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Translation Networks in Republican China:

Four Novels by British Women,

*Cranford, Jane Eyre, Silas Marner* and

*Pride and Prejudice*

Ka Ian KAN

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of Literatures, Languages and Cultures

University of Edinburgh

2016
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the work presented in this thesis, which I submit for assessment of the programme of study leading to the award of Doctor of Philosophy, is my own and has not been taken from the work of other excerpts where such work has been cited and/or acknowledged within the text of my work. None of the work herein has been submitted in candidature for any other degree or professional qualification.

Ka Ian KAN

[Signature]
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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Special thanks to my best friends Maggie and Dennis who have been indispensable to my efforts in acquiring books and reference materials from the mainland. Many of the items required for study in this project are old and rare, and their help is one major reason why this thesis can be completed.

Finally, to my husband and my daughter, for their love and support in this arduous though satisfying journey. They mean so much to me that they deserve a separate paragraph of acknowledgement. This thesis is built on the years of neglect they have borne with love and fortitude for my sake.
This thesis examines four translations and retranslations of novels by British female writers. They are Elizabeth Gaskell’s *Cranford*, Jane Austen’s *Pride and Prejudice*, George Eliot’s *Silas Marner*, and Charlotte Brontë’s *Jane Eyre*. The translations and retranslations, eight target texts in total, are mapped onto the sociopolitical and sociocultural milieu of China from the late 1920s to 1930s.

During the span of time when the eight translations were published, China was undergoing a special period of political turbulence intertwined with literary vibrancy. With the literary field of China segmented into various literary societies or political organizations subscribing to their respective doctrines and principles, Chinese intellectuals including translators from various backgrounds produced literature and translation within the agenda of their respective literary or political societies.

The heart of this thesis’s theoretical framework is the role of agents of translation involved the practice of translation production. The interaction amongst the human and nonhuman agents: translators, patrons, intellectuals, literary institutions, publishers and more, are examined in order to identify the translation motivations of the translators. The seven translators covered in the present study are categorized into three distinctive groups: the leftists, the humanists and the commercial translators. A collective analysis of the translators’ behaviour should
shed light on the general understanding of the intended social functions of these translated novels written by British female writers published during Republican China.
NOTE ON CHINESE CHARACTERS, TRANSLITERATION, AND TRANSLATION

Chinese characters are given for most proper names and titles in this thesis. Characters are also provided for passages from texts that receive close examination. Romanization of Chinese names and words follow the Hanyu Pinyn system. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from Chinese are my own.
## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENT</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOTE ON CHINESE CHARACTERS, TRANSLITERATION, AND TRANSLATION</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE OF CONTENTS</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Overview</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Historical Context</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Research Questions</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 Methodology</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5 Division of Chapters</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Setting the Scene: New Conceptual Views in Translation</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 Historical Context: Sociohistorical and Sociocultural Perspectives</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.1 Sociopolitical Context</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.2 Sociocultural Context</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 The Polemics of Literature and Translation</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4 Conclusion</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Introduction</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 The Sociological ‘Turn’ and Translation Agents</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3 From Agents to Agent Association: Latour’s Actor-Network Theory</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4 Latour’s ANT in Literary Translation in Republican China</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.1 Lefevere’s Patronage</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.2 Bourdieu’s Concept of Capital</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5 Conclusion</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER 4: DATA AND METHODOLOGY</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1 Introduction</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2 Defining a Case: Women and Writing in Republican China</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3 Triangulation of Sources</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.1 Quantitative Data: Source Texts and Target Texts</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 5: THE LEFTIST NETWORK

5.1 Introduction: Defining the Leftist Network ........................................ 99
5.2 Yang Bin’s Cultural Capital ............................................................... 104
5.2.1 Agentive Influence: The League .................................................... 106
5.2.2 Agentive Influence: Grace Boyton and Yanjing University .......... 109
5.3 Translation as a Networked Artefact ................................................... 112
5.4 Li Jiye’s Cultural Capital ................................................................. 124
5.4.1 Agentive Influence: Lu Xun ........................................................... 127
5.4.2 Agentive Influence: The Unnamed Society .................................... 132
5.5 Translation as a Networked Artefact ................................................... 136
5.6 Conclusion ....................................................................................... 151

CHAPTER 6: THE HUMANIST NETWORK

6.1 Introduction: Defining the Humanist Network .................................... 154
6.2 Non-human Agent: Crescent Moon Society and Crescent Moon Bookstore .......................................................... 157
6.3 Liang Shiqiu’s Cultural Capital .......................................................... 165
6.3.1 Agentive Influence: Tsinghua School ............................................. 167
6.3.2 Agentive Influence: Irving Babbitt ................................................. 169
6.4 Translator’s Motivation: Silas Marner ................................................. 173
6.4.1 Functions of Literature ................................................................. 174
6.4.2 Women’s Education and Social Roles ......................................... 183
6.5 Wu Guangjian’s Cultural Capital ...................................................... 186
6.6 Translator’s Visibility: Before 1928 .................................................... 188
6.6.1 Agentive Influence: Yan Fu .......................................................... 190
6.6.2 Translator’s Motivation: Early Translations and Cranford ............ 193
6.7 Translator’s (In)visibility: After 1928 .................................................. 200
6.7.1 Agentive Influence: Hu Shi and Crescent Moon Society .............. 203
6.7.2 Translation as a Networked Artefact: Jane Eyre .............................. 206
6.8 Dong Zhongchi’s Cultural Capital .................................................... 212
6.8.1 Affiliation with Crescent Moon Society .......................... 213
6.8.2 Translation as a Networked Artefact: *Pride and Prejudice* .... 218
6.9 Conclusion ...................................................................... 222

