

The Dandy and the Woman: Liu Na'ou and Neo-Sensationism

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ABSTRACT

Liu Na'ou (1905–1940), born in Taiwan and studied English literature at Aoyama College in Tokyo, went to Shanghai in 1926 to study French at L'Universite L'Aurore. In the late 1920s he became the leader of the newly emerging Neo-Sensationists, a group of modernist writers. Like the New Woman and the Dandy portrayed in his works, he displayed his cosmopolitan identity through multilingual speech, European dress and lifestyle. Rumor had it that he was a Fukienese, a Japanese, or a Taiwanese born of a Japanese mother. In 1998 his diary written in 1927 was discovered. It revealed for the first time that both of his parents came from wealthy Taiwanese families. Through this diary we have a clearer view of him as a dandy in life and art. Indulging in sensual pleasures and constantly seeking the company of women of loose virtues, he considers women as creatures unable to pursue intellectual activities or attain spiritual perfection, disclosing the misogyny typical of dandyism. He is a flaneur who frequents the streets of the cosmopolitan city, looking for the image of "la modernite" as imprinted in unknown women's faces. A follower of Baudelaire's modernist art, he is a living demonstration of Foucault's interpretation of Baudelaire's flaneur: he "has an aim loftier than that of a mere flaneur . . . (he is) looking for that quality which (is called) 'modernity'".

KEY WORDS

the Dandy
cosmopolitanism

Neo-Sensationism
flâneur



When he came to Shanghai in 1926 and later became the leading figure of the Neo-Sensationists, Liu Na'ou was an enigma to many of his contemporaries. He was often mistaken for a Fukienese in Shanghai. There has been a great deal of misunderstanding about his identity, including the rumor that his mother was a Japanese.¹ Most people wondered how he got the fortune that enabled him to establish single-handedly two bookstores consecutively in one of the most expensive areas in Shanghai. Actually, both his parents were native Taiwanese. His father was a landlord's son in Tainan, while his mother came from a renowned family in Jiayi. After Liu's father died when he was twelve, he always had a problem with his mother, who represented the "feudal system" to him. Fortunately, his mother, though uneducated herself, sent her three children to study in Japan or China, as did most rich Taiwanese parents during the Japanese occupation. In 1927, while Liu was in Shanghai, his younger brother and younger sister were both studying in Tokyo.²

Through a diary written by Liu in 1927, we are able to know more about his life. He was born in 1905,³ stayed in Tainan through elementary school, and then entered the Presbyterian High School there. At the end of the second year in high school he quit and transferred to the high school division of Aoyama College in Tokyo in 1920. After finishing high school in 1923, he attended the advanced learning division of Aoyama College and got his diploma in English literature with honors in March 1926. Right after that he went to Shanghai and entered the special French program at L'Université L'Aurore together with Dai Wangshu, whereas Shi Zhicun and Du Hen entered the same program the following year. By the time Liu started to write the diary on January 1, 1927, he had already ended the courses at Aurora. While

sojourning overseas, Liu kept in close contact with friends from his homeland, including Huang Chaoqin, the famous advocate of the vernacular movement on Taiwan.⁴ Together with his long time Taiwanese friends and newly made Shanghai friends, he frequented dance halls, cinemas, brothels, bars, and so on, day in and day out. Through his 1927 diary, we manage to have a glimpse of the life and the aesthetics of the Neo-Sensationist dandy.

The first thing worth mentioning is his relationship with his wife, which affected his stereotypical view on women as reflected in his writing. In 1922, at the age of seventeen, Liu married his first cousin, who was one year his senior. Their mothers were sisters, and for years Liu was unhappy with the arranged marriage. Like most daughters of wealthy families at the time, his wife never had any formal education, being taught by private tutors at home. In his diary Liu complained several times that her letters were unreadable (e. g., Jan. 17), meaning that her Japanese was poor. It seems in April of 1927, when he returned home from Shanghai for a month to attend his grandmother's funeral, he kept turning a cold shoulder to her, while she was determined to use her charms to seduce him. Liu always succumbed, of course, and as a result she became pregnant and bore a daughter in January 1928.

In the diary Liu's commentary on his wife is interesting. He complains about her inability to learn and to understand anything intellectual. He attributes her frailty to the fact that she belongs to the weaker sex. He calls her and all women "animals of sex." He constantly calls her a vampire, who saps a man's energy and blood until "his head spins and his feet are unable to support himself."⁵ This reflects the age-old superstition about man's deep-rooted fear of the *femme fatale*, who is desired and feared by him at the same time, since, according to folk beliefs, she usually causes a man's death after sex.

