studies 34. 4 (1975) 945- 980.

Du Heng. Du Heng xuanji (Selected Du Heng). Ed. Zhou Jin. Taipei: Zhiyan, 1989.

---. Hong yu hei (Red and Black). Shanghai: Liangyou tushu, 1933.

---. Huaixiangji (Homesickness). 1933. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian 1986.

---. Pantu (The Traitor). Shanghai: Jindai shuju, 1936.

---. "Shiye" (Unemployment). Xiandai zazhi (Les Contemporains) 4. 6 (1934) 1000-1012.

Duara, Prasenjit. "Knowledge and Power in the Discourse of Modernity: The Campaign Against Popular Religion in Early Twentieth Century China." Journal of East Asian Studies. 50. 1 (1991) 67- 83.

Eastman, Lloyd E. The Abortive Revolution, China Under Nationalist Rule, 1927- 1937. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University press, 1974.

Eisenstein, Sergei. The Eisenstein Reader. Ed. Richard Taylor. Trans. Richard Taylor and William Powell. London: British Film Institute, 1998.

---. "Word and Image." The Film Sense. Trans. Jay Leyda. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1947. 3- 69.

Empson, William. Some Versions of Pastoral. London: The Hogarth Press, 1986.

---. Using Biography. London: Chatto & Windus, 1984.

---. "The Voice of the Underdog." The Journal of General Education. XXVI. 4 (1975) 335- 341.

Fei, Hsiao-tung. China's Gentry: Essays in Rural-Urban Relations. Ed. Margaret Park Redfield. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953.

Fenollosa, Ernest. The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry. Ed. Ezra Pound. San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1969.

Feuerwerker, Yi-tsi Mei. Ideology, Power, Text: Self-Representation and the Peasant

- "Other" in Modern Chinese Literature. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.
- Field, Andrew D. "Selling souls in Sin City: Shanghai Singing and Dancing Hostesses in Print, Film, and politics, 1920- 49." Cinema and Urban Culture, 1922- 1943. Ed. Yinjing Zhang. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999. 99- 127.
- Foster, Hal. The Return of the Real: The Avant-Garde at the End of the Century. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1996.
- Foucault, Michel. "Sur la justice populaire: Débat avec les maos." Dits et écrits. Eds. Daniel Defert, François Ewald, and Jacques Lagrange. Vol. 2. Paris: Gallimard, 1994. 341- 369. 4 vols.
- Freud, Sigmund. "Character and Anal Erotism." The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud. Vol. IX. Ed. James Strachey et al. London: The Hogarth Press, 1968. 167- 175. 24 vols.
- . "From the History of an Infantile Neurosis." The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud. Ed. James Strachey et al. Vol. 17. London: The Hogarth Press, 1968. 3- 123. 24 vols.
- . "Leonardo da Vinci." The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud. Ed. James Strachey et al. Vol. 11. London: The Hogarth Press, 1968. 59- 137. 24 vols.
- . "On Transformations of Instinct as Exemplified in Anal Erotism." The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud. Ed. James Strachey et al. Vol. XVII London: The Hogarth Press, 1968. 125- 133. 24 vols.
- Friedberg, Anne. Window Shopping and the Postmodern. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- Fruehauf, Heinrich. "Urban Exoticism in Modern and Contemporary Chinese Literature." From May Fourth to June Fourth: Fiction and Film in Twentieth-Century China. Ed. Ellen Widmer and David Der-wei Wang. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993. 133- 164.
- Galik, Marian. The Genesis of Modern Chinese Literary Criticism (1917-1930). London: Curzon Press, 1980.
- . Mao Tun and Modern Chinese Literary Criticism. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1969.
- Géfin, Laszlo K. "Auerbach's Stendhal: Realism, Figuralty, and Refiguration." Poetics Today 20. 1 (1999) 27- 40.