CHAPTER 7: THE INDEPENDENT NETWORK
7.1 Introduction: Defining the Independent Network ..................... 225
7.2 Nonhuman Agent: Qiming Bookstore ................................... 226
  7.2.1 Publication Industry in Shanghai after 1932: Qiming’s Publishing
      Principles ........................................................................ 227
  7.2.2 Translation Motivation of “World Literature Classics Series” .... 232
7.3 Shi Ying: *Silas Marner* and Translation Motivation ...................... 236
  7.3.1 Translation of Culture-Specific Terms: Religious Elements ...... 238
  7.3.2 Religion as a Sensitive Topic ......................................... 240
7.4 Zhu Manhua: *Cranford* and Translation Motivation ................... 242
  7.4.1 Translation of Culture-Specific Terms: Food Items and Character
      Names ................................................................. 246
7.5 Conclusion ...................................................................... 249

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION
8.1 Overview ......................................................................... 232
8.2 A Synthesis of Achievements ................................................. 253
  8.2.1 Leftist Network Findings .............................................. 253
  8.2.2 Humanist Network Findings ....................................... 255
  8.2.3 Independent Network Findings .................................... 257
8.3 Limitations ....................................................................... 258
  8.3.1 On Paratextual and Extratextual Materials ...................... 258
  8.3.2 On Methodology and Textual Analysis ............................ 259
8.4 Implications and Further Research ........................................... 259
  8.4.1 On Networks and Patronage ....................................... 260
  8.4.2 On Stylistics and Translation ...................................... 260
  8.4.3 On Gender and Translation ....................................... 261

APPENDIX
Appendix 1 ........................................................................ 262
Appendix 2 ........................................................................ 263
Appendix 3 ........................................................................ 264
Appendix 4 ........................................................................ 266
CHAPTER ONE  INTRODUCTION

1.1 OVERVIEW

This thesis concerns the translators and their translations of British female novels introduced into China during the late 1920s and 1930s. The four novels selected for analysis are Elizabeth Gaskell’s Cranford (1851), Jane Austen’s Pride and Prejudice (1813), George Eliot’s Silas Marner (1861), and Charlotte Brontë’s Jane Eyre (1847). They were translated into the Chinese language twice during a short span of a decade; therefore, the paramount objective of the present study is to analyse why the four novels were repeatedly translated in China during the covered time span.

Occasional research attempts have been conducted on some of these translations but they have never been collectively analysed from a perspective that focuses on the translators and positions their work against the sociocultural and sociopolitical context of China during the years when they were published. The translation strategies specific to translators subscribed to different ideologies naturally form a significant aspect of this study. It would be impossible to compare all source and target texts mentioned, or even a scientific selection of a fraction the entirety. Instead, extracts of phrases and short paragraphs of local comparisons will be used to illustrate particular points on translation practices conducted with their respective motives for their targeted audience.
This study, therefore, aims to fill part of the existing research gap concerning the translators’ motives for their (re)translations of these novels by British female writers when the country was internally divided, politically and geographically, and militarily violated by Japan.

1.2 HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The decade or so that China experienced from the late 1920s to the 1930s was a period of political turbulence and literary vibrancy. The political turmoil that the country witnessed was twofold: internally China was roughly divided by two major political powers, the Communist Party (the CCP) and the Guomindang (the GMD), also known as the Nationalists; externally, the military aggression from the Japanese was becoming more intense as Japan began its occupation of northeastern China in 1931 and a full-scale war was declared in 1937. With their respective sociopolitical and ideological orientations the CCP and the GMD implemented different policies in areas such as economy, politics, literature and culture, among many others.

For the Communists, literary production, including translation, was perceived as an act of political propaganda. Instigated by the Communists, the founding of the League of the Left-Wing Writers 中國左翼作家聯盟 [Zhongguo zuoyi zuojia liangmeng], commonly abbreviated as 左聯 [Zuolian] in Chinese. The League was formed in 1930, representing a conspicuous attempt of the CCP to assert its dominance through the strategic use of literature and art. The leftists endeavoured to publish and translate proletarian literature and Marxist works. With Lu Xun 魯迅
(1881-1936) taking up the role as the nominal leader of the League, the leftist writers, despite their minor internal disputes over literary issues, managed to put up a united front to attack other Chinese intellectuals who adopted a different stance in literature (and very likely in politics as well). The well-documented example of the leftists’ literary enemy was the Crescent Moon Society 新月社 [Xinyue she], with Hu Shi 胡适 (1891-1962), Liang Shiqiu 梁實秋 (1903-1981) and Xu Zhimo 徐志摩 (1897-1931) as the group’s core members. Very soon, the Crescent Moon Society became the major target of the League’s attacks; the leftist writers’ major reason of antagonism against the Crescent Moon members was not entirely because they were from the right, or the GMD. In fact, literature was never the focus of the GMD government (Goldman and Lee 2002: 205). What the leftists accused the Crescent Moon members of was that they were followers of Capitalism and advocated bourgeois ways. In principle, there was a crucial ideological difference between the leftists and the Crescent Moon members as the leftists supported proletarian and propaganda literature while the Crescent Moon members believed in the preservation of the classics and art-for-art’s sake. Apart from the two literary factions mentioned above, there were also independent or neutral writers who tried not to engage themselves in any political or literary debates. These writers were more ‘apolitical’, in both literature and politics, in the sense that they were only interested in the production of literary works for personal reasons.