That Liu should detest his wife because of her forwardness in sexual behavior was a typical male chauvinist reaction. Using the unwelcome arranged marriage as a pretext to play around, he had sexual relationships with numerous prostitutes, call girls, and taxi dancers, as recorded in his diary. But he does not tolerate sexual drives in women at all, or, to be more precisely, in "good" women. As is

disclosed by his feelings towards his grandmother, his mother, and his wife, he seems to divide women into two categories only: mothers or tramps. The motherly type is lovable and respectable, whereas the tramp is the “unsatiable woman-beast, ghostly vampire.” The women characters in his, as well as other neo-sensationists’, stories, are as a rule the latter type, voluptuous and seductive, while heartless and treacherous at the same time, ready to betray men at any moment. Actually the *femme fatale* type was a new image of the modern woman constructed by the mass communication media in Shanghai in movies, magazines, and pictorials.⁶ Writers connected with the journal *La maison d’or* in Shanghai showed similar interest in the *femme fatale* type. The many representations of Salomé, who caused the death of John the Baptist, in dramas and movies illustrates how liberated women became the favorite characters for play and movie goers. All this was a reflection of the New Woman culture in 1930s Shanghai.⁷

In 1927 Liu Na’ou already decided that Shanghai would be his place of residence for good. After the month’s stay in Tainan for his grandmother’s funeral, he went directly to Tokyo to study Latin and French at the famous Athena-Français Language School. But he did not like the teaching methods there. Most often he loitered about, whiling away time in bookstores, dance halls, and cinemas, yet felt bored and did not like the “Japanese way.”⁸ There were old acquaintances and relatives in Tokyo, in addition to his sister and brother, yet he missed Shanghai and his literary friends. In September he got permission from his mother to go back to Shanghai instead of Taiwan. But Liu was a devoted traveler. Arriving in Shanghai on September 10, he went to Beijing with Dai Wangshu on September 28, and did not come back until December 6.

Originally the two had planned to take courses at L’Université Franco-Chinoise in Beijing. Liu had intended to attend a course on “Précis de la littérature française” (Outline of French Literature), Feng Yuanjun’s “Chinese Literary History,” and Shen Yinmo’s poetry and *tsu* courses. But he overslept on the day of the entrance examinations. So eventually the study trip to Beijing became a pleasure trip instead. Liu’s diary entries during the three months in Beijing constitute a rare

piece of travelogue, describing in detail local customs, cityscapes, monuments, and so on. What is more significant to us, though, is the way he describes them, amply disclosing the aesthetics of the *flâneur*. From the point of view of the masses, the *flâneur* is lazy, doing nothing but loitering around. But in fact it is the *flâneur*'s vocation to roam the world, to *flâner* in the city streets, and record what he sees. In other words, as Benjamin tells us, his idleness is his labor.⁹ Furthermore, Liu is not a mere *flâneur*. Once in a brothel, looking at a young prostitute who awaits his patronage, he sighs, "Ah, My hungry heart! Ah, the translucent eyes that I can hardly devour, the face of *Modernité!*"¹⁰ (Liu's own French) As Foucault says in "What is Enlightenment" about Baudelaire's *flâneur*, he "has an aim loftier than that of a mere *flâneur*," who is "the idle, strolling spectator . . . satisfied to keep his eyes open, to pay attention and to build up a storehouse of memories." Rather, he is "looking for that quality which [is called] 'modernity.'"¹¹

Liu Na'ou was a perfect specimen of a dandy. A dandy by definition is a man with means and leisure, who pays meticulous attention to his dress and appearances. Liu had particular tastes about his clothes, as can be seen in his 1927 diary. It was his habit to go to specific stores for different styles of clothes, all tailor made. For instance, on April 5 he writes: "Had a suit and two summer outfits made at Wang Qingchang's"; on December 8 he writes: "Had a tuxedo made at Wang Shunchang's"; and on December 12: "Tried on the clothes at Wang Shunchang's."¹² In a family film "The Man Who Has the Camera," probably taken in the mid-1930s in Shanghai, Liu is seen in different scenes wearing a white suit and a white hat, apparently his favorite outfit.¹³ In addition, he is an enthusiastic dancer with the nickname "The Dancing King," regularly frequenting dance halls and practicing dance steps with his friends, as well as studying dance manuals to perfect his skill. For instance, on February 3 Liu writes, ". . . Returned to his home and taught him fox-trot."¹⁴ Here "him" refers to his childhood friend from Tainan, Lin Chengshui, who was at the time studying in Shanghai. On Liu's August reading list there is a dancing manual with an English title "Dancing do's and don'ts."¹⁵