- Godley, Michael R. "Lessons From an Italian Connection." Ideal and Reality: Social and Political Change in Modern China, 1860- 1949. Eds. David Pong and Edmund S. K. Fung. Lanham: University Press of America, 1985. 93- 123.
- Goux, Jean-Joseph. The Coiners of Language. Trans. Jennifer Curtiss Gage. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994.
- Gramsci, Antonio. Prison Notebooks. Trans. Joseph A. Buttigieg. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996. 2 vols.
- Greider, Jerome B. Intellectuals and the State in Modern China: A Narrative History. New York: The Free Press, 1981.
- Habermas, Jürgen. The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society. Trans. Thomas Bürger and Frederick Lawrence. Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1989.
- Hanan, Patrick. "The Technique of Lu Hsün's Fiction." Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 34 (1974) 53- 96.
- Henriot, Christian. Shanghai 1927-1937: Elites locales et modernisation dans la Chine nationaliste. Paris: Editions de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1991.
- Hershatter, Gail. "The Subaltern Talks Back: Reflections on Subaltern Theory and Chinese History." positions: east asian cultures critique. 1. 1 (1993) 103- 130.
- Hockx, Michel. "The Literary Association (*Wenxue yanjiu hui*, 1920-1947), and the Literary Field of Early Republican China." The China Quarterly 153 (March) 49- 81.
- . "Playing the Field: Aspects of Chinese Literary Life in the 1920's." Ed. Michel Hockx. The Literary Field of Twentieth Century China. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999. 61- 78
- Huters, Theodor. "Ideologies of Realism in Modern China: The Hard Imperatives of Imported Theory" Politics, Ideology, and Literary Discourse in Modern China. Eds. Liu Kang and Tang Xiaobing. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1993. 147-173.
- Jameson, Fredric. Fables of Aggression: Wyndham Lewis, the Modernist as Fascist. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.
- . "Third-World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism." Social Text 15 (1986) 65-88.

- Jusdanis, Gregory. Belated Modernity and Aesthetic Culture: Inventing National Literature. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991.
- Kilgour, Maggie. "Dr. Frankenstein Meets Dr. Freud." American Gothic: New Interventions in a National Narrative. Eds. Robert K. Martin and Eric Savoy. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1988. 40- 53.
- Kuhn, Philip A. "Problems of Control, Autonomy and Mobilization." Conflict and Control in Late Imperial China. Ed. Frederic Wakeman, Jr. and Carolyn Grant. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.
- . Rebellion and Its Enemies in Late Imperial China: Militarization and Social Structure, 1796- 1864. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980.
- Kwok, D. W. Y. Scientism in Chinese Thought: 1900- 1950. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965.
- Lacan, Jacques. Écrits: A Selection. Trans., Alan Sheridan. New York: W. W. Norton, 1977.
- . The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-analysis. Trans. Alan Sheridan. New York: W. W. Norton, 1978.
- Laplanche, Jean and J.-B. Pontalis. Vocabulaire de la Psychoanalyse. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1988.
- Lee, Gregory B. Dai Wangshu: the Life and Poetry of a Chinese Modernist. Shatin, N.T. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1989.
- . Lyricism, Nationalism, and Hybridity in China and Its Others. Durham: Duke University Press, 1996.
- Lee, Leo Ou-fan. "In Search of Modernity: Some Reflections on a New Mode of Consciousness in Twentieth Century Chinese History and Literature." Eds. Paul A. Cohen and Merle Goldman. Ideas Across Cultures: Essays on Chinese Thought in Honor of Benjamin I. Schwartz. Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University Press, 1990. 109-135.
- . "The Romantic Temper of May Fourth Writers." Reflections on the May Fourth Movement: a Symposium. Ed. Benjamin I. Schwartz. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973. 69- 84.
- . Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930- 1945. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- . Voices from the Iron House: a Study of Lu Xun. Bloomington: Indiana University Press,

- 1987.
- . "Zhongguo xiandai wenxue de 'tuifei' ji zuojia" ("Decadence" and its writers in Chinese Modern Literature). Dangdai (Taiwan) 93 (Jan. 1994) 22-47.
- Lefebvre, Henri. Critique of Everyday Life, Volume 1: Introduction. Trans. John Moore. London: Verso, 1991.
- . Introduction to Modernity: Twelve Preludes, September 1959- May 1961. Trans. John Moore. London: Verso, 1995.
- . The Production of Space. Trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991.
- Li Jin. Haipai xiaoshuo yu xiandai dushi wenhua (The Shanghai School Novel and Modern Urban Culture). Hefei: Anwei jiaoyu, 2000.
- . "Xin ganjuapai he ersanshi niandai haolaiwu dianying" (The New Sensation School and 20s and 30s Hollywood film). Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yanjiu (Modern Chinese Literature Research) 3 (1997) 32-56.
- Lin Yü-sheng. The Crisis of Chinese Consciousness: Radical Antitraditionalism in the May Fourth Era. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1979.
- Liu, James J.Y. Chinese Theories of Literature. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975.
- Liu, Lydia. Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity-- China, 1900-1937. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995.
- . "Translingual Practice: The Discourse of Individualism between China and the West." positions 1.1 (1993) 160- 193.
- Liu Na'ou. Dushi fengjingxian (The City Skyline). 1930. Shanghai: Shanghai shuju, 1988.
- . Letter to Dai Wangshu. Xiandai Zhongguo zuojia shuxin (Letters of Modern Chinese Authors). Ed. Kong Lingjing. Hong Kong: Yixin shudian, 1935. 263-267.
- Lu, Hanchao. " 'The Seventy-two Tenants': Residence and Commerce in Shanghai's Shikumen Houses, 1872- 1951." Inventing Nanjing Road: Commercial Culture in Shanghai, 1900- 1945. Ed. Sherman Cochran. Ithaca: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 1999. 133- 184.
- Lu Xun. Lu Xun quanji (The Complete Works of Lu Xun). Beijing: Renmin