The wave of literary production, in literature and translation, that appeared in China during the late 1920s and 1930s was the result of these different yet intertwined literary camps which subscribed to their respective political or
ideological orientations. This observation is evidenced by a preliminary statistical survey on the total number of books published in China during these years since the number hit a record high of 9,438 in 1936 (Wang 2006: 150). When such statistics are integrated with the different genres of translated literature published during these years, complimentary results prevail; an increasing trend is observed in the number of translated literature published in China in the same period. The documented peak amounts to a total number of 198 genres of translation published in 1936 (Deng 2012: 162).

Of all the different genres of translated literature published during the span of time covered by this thesis, translations and retranslations of novels by canonical British female writers form an important cluster of translated literature. With reference to the authoritative *Publication Catalogue of the Republican Era, 1911-1949. Foreign Literature* 民國時期總書目: 1911-1949 外國文學 [Minguo shiqi zong shumu, 1911-1949. Waiguo wenxue], one of the most comprehensive bibliographical catalogues of the books published during the Republican years, an initial observation could be noted that the translations of novels written by canonical British female writers were mostly published between the late 1920s and 1930s. Such female writers and their novels include Elizabeth Gaskell’s *Cranford*, Jane Austen’s *Pride and Prejudice*, George Eliot’s *Silas Marner*, and Charlotte Brontë’s *Jane Eyre*. These four novels had been translated and retranslated during a short span between 1927 and 1939, amounting to eight published translations in total. Such a translation phenomenon, when mapped against the sociocultural and sociopolitical backdrop of China during the 1920s and 1930s, shall form a case of investigation for the analysis
Limited research has been conducted, through both qualitative and quantitative methods, on the novels by British female writers translated into Chinese, especially as part of a collective endeavour. An example of qualitative research is the article “A Comparison Between Two Chinese Versions of *Pride and Prejudice*” 《傲慢與偏見》兩中譯本的對比研究 [《Aoman yu pianjian》 liang zhongyiben de duibi yanjiu], in which the author conducts a juxtaposed comparison of two Chinese translations of the novel from the perspective of linguistic aestheticism (He 2008: 138-141). However, qualitative research such as this, which takes on an evaluative approach and discusses translation aesthetics in principle, does not always explain translation as a social behaviour or phenomenon. On the other hand, examples of quantitative research include an article entitled “Brontë Research in China” in which the author presents a comprehensive chronicle of the various Chinese translations of the novels written by the Brontë sisters from as early as 1930 until 1999 (Zhang 1999). This study is helpful in the sense that it provides important statistical background analysis for further research on the Chinese translations of the Brontë novels.

Another quantitative example is *A History of Translated Literature in Modern China* 中國現代翻譯文學史 [Zhongguo xiandai fanyi wenxueshi] (Xue and Cha 2004). This book presents an extensive historical documentation of all major translations published in China between 1898 and 1949. There are sections dedicated to the discussion of individual writers whose works were translated in China during the period covered in the book. There is a separate section that presents the
translation of female writers’ works in a collective manner. The list of the female writers included in the book is extensive: Jane Austen, Elizabeth Gaskell, Charlotte Brontë, Emily Brontë, George Eliot, Virginia Woolf and Katherine Mansfield; however, they are generally described as “well-known authors” while the discussion of their works lacks insightful literary perspective. For example, Jane Austen is labeled as an author who specializes in writing novels with the theme of love and marriage (Xie and Cha 2004: 227) while the reception and recognition of the Brontë sisters is evaluated based on the translations and retranslations published during the time span covered in the book (ibid.: 229). The most detailed section on the discussion of an individual female writer is the one on Virginia Woolf. She is described as the most “well-recognized” female writer while the “beauty of her language” and her stream-of-consciousness are praised because “Woolf’s inner feelings are best illustrated through such vivid psychological descriptions” (ibid.: 234). The advocacy of feminism, which is a commonly-noted prevailing theme in Woolf’s works, is not mentioned.

The currently available research on the Chinese translations of British female writers’ works analysed from the perspective of the translating agents and their translation motivations is scarce; therefore the role of these translating agents and the significance of their translations is understudied. Given the complicated literary and political landscape of China during the late 1920s and 1930s as well as the new conceptual views on translation that emerged during this particularly period, I argue that the translation of the novels by British female writers, fermented out of this particular era, is a significant phenomenon that needs further examination and
explanation. These translations need to be analysed by contextualizing them into the historical context, i.e. the sociopolitical and sociocultural background of China when they were published, and then examined from the perspective of sociological theories in translation (Wolf 2002; Wolf and Fukari 2007).

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Given the sociopolitical and sociocultural background of China where the British female writers’ novels were repeatedly translated, it is the aim of this thesis to investigate the translators' motivations behind such translational activities. The following questions are posed for further discussion:

1. Who translated these novels and what were their ideological orientations when they were translating these novels?
2. What were the translators’ motives for these translations? What were their objectives for these translations?
3. Were there any other agents involved in the translations? Did they have any influence over the translators and their translations? If so, how did they influence the translators?
4. Were the translations reflections of their ideology? If so, how were their ideological imprints embedded in their translations?
1.4 METHODOLOGY

Based on the primary observation derived from the integrated examination of the publication information of the selected translated texts as well as the sociopolitical and sociocultural background of Republican China, the following hypothetical explanations for such translation phenomenon could be generated: first, the emergence of the new translation conceptual views in China during the 1920s and 1930s. Chinese intellectuals and translators of these decades were composed of a new generation of returning students from Europe, America and Japan or students who had received education in missionary schools or modern universities in China. These Chinese intellectuals were competent bilingual translators who were more conscious of the quality of translation, specifically the concept of *xin* or ‘faithfulness’ in translation. They began to revile translators from previous generations for taking an extreme liberal method in translation (Chan 2004: 18).