Dandyism in Liu is a lifestyle, or a matter of taste; it is the taste of

the affluent class in metropolitan Shanghai, the new aristocracy in democratic China. As much as Liu demonstrates a fine specimen of a Shanghai dandy in the 1930s, we should not forget that the lineage of the dandy can be easily traced to Baudelaire in Paris or Oscar Wilde in London in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Baudelaire, though not exactly a dandy himself, wrote the single treaty on dandyism that defined the dandy as a species. The dandy as a species has crossed the boundaries of nations and time.

The performance of the dandy, actually a demanding task, needs constant practice in order to achieve perfection. As Foucault argues in "What is Enlightenment," the dandy is the quintessence of modernity, while to be a dandy requires an "ascetic elaboration of the self" (41–42). For Foucault, modernity is an attitude, or an *ethos*. It is a "mode of relating to contemporary reality; a voluntary choice made by certain people. . . . a way of thinking and feeling; a way of acting and behaving that at one and the same time marks a relation of belonging and presents itself as a task." Diction such as "ascetic elaboration" and "task" denotes the idea that being a dandy requires a kind of rigorous discipline similar to that of a religion. If we check the passages titled "La Modernité" and "Le Dandy" in Baudelaire's *Le Peintre de la vie moderne* (The painter of modern life), we realize that Foucault's interpretation of modernity comes mainly from Baudelaire, while the meaning of the so-called "ascetic elaboration of the self," which is in fact the central idea in Foucault's *History of Sexuality*, becomes much clearer.

In "Le Dandy" the dandy is defined as "L'homme rich, oisif" (the rich, idle man), whose only occupation is "l'élégance," and who is raised in luxury and, from youth on, accustomed to the obedience of other people. He enjoys at all times "une physionomie distincte" (a distinct appearance), with a love for "distinction." In addition, dandyism is "une institution vague," meaning it is an institution without written laws. According to Baudelaire, dandyism as an institution is "en dehors des lois" (outside of laws), but has its own rigorous laws to which all its subjects strictly submit themselves, in spite of the fieriness and independence of their characters. For the

adopts in the unwritten doctrines of this institution the main driving force is “le besoin ardent de se faire une originalité” (the ardent need to make oneself an original; p. 710).

Besides the idea that dandyism is an “institution,” Baudelaire also points out that dandyism verges on “spiritualisme et . . . stoïcisme.” In his mind, all the extravagant taste and material elegance a dandy subjects himself to are only a symbol of the “supériorité aristocratique de son esprit” (aristocratic superiority of his spirit). Baudelaire claims that dandyism is a sort of religion, with the most rigorous doctrine of all religions, namely that of elegance and originality. According to him, dandyism appears mostly in transitory periods, when democracy is not yet fully in force and aristocracy is partially faltering, with a view to engaging in “le projet de fonder une espèce d’aristocratie” (the project of founding a new species of aristocracy). Hence Foucault’s claim that the dandy is a new aristocrat in democracy.¹⁶ Thus dandyism, an institution with the unwritten doctrine of elegance and originality, is a class marked by the distinction of taste that separates itself from the mediocre and the trivial. (For Baudelaire, being trivial is an irreparable dishonor.) One can also easily see that Bourdieu’s idea of the distinction of taste is inspired by Baudelaire.¹⁷

In addition, dandyism embodies a particular attitude towards woman, as one can tell from the passage titled “La Femme” (Woman) in *The Painter of Modern Life*. Women are a part of the world that Liu Na’ou observes. As an observer who describes what he sees from the outside, he delineates women’s looks and fineries, but is unable to enter their hearts. As a result the women he describes in either his diary or his stories are as a rule beautifully dressed and seductive, but have no hearts or feelings at all. The dandy who flirts with women all his life is in fact an incurable misogynist: he enjoys women’s physical beauty as a sex symbol and manifestation of the spirit of modernity, but detests her inability to pursue anything that belongs to the realm of the intellect and the soul. This in fact is Liu Na’ou’s aesthetics of the dandy: men are rulers of the world of intellect and spirit, whereas women belong to the world of the body and material. On the other hand, ironically enough, a dandy like Liu, a frequenter of dance halls and brothels, is

always involved in carnal relationships with women. As Baudelaire puts it, “Si je parle de l’amour à propos du dandysme, c’est que l’amour est l’occupation naturelle des oisifs. Mais le dandy ne vise pas à l’amour comme but spécial.” (If I speak of love in regard to dandyism, it is that love is the natural occupation of the idle. But the dandy does not aim at love as a special goal; p. 710)