- Lu Xun. Lu Xun quanji (The Complete Works of Lu Xun). Beijing: Renmin wenxue, 1995. 16 vols.
- Ma Fengyang, ed. Shanghai: Ji yi yu xiangxiang (Shanghai: remembrances and images). Shanghai: Wenhui, 1996.
- McDougall, Bonnie S., trans. Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yan'an conference on literature and art." Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1980.
- Mao Dun. Mao Dun wenyi zalunji (A Miscellaneous Collection of Mao Dun's Essays on Literature and Art). Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi, 1981. 2 vols.
- . Midnight. Trans. Hsu Meng-hsiung. Beijing: Foreign languages Press, 1957.
- . Ziye (Midnight). Mao Dun Xuanji (The Selected Works of Mao Dun). Vol. 1 Chengdu: Sichuan Wenyi: 1994. 4 vols.
- Metz, Christian. "The Cinema: Language or Language System?" Trans. Michael Taylor. Film Language: A Semiotics of the Cinema. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974. 31- 91.
- Monnet, Livia. "The Automatic Shoujo: Cinema and the Comic in the Work of Ozaki Midori." Asiatische Studien/ Etudes Aiatiques. 53. 2 (1999) 303- 351.
- Mu Shiyong. Mu Shiyong xiaoshuo quanbian (The Complete Novels of Mu Shiyong). Ed. Jia Zhifang et al. Shanghai: Xuelin, 1998.
- . Nanbeiji, Gongmu (North Pole, South Pole [and] Public Cemetery Beijing: Renmin wenxue, 1987.)
- Owen, Stephen. Readings in Chinese Literary Thought. Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1992.
- Pak, Anthony Wan-hoi. "The School of New Sensibilities (Xin ganjuepai) in the 1930s: a Study of Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiyong's Fiction." Diss. University of Toronto, 1995.
- Peng Xiaoyan. "Xinnüxing yu Shanghai dushi wenhua" (The New Woman and Shanghai's Urban Culture). Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiu jikan (Bulletin of Chinese Literature and Philosophy). 10 (1997) 317- 355.
- Pound, Ezra. A B C of Reading. New York: New Directions, 1960.
- . Guide to Kulchur. New York: New Directions, 1970.
- Qian Jiaju and Gou Yangang, Zhongguo huobi fazhan jianshi he biaojie (A Short History