This new generation of Chinese intellectuals’ concerns in translation quality began to develop in China in the 1920s and 1930s while debates on translation gave rise to the formulation of translation theories of China from ‘impressionistic’ views developed prior to the 1920s to ‘modern’ theories of the 1920s and 1930s (Chan 2004: 3-28). Apart from the concept of *xin*, translators’ conscious selection of source texts contributed to the construction of the new conceptual views on translation as well. This generation of translators were more competent than their predecessors in the aspects of language, literature and culture. Unlike Lin Shu 林紓 (1852-1924) who was a monolingual translator and had to take a more passive position in the
selection of texts for translation, bilingual or multilingual translators of the 1920s and 1930s did not need to rely on foreign collaborators for such decisions. While these translators had the language competency to select source texts with the consideration of the perceived needs of the Chinese readers and China, other agents involved in the process of translation may also have influenced such decisions at different levels.

Second, there were various agents involved in the process of translation who had played an important role in prompting the translation and publication of such novels. These agents include translators, editors, publishers, institutions, readers and authors (Tahir-Gürçağlar 2003). Broadly speaking these agents can be divided into two groups: human and nonhuman agents. Examples of human agents are the translators. These translating agents were Chinese intellectuals who were responsible for the linguistic mediation for the rendition of these English novels into the Chinese language. There were also Chinese intellectuals or mentors who “could be seen as important agents in the literary field or the field of cultural production more broadly” during Republican China (Denton and Hockx 2008: 9). Examples of nonhuman agents, however, include institutions and publishers which played a crucial role in advancing the translations produced by these translators. It is important to note that during Republican China, it was very common for intellectuals to be associated with literary groups or institutions subscribing to their respective ideological orientations. The organization of these institutions, literary or political in nature, could vary. They “rang[ed] from informal, loose-knit groups of friends to highly structured, formal institutions” (ibid.: 3) while their members could be officially registered members of one or more of these institutions. Some of these institutions even had their own
publishing houses so that the literary productions of their members could be published through such platforms. However, there were intellectuals who were only briefly and loosely attached to these institutions. In addition, as associates of these institutions, the intellectuals’ ideological orientations, developed prior to or during their associations with such institutions, could become abiding even until the abolition of these institutions. Therefore, it is inevitable that these institutions would somehow play an intervening role in the process and the final product of translation (Shuang 2009: 12). Hence, the literary or political footprints of these translators, influenced by the human and nonhuman agents in different degrees, can be seen in the translations. Mentioned above are translators who had personal association with some kind of literary or political institutions but there were also independent translators who had adopted a more neutral stance and had refrained from affiliation with any literary or political institutions; for these translators, traces of literary or political imprints in their translations may not be likely but traces of influences from other agents may still be identified.

In line with the argument proposed by Buzelin (2005) and Jones (2009), that translation is a meaningful social action resulting from the interrelated social connections of the agents, the objective of this thesis is to analyse the relationships of the agents against the historical, sociopolitical and sociocultural milieu of China during the late 1920s and 1930s, with the inflow of translated novels written by British female authors in Republican China as a case. It needs to emphasize here that the significance of these novels by British female writers lies in, ironically, their periphery. These translations were in the periphery of the literary system in two
senses. To the leftists, they are not considered as the ‘mainstream’ revolutionary literature and translation to propagate their political ideals; to the non-leftists, these translations are frequently perceived as literary products of individual translators reflecting merely their respective choices without creating significant impact. However, when an influx of these translations is noted, they present a translation phenomenon that is worth further investigation.

One of the objectives of this thesis, therefore, is to explain why the same source texts were selected by translators from different backgrounds and the different strategies they applied into the translations as a reflection of their respective ideological orientations. With Bruno Latour’s Actor Network Theory (ANT) (1987, 1996) as the analytical framework, the agents, also known as actors, are divided into three distinctive networks: the leftist network, the humanist network and the independent network. It is argued that through the analysis of the actors’ relationships using Latour’s ANT, it could help broaden our understanding on the provision of patronage (Lefevere 1992a) within the three translation networks and the reconstruction of the translators’ cultural capital (Bourdieu 1977, 1989) which serve as the crucial elements that prompt the publication of the translated novels by British female writers during the 1920s and 1930s of Republican China. With the work of Latour, Bourdieu and Lefevere as the main theoretical frameworks of this thesis, the paratextual and extratextual materials relevant to the translations shall be examined in order to establish the connections of the actors for further analysis of the mutual influences that actors have over one another in the aspects of literature, politics and ideology. Such materials include translators’ prefatory and concluding
requests, their correspondence with their respective agents, agents’ biographical accounts and details, and publishers’ publishing policies. This contextualized study of the translated texts and their respective agents against the backdrop of Republican China shall form a new perspective to analyse translations produced during this special and important literary period of China.