We can take Liu’s November 10 diary entry as an example. It describes a Peking opera singer Jin Youqin. Even though Liu intends to see the performance of a particular actress, he looks upon her as the representative of the collective noun “Peking women.” In other words, Jin Youqin in his imagination is not a woman endowed with personal thoughts, emotions, or life history, but a sample of Peking women. His association of ideas connected with this particular Peking woman’s voice and body discloses his prejudices against women in general. First, according to him, the idea that Peking women are good at speaking is probably wrong, because speech belongs to the realm of the intellect, and one needs to be well educated in order to be good at speech. Since Peking women are totally uneducated, they cannot possibly be good at speech; rather, they are talkative. Second, even though Peking women are talkative, their beautiful voices are a pleasure for men to listen to. Third, this particular Peking woman’s voice reminds him of the reality of the panegyric “talking like swallows and singing like nightingales.” But this voice only reaches the realm of reality. In other words, in his mind’s eye Peking women (or any other women) are incapable of being associated with spiritual beauty and sublimation.¹⁸

Liu’s prejudices against women as shown in the aesthetics of a dandy certainly mold the image of women constructed in his work. This is true of the image of woman in the stories written by Shanghai neo-sensationists in general, as can be amply exemplified by Mu Shiyong’s “Craven ‘A,’” in which the features and physique of the woman gazed at by the male narrator is turned into a sight-seeing spot fit for men’s short visits.

The male narrator of “Craven ‘A’” uses the trope of “a map of a country” to describe the woman he gazes at. Sitting and smoking alone in a café, the woman’s eyes in his view are “two lakes” that sometimes

get icy cold, sometimes hot beyond boiling point. Her mouth is a “volcano” that spews forth the smoke and odor of “Craven ‘A,’” the foreign cigarette she is smoking. Inside the volcano the milky lava (teeth) and the flame in the middle (tongue) can be seen. “The people here are still quite primitive, using men as sacrifice at their volcano festival. For travelers this country is by no means a safe place,” says the narrator. Then he describes the landscape under the “thin clouds” of a black-and-white checkered design, apparently a blouse made of semitransparent material. As a result the “purple peaks” (nipples) of the “two hills ostensibly juxtaposing each other on the plain” seem to “protrude from the clouds.”

Then the lower part of the map, blocked from view by the table the woman sits at, is likened to the landscape of the “South,” which is even more enchanting than that of the “North.” The narrator imagines how the “two breakwaters” (legs) under the table join to form a “triangular alluvium plain,” and how the “important harbor” where “the majestic entrance of the giant steam boat” arouses “billows and splashes on the prow.” When the narrator finds out the woman’s name from an acquaintance, he says,

I know many of her stories. Almost all of my friends have traveled in that country. Since the traffic there is convenient, almost all of them manage to visit the whole country in one or two days. . . . Experienced ones are able to land on the harbor right from the start. . . . Some sojourn for one or two days, while others stay on for a week. When they return they boast to me about the alluring landscape of that country, and all look upon it as a wonderful sight-seeing spot for short visits.¹⁹

Here is a description of the “New Woman” typical of 1930s Shanghai, and we are dealing with a literary mode unique to the neosensationists. The story tells about the kind of man-and-woman relationship typical of metropolitan Shanghai, in which no love is involved. It is mainly a one-night stand, purely for fun on both sides. There is no psychological stress or ethical judgment, unlike the stories

of erotic love by Creation writers such as Yu Da-fu or Zhang Ziping. For instance, the male protagonist in Yu Da-fu's *Lost Lamb*, tormented by his love for the fickle actress who walked out on him, ends up in an asylum. The new women in Zhang Ziping's stories, though aspiring for sexual liberation, always lament and complain about the inability to be really free in a society still bound by traditional ethics. In contrast the light-hearted theme of Neo-Sensationist stories is marked by a playful tempo, as if the scenes were flickering with the male narrator's salacious eye seeing through the camera. Woman under his scrutiny becomes a mere object of desire, with all the parts of her body serving to provide men with pleasure. Always viewed from the outside, it is no wonder that her heart and mind are a mystery to the reader as well as the narrator.