- and Daigrammic Introduction to the Development of Money in China). Beijing: Renmin, 1982.
- Qian Liqun. "Changchang de beiying" (A Long, Long Shadow). Dushu 1 (1997) 111-118.
- Qu Qiubai. " 'Lu Xun zagan xuanji' xuyan" (Introduction to "A Selection of Lu Xun's Random Thoughts"). Qu Qiubai xuanji (Selected Works of Qu Qiubai). Beijing: Renmin, 1985. 524- 555.
- . " 'Ziyouren' de wenhua yundong" (The 'Liberal' Cultural Movement), in Qu Qiubai wenji (The Complete Works of Qu Qiubai). Vol. 1 . Beijing: Renmin wenxue, 1985. 498-503. 7 vols.
- Rabut, Isabelle and Angel Pino, eds. Pékin- Shanghai: Tradition et modernité dans la littérature des années trente. Paris: Éditions Blue de Chine, 2000.
- Rankin, Mary Backus. Early Chinese Revolutionaries: Radical Intellectuals in Shanghai and Chekiang, 1902- 1911. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974.
- Said, Edward. The World, the Text, and the Critic. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983.
- Schaefer, William. "Kumarajiva's Foreign Tongue: Shi Zhecun's Modernist Historical Fiction." Modern Chinese Literature 1&2. 10 (1998) 25- 70.
- Schwarcz, Vera. The Chinese Enlightenment: Intellectuals and the Legacy of the May Fourth Movement of 1919. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.
- Schyns, Joseph, et al, eds. 1500 Modern Chinese Novels and Plays. 1948, Hong Kong: Lung Men Bookstore, 1966.
- "The Shanghai Dictionary" Committee. Shanghai cidian (The Shanghai Dictionary). Shanghai: Fudan daxue, 1988.
- Shen Congwen. Fengzi. Shen Congwen wenji (Collected Works of Shencongwen) Vol. 4. Hong Kong: Joint Publishing, 1985. 302- 390. 12 vols.
- . "Lun Mu Shiyong" (On Mu Shiyong). Shen Congwen wenji (Collected Works of Shen Congwen). Vol. 11. Hong Kong: Joint Publishing, 1985. 203-205. 12 vols.
- Shi Nai'an and Luo Guanzhong. Shuihuzhuan (Outlaws of the Marsh). Trans. Sidney Shapiro (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1980). 3 vols.
- Shi Zhecun. Shashang de Jiaoji (Footprints in the Sand). Liaoning: Liaoning jiaoyu, 1995.

- . Shinian chuanguo: Shizhecun wenji (Ten years of Creative Work: the Collected Works of Shi Zhecun). Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue: 1996.
- . Shi Xiu zhi lian (The Love of Shi Xiu). Beijing: Renmin wenxue, 1991.
- . Shi Zhecun sanwenji (Collected Essays of Shi Zhecun). Ed. Ying Guojing. Tianjin: Baihuawenyi, 1994.
- . "Xu" (Introduction). Shi Zhecun: Zhongguo xiandai zuojia xuanji (Shi Zhecun: Selections of Modern Chinese Writers). Ed. Ying Guojing. Hong Kong: Joint Publishing (H.K.), 1988.
- Shi Zhecun, et al., eds. Xiandai zazhi (Les Contemporains). May 1932- May 1935. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1984. 8 vols.
- Shih, Shu-mei. The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in Semicolonial China, 1917- 1937. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).
- Silverman, Kaja. "Historical Trauma and Male Subjectivity." Psychoanalysis and Cinema Ed. E. Ann Kaplan. New York: Routledge, 1990. 110- 127.
- Stimson, Henry L. The Far Eastern Crisis: Recollections and Observations. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1936.
- Su Wen, ed. Wenyi ziyou lunbianji (Anthology of the Debate on Artistic and Literary Freedom). 1933. Hong Kong: Sun Chau, no date.
- Su Xuelin. Ersanshi niandai zuojia yu zuopin (Writers and Works from the 1920s and 30s). Taipei: Guandong, 1980.
- Tang, Xiaobing. Chinese Modern, the Heroic and the Quotidian. Durham: Duke University Press, 2000.
- Trumbull, Randolph. The Shanghai Modernists. Diss. Stanford University, 1989. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1989.
- Virilio, Paul. War and Cinema: the Logistics of Perception. Trans. Patrick Camiller London: Verso, 1989.
- Wakeman Jr., Frederic. "Licensing Leisure: The Chinese Nationalists' Attempt to Regulate Shanghai, 1927- 49." The Journal of Asian Studies 54. 1 (1995) 19- 42.
- . Policing Shanghai 1927- 1937. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- Wakeman, Jr., Frederic and Wen-hsin Yeh. "Introduction." Shanghai Sojourners. Eds.