1.5 THE DIVISION OF CHAPTERS

This thesis contains eight chapters following this introduction. These chapters are structured in two parts. Chapters two to four provide the historical and theoretical backdrop for the present study while chapters five to seven focus on the role of the translators and their patrons who gave rise to the translated novels by the British female writers.

Chapter 2 outlines the literary and political history of China during the 1920s and 1930s. Specific attention is paid to the narrative of ideological orientations of the different literary and political factions noted in this particular period. The historical, sociopolitical and sociocultural environment of China described in this chapter shall serve as the predominant backdrop where these translated novels were produced and circulated by the translation agents.

Chapter 3 outlines the evolution of the sociological theories in Translation Studies. Bruno Latour’s ANT shall be adopted as the theoretical framework to analyse the human and nonhuman agents involved in the production of the translated
novels written by the British female writers. In addition, Bourdieu’s concepts of
cultural capital shall be used to examine the construction of the individual translators’
oieties.

Chapter 4 describes the research methodology applied to this present research.
The structural design, the categorization of the translators, corpus of the translated
texts and the scope of the thesis, is presented in this particular chapter.

Chapters 5 to 7 discuss the leftists, the humanists and the independents
respectively. Chapters 5 and 6 present a sustained trope: through the analysis of the
paratextual and extratextual materials of the translations, the intertwined
relationships amongst the human and nonhuman agents casting ideological influence
over the translators shall be examined while the translators’ motivations of
translation, and their literary and political imprints on their translations shall be
studied. Chapter 5 focuses the discussion of translational activities conducted by two
translating agents within the leftist network while Chapter 6 explores how the three
translating agents prompted translations under the humanist network. Chapter 7,
however, takes on a slightly different perspective as the independents were not
politically engaged. Their translational activities were mostly conducted for a
specific group of younger audience. The target readership, therefore, was an
important factor that influenced the translational products.

Chapter 8 serves as the conclusion of the thesis. The research questions posed
here are answered. The limitations of the present study and further research
directions are discussed in this chapter.
CHAPTER TWO: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

2.1 SETTING THE SCENE: NEW CONCEPTUAL VIEWS IN TRANSLATION

After the humiliating defeat of the two Opium Wars (1839-1842 and 1856-1860), China was forced open by the Western powers. Attributing the country’s political weakness to traditional Confucian values, Chinese reformers and intellectuals called for a large scale of introduction of western ideas into China through the translation of foreign works. What the Chinese intellectuals called for was the creation of Chinese modernity, or a new culture, with the adoption of Western ideals such as science and democracy (Spence 1981: 117-123). This advocacy of modernity and Western ideals was later referred to as the New Culture Movement (1917-1925). It was believed that such ideals could be attained through the translation of foreign works, including fiction, disseminated through writing in *baihua* 白話 or vernacular Chinese. This concept was initiated and advocated by reformer Liang Qichao 梁啓超 (1873-1929) in his famous essay entitled “On the Relationship Between Fiction and the Government of the People” first published in 1902, in which he proclaimed the educational function of fiction:

> If one intends to renovate the people of a nation, one must first renovate its fiction. Therefore, to renovate morality, one must renovate fiction; to renovate religion, one must renovate fiction; to renovate politics, one must renovate fiction; to renovate social customs, one must renovate fiction; to renovate learning and arts, one must renovate fiction; and to even renovate the human mind and remould its character, one must renovate fiction. Why is this so? It is because fiction has a profound power over the way of man. (1902, quoted in Liang 1996: 74)
The subject of Liang Qichao’s advocacy in this essay is overt: he believed that fiction could be used as a tool to strengthen the country and its people. Moreover, it needs to be pointed out that Liang Qichao’s concept of fiction covers more than what is included in the fiction genre of the present time. Liang’s idea of fiction comprises a wide variety of narrative literature, from the classical tale to the novel; it includes generally all imaginative literature excluding lyrical poetry (C. T. Hsia 2004: 225).

In agreement with Liang Qichao were other Chinese reformers and intellectuals who also believed that a new form of written language was needed because classical Chinese was the written form of communication that was only popular amongst politicians, writers and well-educated elites. This case is noted and explained by Bonnie McDougall:

Classic Chinese literature admits only two purely literary forms, poetry and the essay. In a broader sense, it also includes historical, philosophical and general writing, but it definitely excludes fiction and drama, and most literary theorizing is concerned only with the nature of poetry. (1971: 2)

Therefore, Chinese reformers and intellectuals regarded baihua fiction as a means to attain mass readership and disseminate western ideals; while the core purpose of such literature was national salvation which would lead to modernity (Chen 1989: 7, Yuan 1992: 29). This particular literary genre, however, did not exist and therefore translation became the practical solution. Through the importation of writing models from the West, Chinese writers could learn from these translations before they could produce their own fiction (Hung 1996a: 47). Translated fiction, therefore, offered a reasonable solution to fill the perceived gap. Since then, a multitude of western
literary works, especially novels, had been translated into Chinese. Chinese reformers identified this kind of new fiction 新小說 [xin xiaoshuo] as a remedy for the existing social and political problems of China at the beginning of the twentieth century (Hung 1998: 151-176). On top of fiction, works of other literary genres, such as drama, poetry and essays, were also translated. This marked the beginning of the well-known May Fourth Movement in 1919, seven years after the fall of the Qing Dynasty in 1912 and the founding of the Early Republic. Narrative themes of these translated fiction that gained unprecedented popularity were mostly crime, adventure and romance (Chen 1989: 87-88). To some, these translated literary works meant channels for the introduction of Western cultures and ideas while the circle of Chinese intellectuals and writers may have seen it as an opportunity to popularize reading for the purpose of mass education (Hung 1998: 152). Hence the late Qing and early Republican years marked a significant peak of translation activity in the history of China (Ma and Zhang 1995: 10).