In contrast to realistic stories such as those written by Creation writers, which often resort to the technique of psycho-narration to render the characters' psychology transparent,²⁰ the characters in Neo-Sensationist stories as a rule are a-psychological. We are told their looks, behavior patterns, and words, but their psychology remains opaque. As a result these characters are almost like *actants* in the stories, often without names. Or, even though with names they are interchangeable. It makes no difference at all if one character is moved from one story to another, since all the characters are endowed with the same single character trait: seductiveness. Thus woman in the aesthetics of dandyism is not a real woman who has heart and feelings, but a collective noun with a symbolic meaning beyond the real woman herself. Looked at from another perspective, these characters share the nameless characteristic of the masses that were becoming the central subject matter of proletarian literature at the time. The main difference is that the characters in Neo-Sensationist stories are members of the bourgeois class enjoying cosmopolitan life, whereas those in proletarian literature are either lower-class people described as victims of social injustice or the bourgeois meant to be targets of attack.

Taiwan was Liu Na'ou's birth place. Tokyo was the city where he was educated. Beijing, on the other hand, was the place of cultural pilgrimage for him. But Shanghai would be his future residence until

the end of his life. Around 1934 he moved his family, including his wife, one daughter and two sons, from Tainan to Shanghai. In the following years one daughter and one son were born there. The reason why Shanghai was such an attraction to Liu Na'ou was that he perceived the opportunity for him to pursue a literary career there. In 1927 Shanghai was beginning to replace Beijing as a new literary center in China. With the civil war breaking out in the North and the onslaught of the Nationalist party purge, numerous publishers and writers migrated to Shanghai's foreign concessions for protection. It did not come as a surprise that literary men who came from Beijing found themselves out of place in Shanghai, and felt humiliated by the need to sell their works in order to earn a living. Hence the debate of the Beijing types and Shanghai types that involved literary men like Shen Congwen, who accused Creation writers like Zhang Ziping and Neo-sensationist writers like Mu Shiyong of catering to the shallow taste of urban readers.

But in fact in the business world of Shanghai, where the demand for entertainment and pleasant, easy reading was high, almost no writers at the time could have maintained their literary ideal and the sense of mission handed down from the literary revolution period. Popular magazines such as *Liangyou* (Companion) managed to invite elites like Hu Shi, Mao Dun, Ba Jin, Shi Zhicun, Zhang Tianyi, Lin Huiyin, and Lu Yan to contribute short, easy-does-it vignettes that were meant for enjoyable reading, published alongside pictures of movie stars and cancan dancers. In *Furen huabao* (Women's pictorial) we see works of Liu Na'ou, Guo Jianying, and Hei Ying side by side with comic sketches. Literature was put on the same level as the entertainment business. When Lu Xun or Shen Congwen criticized the Shanghai types for catering to college girls' taste, they were lamenting the commercialization, and thus, the downgrading, of literature.²¹

When Liu Na'ou was planning his literary career in 1927, he knew from the outset that he was dealing with popular taste. In January 1927 he had already ended his courses at L'Aurore and met constantly with Dai Wangshu, Du Heng, and Shi Zhicun to discuss the publication of a new journal that they were planning, *Jindai xin* (The modern heart).

On January 18 he mentions in his diary the guidelines they agreed upon: that the journal should be a small journal (*xiao kanwu*); that easy-to-read words (*xiao wenzi*) should be used; and that it should be accompanied by pictures and sketches. But the journal was not mentioned any more in the diary entries in the following months. The idea of publishing a journal was abandoned for a period of time until September 10, 1928, when *Wugui lieche* (Trackless Train) finally came out. *Trackless Train* was a bimonthly, published until December 28, altogether eight issues. Even though Liu recognized the entertainment quality of literature, it is obvious that *Trackless Train* was meant for peers and fellow intellectuals. The original lines of French poetry now and then quoted without being translated point to the fact that the contributors (and editors) intended to communicate with their own kind.