- Frederic Jameson, Jr. and Wen-hsin Yeh. Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, 1992. 1-14
- Wang Xiangyuan. "Xin Ganjuepai wenxue ji qi zai zhongguo de bianyi: zhongri xinganjuepai de zai bijiao yu zai renshi" (New Sensation School Literature and its Variation in China: Comparing and Rereading Chinese and Japanese New Sensation School Literature Once Again). Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yanjiu (Chinese Modern Literature Research) 4 (1995) 46- 62.
- Wang Yejian, Zhongguo jindai huobi yu yinhang de yanjin (1644- 1937) (The Development of Currency and Banking in Modern China(1644- 1937)). Taipei: Institute of Economics, Academia Sinica, 1981.
- Wartofsky, Marx W. "Art, Artworlds, and Ideology." Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism 38(1980) 239- 47.
- White III, Lynn T. "Non-governmentalism in the Historical Development of Modern Shanghai." Urban Development in Modern China. Ed. Laurence J. C. Ma and Edward W. Hanten. Boulder: Westview Press, 1981.
- Williams, Raymond. The Country and the City. London: Chatto & Windus, 1973.
- . Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society. London: Fontana, 1988.
- . The Politics of Modernism. Ed. Tony Pinkley. London: Verso, 1999.
- Wong, Wang-chi. Politics and Literature in Shanghai: The Chinese League of Left Wing Writers, 1930- 1936. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991.
- Wu Fuhui. Dushi xuanwozhong de haipai xiaoshuo (The Shanghai School Novel in the Whirl of the City). Hunan: Hunan jiaoyu, 1995.
- Wu Jianru. The Sea of Regret: Two Turn-of-the-Century Chinese Romantic Novels. Trans. Patrick Hanan. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1995.
- Xiao, Zhiwei. "Constructing a New National Culture: Film Censorship and the Issues of Cantonese Dialect, Superstition, and Sex in the Nanjing Decade." Cinema and Urban Culture, 1922- 1943. Ed. Yinjing Zhang. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999. 183- 199.
- Yan Jiayan. "Du Ah Q Zhengzhuang zaji" (Notes on The True Story of Ah Q). Lu Xun yanjiu (Lu Xun Research) 4 (1983) 7-23.
- . Xin ganjue pai xiaoshuo xuan (A Selection of Fiction by the New Sensation School). Beijing: Renmin wenxue, 1985.

- . Zhongguo xiandai xiaoshuo liupai shi (Several Schools of the Chinese Modern Novel) Beijing: Renmin wenzue, 1989.
- Ye Lingfeng. Dushu suibi (Reading Notes). Eds. Si Wei et al. Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1995. 3 vols.
- . Ye Lingfeng xiaoshuo quanbian (The Complete Novels of Ye Lingfeng) Eds. Jia Zhifang et al. Shanghai: Xuelin, 1998.
- Yeh, Wen-hsin. The Alienated Academy: Culture and Politics in Republican China, 1919-1937. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1990.
- . "Corporate Space, Communal Time: Everyday Life in Shanghai's Bank of China." American Historical Review. 100. 1 (1995) 97- 122.
- . "Progressive Journalism and Shanghai's Petty Urbanites: Zou Taofen and the Shenghuo Enterprise, 1926- 1945." Shanghai Sojourners. Eds. Frederic Wakeman, Jr., and Wen-hsin Yeh. Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, 1992. 186- 238.
- Yen, Ching-yueh. "Crime in Relation to Social Change in China." American Journal of Sociology 40. 3 (1934- 35) 298- 308.
- Yu, Pauline. "Alienation Effects: Comparative Literature and the Chinese Tradition." The Comparative Perspective on Literature: Approaches to Theory and Practice. Ed. Clayton Koelb and Susan Noakes. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988. 162- 175.
- Yue Daiyun. "Modern Chinese Intellectuals in Modern Chinese Literature: *The Eclipse and Rainbow* of Mao Dun." Intellectuals in Chinese Fiction. Berkeley: University of California Institute of East Asian Studies, 1988. 57- 82.
- . "Zhongguo xiandai wenzue yanjiu zai guowai" (Chinese Modern Literature Abroad). Bijiaowenzue yu zhongguo xiandai wenzue (Comparative Literature and Chinese Modern Literature). Beijing: Beijing Daxue, 1987. 77-87.
- Zhang, Yingjin. The City in Modern Chinese Literature and Film: Configurations of Space, Time, and Gender. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.
- . "Prostitution and Urban Imagination: Negotiating the Public and the Private in Chinese Films of the 1930s." Cinema and Urban Culture, 1922- 1943. Ed. Yinjing Zhang. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999. 160- 180.
- Zhang Zhongli et al., eds. Jindai shanghai chengshi yanjiu (Modern Shanghai Urban Studies). Shanghai: Shanghai renmin, 1991.
- Zhong Shujun. "Zhongguo xin wenzue de yuanliu" (The Origin of Modern Chinese

Literature). Zhou Zuoren. Zhongguo xin wenxue de yuanliu (The Origin of Modern Chinese Literature). Ed. Yang Yang. Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue, 1995. 81- 87.