This role of baihua fiction, established at the turn of the century, managed to endure for several decades. Seeing the fall of the Qing Dynasty and the Chinese government’s weak response to the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, Chinese reformers and intellectuals recognized it as their social responsibility to strengthen the country. They ushered the May Fourth Movement, which was usually associated with the New Culture Movement, with the objective to enlighten China and its people. With scholars such as Hu Shi, Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 (1879-1942) and Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868-1940) taking the lead, they called for a ‘literary revolution’ which further advocated writing literature with the use of colloquial words and expressions on top
of *baihua* in order to appeal to an even wider reading mass. This advocacy turned out to be “a literary movement of unprecedented scope and importance, radically changing the course and shape of Chinese literature” (C. T. Hsia 1999: 3).

With *baihua* generally adopted as the new form of written Chinese as well as the Chinese intellectuals’ change of perception towards translation in the 1920s, there was a growing awareness amongst Chinese intellectuals regarding the importance of translation quality. For these Chinese intellectuals, the definition of translation quality concerned two components: the selection of source texts and the ‘accuracy’ of the translations.

It was the time when China saw a random influx of foreign literature through translation. While these translators may only Chinese speak languages, they collaborated with others for an oral translation and then restyled these literary works in written Chinese (Wang 1997: 3). Such translation practice was loosely-defined as these translated texts were paraphrased, truncated, edited and restyled in proper written Chinese (*ibid.*: 3). Exemplary figures of these translators included Yan Fu 严复 (1853-1921), Liang Qichao, and Lin Shu (1852-1924) (*ibid.*: 3). The translated texts were selected according to their collaborators’ personal choices while the translators made no distinction between canonical and popular literature. Lin Shu, for example, translated extensively adventure tales by the Victorian novelist H. Rider Haggard (1856-1925) before he was introduced to Dickens (1812-1870); and he equated works by Shakespeare (1564-1616) and Haggard (Lee 1965: 176). Another example that illustrates the mix of the popular and the canonised is the third issue of
All-Fiction Monthly 月月小說 [Yueyue xiaohuo] (1907). The content page presents a list of translated works of prestigious British writers such as Charles Dickens, W. M. Thackeray, Walter Scott, Rudyard Kipling, and Henry James alongside writers of popular reading including E. H. Benson, M. E. Braddon, Hall Caine, Marie Corelli, Arthur Conan Doyle, Mrs. Humphrey Ward, and Mrs. Henry Wood (Gimpel 2001: 164).

It was due to this arbitrary importation of Western writing that Chinese intellectuals began to call for a more systematic scheme for the selection of translated works into the Chinese language. Fu Sinian 傅斯年 (1896-1950), an eminent educator and linguist who had taken part in the May Fourth Movement, made an early attempt to establish the general principles for the selection of source texts. In an essay published in 1919, Fu first listed four questions to be answered by translators before deciding on which books to translate:

To be responsible to our readers, we should ask the following questions before translation:

1. Is the book worth translating, is it the best among books of the same kind?
2. Is there another book which should have been translated before this one?
3. Are our readers ready to read and understand our translation? Would they have the feeling of reading something dull and trite?
4. What would be the effect of reading such a translation? (quoted in Li 2009: 277-278)

Fu then answered these questions by presenting a list of seven priorities:

1. Introductory books;
2. Pragmatic (instead of purely theoretical) books;
3. Books most closely related to contemporary life;
4. The latest books;
5. Books deemed to be most effective for target readers;
6. A book by one of the first-rate authors in the field;
7. Literary books by first-rate authors only. (*ibid.*: 278)

Although Fu did not elaborate on these suggestions or provide examples for the categories of “introductory books”, “pragmatic books” or “literary books by first-rate authors,” the questions and answers drafted above serve as evidence to illustrate the writer’s concern over the importance of the selection of texts to be imported for the Chinese reader.

Another piece of evidence to illustrate Chinese intellectuals’ growing awareness of the selection of source texts is the establishment of a literary society called Literary Study Society 文學研究會 [*Wenxue yanjiu hue*]. The society was set up in January 1921 by Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸 (1898-1958) and Mao Dun 茅盾 (1896-1981). One of the core tasks of the society was to call for literary contributions from all Chinese intellectuals for the benefit of modernizing the country. Guidelines were drafted and it was explicitly stated that foreign literary works should be carefully selected before they were translated into the Chinese language. Priority should be given to canonical works and satiric works of realism that exposed social problems instead of detective stories, science fiction, and tales of adventure for the purpose of mere entertainment (Wang 2003: 42). A point to note here is the definition of realism by these early Republican intellectuals; they defined realist literature as works that revealed the social ills of the nation and described the sufferings of the
poor, whereas realism in the west is generally understood as literature written in an artistic style that emphasized verisimilitude. In this respect, realism as defined by early Chinese Republican intellectuals is akin to Social Realism.