Throughout his career Liu embraced popular entertainment culture. During the early period of his literary career he was favorably inclined towards the leftist camp; the Shuimo Bookstore he established in 1929 was once considered a *rendez-vous* for leftist writers. But he soon developed his theory of formal supremacy (*xingshi zhishang*), and debated with leftist writers on the so-called soft films and hard films issues. Theorists such as Tang Na accused him of using soft things to lure the crowd away from politics, as the ruling class is wont to do, while Liu attacked the leftists' emphasis on content at the expense of the beauty of form.²² Against the mainstream of revolutionary literature, Liu abandoned ideology and advocated that art should let the eye enjoy ice-cream and the soul sit on a sofa.²³ In other words, according to Liu, art is not for life's sake; art is for joy and play.

The reason why Liu Na'ou was murdered on Sep. 3, 1940 has been a mystery in literary history. But whatever the truth was, it must have been connected with his political and artistic stance. Earlier on June 28 of the same year, Mu Shiyong had been murdered while working as the director of *Guomin xinwen* (National subjects' daily), published by Wang Jingwei's puppet regime. Liu was murdered after a lunch party, held by a group of Japanese and Chinese friends celebrating his succession to the position left by Mu.²⁴ During the

period between November 1937 to August 1945 Shanghai became the arena of power struggles and espionage activities. Liu's film career was deeply involved with all the parties: the Nationalist government, the leftist camp, and the Wang Jingwei entourage. Having crossed the boundaries of nations through his pursuit of art and diaspora in different countries, he became a target of the international communities of Shanghai where multiple nationalisms in the form of semicolonialism reigned.

Liu Na'ou's literary and film career in Shanghai was brief, and his direct following was small, but he created a literary style that became the synonym of the metropolis. His lively language marked by the indulgence in sensual pleasures captured the *carpe diem* mentality in Shanghai during a period beset by inflation, strikes, murders, and Japanese military invasion. His stories, as a rule about one night stands, reflected an image of the new woman, who, always seen from the perspective of male protagonists, is a living mannequin of 1930s Shanghai fashion and a frequenter of the movie theater, the dance hall, and the race track. An object of male desire, she looks upon men as gigolos, as one girl refers to them in Mu Shiyong's story "Craven 'A.'"²⁵ This image of the new woman was parallel to the sexual discourse during the 1920s and the 1930s, when intellectuals like Zhou Zuoren and Zhang Jingsheng triggered debates on virginity and female sexuality.²⁶

Following the trend of rewriting literary history, for decades critics have been searching for schools that departed from the criteria of revolutionary literature and realistic literature approved by official literary theory. There is still much room for the study of Liu Na'ou and the Neo-Sensationists, whose writing was essentially a dandy's outlook on life, an enunciation that relentlessly defied the politics, nationalism, and wars that beset their times.

NOTES

¹ Shumei Shi, "Gender, Race, and Semicolonialism: Liu Na'ou's Urban Shanghai Landscape," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 55.4 (November 1996):

934–56.

² For Liu's family background and education in Taiwan and Japan, see Peng Hsiao-yen, "Langdang tianya: Liu Na'ou 1927 nian riji" (Flâneur of the World: Liu Na'ou's 1927 diary), in *Haishang shuo qingyu: cong Zhang Ziping dao Liu Na'ou* (Discourse of Desire in Shanghai: From Zhang Ziping to Liu Na'ou; Taipei: Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy, Academia Sinica, 2001) 106–44.

³ According to Yan Jiayan, Liu Na'ou was born in 1900. See Yan Jiayan, *History of Schools of Modern Chinese Fiction (Zhongguo Xiandai Xiaoshuo Liupai Shi)*; Beijing: Renmin wuxue chubanshe, 1989) 131–37.

⁴ Huang Chaoqin, "Hanwen gaige lun" (On the reform of classical Chinese), in Classical Chinese Section, *Taiwan* (Jan. & Feb., 1923) 25–31 & 21–28.

⁵ See Liu Na'ou, "May 18," in *Riji* (Diary), ed. and trans. by Peng Hsiao-yen & Huang Yingzhe, in *Liu Na'ou Quanji* (Complete Works of Liu Na'ou), ed. by Kang Laixin and Xu Zhenzhen (Tainan: Tainanxian Wenhuaaju, 2001), Part I, p. 322.

⁶ Cf. Katherine Huiling Chou, "Representing 'New Woman': Actresses & the *Xin Nuxing* Movement in Chinese Spoken Drama & Films, 1918–1949" (New York: New York University Ph. D. dissertation, 1996).

⁷ Cf. Peng Hsiao-yen, "'Xin nuxing' yu Shanghai dushi wenhua: xinganjue pai yanjiu" ("the New woman" and Shanghai city culture: A study of the Neo-Sensationists), in *Discourse of Love in Shanghai: From Zhang Ziping to Liu Na'ou*.

⁸ Liu Na'ou, *Diary*, Part I, p. 386.

⁹ Cf. Walter Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*, trans. Harry Zohn (London: Biddles Ltd., Guildford and King's Lynn, 1989), pp. 11–66; Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (London: Thetford Press Limited, 1987) 131–71. Benjamin describes Beaudelaire as a *flâneur* loitering around the business streets in Paris, who enjoys being anonymous, as part of the crowd, while feeling nostalgia for the city, both loving and hating it. From here Benjamin develops his theoretical framework of the interrelationships between modernity, the city, and historical subjectivity.

¹⁰ Cf. Liu Na'ou, "October 17," in *Diary*, Part II, p. 716.

¹¹ Michel Foucault, “What is Enlightenment?” in *The Foucault Reader*, edited by Paul Rabinow (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984) 32–50. Original text: “Qu’est-ce que les Lumières?” (L’Art du dire vrai), cours donné au Collège de France le 5 janvier 1983 ; “Un cours inédit”, *Magazine Littéraire*, n° 207, mai 1984, pp. 34–39.

¹² See Liu Na’ou, *Diary*, Part I, p. 232; Part II, p. 762 & p. 770.

¹³ The movie has another title, “The Man with a Hat.” Judging by the approximate age of his children at the time of the movie, I presume that it was made in the mid–1930s. Around 1934 Liu’s family, including his wife, two sons and a daughter, moved to Shanghai. One daughter was born in Shanghai in 1936, and one son, in 1938. See the latter part of this article.

¹⁴ See Liu Na’ou, *Diary*, Part I, p. 102.

¹⁵ In Liu’s 1927 diary there is a reading list at the end of each month. See Liu Na’ou, *Diary*, Part II, p. 553.

¹⁶ Michel Foucault, “What is Enlightenment?” 32–50.

¹⁷ Pierre Bourdieu, *La Distinction: critique sociale du jugement* (Paris: les éditions de minuit, 1979).

¹⁸ Liu Na’ou, *Diary*, part II, p. 702.

¹⁹ Mu Shiying, “Craven ‘A,’” in *Gongmu* (Public cemetery; Shanghai: Xiandai Shuju, 1993) 107–138.

²⁰ Or the theory of psycho-narration, see Dorrit Cohn, *Transparent Minds: Narrative Modes for Presenting Consciousness in Fiction* (New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1983).

²¹ See Shen Congwen (alias Jiachen), “Yu Dafu, Zhang Ziping ji qi yingxiang” (Yu Dafu, Zhang Ziping, and their influences), in *Xinyue* (Crescent moon) 3.1 (March, 1930) 1–8; Lu Xun (alias Luan Tingshi), “Jingpai yu haipai” (Beijing types and Shanghai types), in *Shen Bao* (Shanghai post; Feb. 3, 1934) 17.

²² See a series of articles published in *Chenbao* (The morning post) in June 1934 by Tang Na. For instance, Tang Na, “Qingsuan ruanxing dianying lun: ruanxing lунzhe de quwei zhuyi (Purging the soft film theory: On the entertainment theory of the soft film theorists), June 19 to June 27, 1934.

²³ It was in fact Liu’s friend and co-editor of *Modern Screen* Huang Jiamou who invented the phrase “Movies are the ice-cream for the eye, and the sofa for the soul.” See Huang Jiamou, “Yingxing yingpian yu ruanxing

yingpian” (Hard films and soft films), in *Modern Screen* 6 (Dec. 1, 1933) 3.

²⁴ For the news coverage of Liu’s murder see *Shanghai Post* (Sep. 4, 1940), 9; for the coverage of Mu’s murder, see *Shanghai Post* (June 29, 1940), 9. See also *Guomin xinwen* (National subjects’ daily), from June 29 to late September, 1940.

²⁵ Mu Shiyong, “Craven ‘A’” 107–38.

²⁶ Cf. Peng Hsiao-yen, “Wusi de ‘xin xingdaode’: nuxing qingyu lunshu yu jiangou minzu guojia” (The new sexual ethics during the May Fourth period: Discourse of female sexuality and the construction of nation/state), in *Discourse of Desire in Shanghai: From Zhang Ziping to Liu Na’ou* 1–26.