Apart from the selection of translation materials, Chinese intellectuals were also developing a growing awareness of the ‘accuracy’ of translation, especially in the sense of ‘linguistic transfer’ of a text by a translator. The late Qing and early Republican years was a period when ‘accuracy’ was not the paramount concern of many Chinese translators who played not only a passive role in the selection of source texts but also produced translation in an extremely ‘free’ or ‘liberal’ manner (Wong 2005: 126). A well-documented example of such translators is Lin Shu who performed tandem translation by rewriting foreign stories in guwen 古文, classical Chinese or ‘ancient-style prose’ (Hill 2013: 36-38). The translator is generally noted for his exhaustive translations as well as the extensive textual editing he made to his translations, including additions, simplifications, revisions and deletions.¹

While one may argue in Lin Shu’s favour that he should not be criticized for the ‘inaccuracy’ noted in his translations because his writing was actually ‘pure’ (ibid.: 233). In fact, it was very common for translators from the late Qing and early Republican years to “work outside the boundaries of what commonsense standards for translations would allow” (ibid.: 234). Zhang Chishan 張赤山 (n. d.), for example, translated Aesop’s Fables 海國妙喻 [Haiguo miaoyu] in 1888. Many of

¹ It is a well-documented case that Lin Shu’s translated novels are extensively revised; however, he has always been accepted for his role as a translator in Chinese translation history. Therefore, Leo Tak-hung Chan argues that Lin Shu’s role “ought to be problematized rather than accepted as fact” (Chan 2008: 16).
the stories in this collection are directly copied, word for word, from an earlier translated version by Robert Thom (1807-1846). Such translation strategies can be perceived as Zhang’s intention to preserve and emphasize “the traditional Chinese ethical outlook” of fables for readers who may not necessarily be children or juvenile (Chan 1998: 74-75).\(^2\) Another example is the translation of ‘Isles of Greece’ by Lord Byron (1788-1824). The poem was repeatedly translated into the Chinese language during the early 1900s by Liang Qichao, Ma Junwu 馬君武 (1881-1942), Su Manshu and Hu Shi. However, in all of these translations, Byron’s poetic elements are intentionally rendered as political messages to “awaken the Chinese people’s love for freedom and justice, to encourage the oppressed to overthrow their feudal rulers” (Chu 1998: 102).\(^3\) One more frequently discussed example is the translation of *Les Misérables* 慘世界 *Can Shijie* by Su Manshu. Published in 1904, the translator created a character in the novel to criticize the Qing government and lament the social and political ills that the country and its people were facing during the turn of the century (Wong 2005: 126).

The examples described above are to illustrate the extreme ‘liberal measures’ adopted by different translators during the late Qing and early Republican period. Such cases of ‘inaccuracy’ are not checked as ‘linguistic infedelity’ under modern perspectives; however, they were perceived as ‘mistakes’ and the result was a growing awareness in the advocacy of translation quality in the aspect of ‘linguistic

\(^2\) See Leo Tak-hung Chan’s “Liberal Versions: Late Qing Approaches to Translating *Aesop’s Fables*” for a detailed comparision and discussion of three translated versions of *Aesop’s Fables* by Robert Thom, Zhang Chishan and Lin Shu, Yan Peinan 嚴培南 (n. d.) and Yan Ju 嚴璩 (1874-1942).

\(^3\) The four Chinese versions of ‘The Isles of Greece’ referred to in this discussion were translated by Liang Qichao (1902), Ma Junwu (1905), Su Manshu (1909) and Hu Shi (1914). Please see Chu Chi Yu’s “Lord Byron’s ‘The Isles of Greece’: First Translations for a comprehensive discussion on the linguistic features of the four translations.
accuracy’ in translation. Emerging from the fermentation of translation quality awareness was a body of adverse criticism targeting the literature imported by the early generation of translators (C. T. Hsia 2004: 239). Mao Dun, for example, criticized Lin Shu for departing too far from the source texts which rendered his work “distorted translations” (Chan 2004: 18). Similar denigrating remarks on translations by Lin Shu and translators from his generation, who were once influential and popular, were developed by this new generation of Chinese intellectuals who began to appear in the late 1920s. This new generation of Chinese intellectuals were competent translators highly proficient in one or more foreign languages. Apart from Mao Dun there were other examples of these new Chinese intellectuals: Hu Shi, Xu Zhimo, Lao She 老舍 (1899-1966), Shen Congwen 沈從文 (1902-1988), Liang Shiqiu 梁實秋, Dai Wangshu 戴望舒 (1905-1950), Ba Jin 巴金 (1904-2005), just to name a few. This younger generation of writer translators rejected not only Lin Shu’s translations of many ‘second-rate’ authors but also the quasi-classical style he and Yan Fu had so perfected; therefore, they would instead devote their energies to first-rate Western writers such as Hugo (1802-1885), de Maupassant (1850-1893), Zola (1840-1902), Dickens, Hardy (1840-1928), Shakespeare, Shaw (1856-1950), Tolstoy (1828-1910), Twain (1835-1910), Whitman (1819-1892) and others (Shen 1996: 352-359).

The above discussion presents not only the change of attitude and perception toward translation conducted before and after the late 1920s but also the translators’ impressionistic distinctions towards the translation strategies adopted for their translational products published during these two historical periods associated with
such change. The generation of translators from the late Qing and early Republican years held the belief that is the translators’ negligence of translation quality as there were ‘mistakes’ or extensive alterations made to the translations even as such translated works gained tremendous popularity amongst Chinese readers of this particular era. However, the new generation of translators tilted their emphasis to translation quality. The common consensus towards translation adopted in the 1920s and 1930s was to avoid ‘mistakes’ or ‘inaccuracy’ in translations and that priority should be given to the translation of canonical writers and their works. In addition, it is important to note that such impressionistic distinctions represent merely general views on translation, in the broadest sense, shared by the community of Chinese intellectuals during two distinctive periods. Therefore, such conceptual discrepancies should be understood as different behavioural patterns adopted by Chinese translators of different times rather than absolute translation standards with one enjoying a ‘superior’ status over the other.

2.2 HISTORICAL CONTEXT: SOCIOPOLITICAL AND SOCIOCULTURAL PERSPECTIVES

With the advocacy of translation quality as well as the rise of the new generation of Chinese intellectuals in the late 1920s and 1930s, these years can be viewed as the decisive period in modern Chinese history. In terms of translation output, especially in the field of literary translation, and of the amount of the theoretical discussion on translation, it rivals two other high points of modern Chinese translation history, namely the late Qing period and the late 1980s-early 90s. (Chan 2004: 15)
Such an observation shall be examined in this section. The first point regarding translation output could be statistically proven while the latter involves a descriptive documentation on the relevant discussions on translation theories that occurred during this particular period.

The increase in translation output is generally noted by Chinese history and literature scholars. Bonnie McDougall, for example, describes and explains the reasons for the “resurgent interest in Western literature in the thirties” (1977: 37) while C. T. Hsia describes the period between 1928 and 1937 as “a decade of growth” in modern Chinese literature and translation (1999: 115). These comments can be further examined for verification from the perspective of quantitative research. An example of such research is *The Publishing Platforms of Modern Chinese Literature* 中国现代文学出版平台 [Zhongguo xiandai wenxue chuban pingtai] (2012). This book presents extensive statistical records of literature and translation published in China from 1902 to 1949 (Deng 2012: 136-286). Major genres included in the discussion and analysis are novels, poetry, drama and prose. With fiction being used as an educational tool to reach a wider readership, the two peaks recorded for the translation of fiction during the Republican years are 1928-1936 and 1943-1948 (ibid.: 165). The first period, i.e. the years between 1928 and 1936, corresponds with the general observations regarding the significant translation output noted from the late 1920s until 1930s. In addition, it is important to note that fiction, especially novels, represent the majority of all translated works as they constitute about two-thirds of the total amount of foreign writing translated in China. The trajectory regarding the amount of literature and translation published in China from the fall of
the Qing Dynasty in 1912 to the end of the Republican era in 1949 is presented in Appendix 1.

The second comment about the increasing amount of theoretical discussion on translation is, in fact, very much spawned from the new conceptual views in translation as described in section 2.1. Much of the incessant debates on translation in the late 1920s and 1930s revolved around the polemical concepts of literalism versus liberalism (Chan 2004: 16-19). In fact, the debates over literalism versus liberalism had been going on for centuries in China. On the one end of the polemic is ‘free translation’ or ‘semantic translation’ 意譯 [yìyì] or rewriting. This is generally understood as ‘unfaithful’ translation where a semantic correspondence is established between the source text and the target text. This is a translation practice where translators have no regard for ‘fidelity’. Standing on this side of the extreme would be translators from the previous generation such as Lin Shu and Yan Fu. On the other end of the extreme is ‘direct translation’ or ‘straightforward translation’ 直譯 [zhíyì]. This style of translation is generally regarded as similar to the concept of ‘faithful translation’ where a close correspondence is established between the source text and the target text. It means that translators minimize linguistic changes made to the source texts, in terms of style, syntax and diction, in order to preserve ‘foreignness’ in the translations. Extreme cases of such practice are demonstrated by Lu Xun and his brother Zhou Zuoren 周作人 (1885-1967). The brothers personally denounced the ‘free translation’ method favoured by Lin Shu and Yan Fu. In response to their translations, the brothers’ initial attempt with this new experimental style of translation was the publication of a collection of translated stories in their Collection
of Stories from Abroad 域外小說集 [Yuwei xiaoshuoji] (1909). They adhered so closely to the source texts that their translations had become very difficult to read (Qi 2012: 70). To further advocate such a translation method, Lu Xun continued to practice extreme literalism in his own translations of Russian literature and Marxist literary criticism in the late 1920s (Yun 2014: 133).

This method of extreme literalism in translation, advocated and exemplified by Lu Xun, triggered heated debates amongst the Chinese intellectuals during the late 1920s. To some, these translations were merely a transwriting of words from one language to another, which in essence, were examples of ‘word-to-word translation’ or ‘stiff translation’ 硬譯 [yingyi] (Chan 2004: 17). One of the first to oppose Lu Xun was Liang Shiqiu, who openly criticized Lu Xun’s Chinese translations, especially of Russian literary works and Marxist literary criticism in an essay entitled “On Mr. Lu Xun’s ‘Stiff Translation’” 論魯迅先生的「硬譯」[Lun Lu Xun xiansheng de yingyi] (1929). To Liang Shiqiu, Lu Xun followed the source texts so closely that in the translation the syntax had become so complex and foreign, and the translations were so “incomprehensible” and “stiff” that they were “dead translations”; in short, it was a mere waste of time reading dead translations (quoted in Bi 1979: 67). It was this essay that ignited the heated debate, in the form of written essays, between Lu Xun and Liang Shiqiu. Other Chinese intellectuals such as Mao Dun and Ye Gongchao 葉公超 (1904-1981) followed and began to express their views on similar issues. As Leo Tak-hung Chan argues, these debates on literalism versus liberalism in translation in the 1920s and 1930s play a significant role in the study of Chinese translation theories because they could be regarded as the emergence of
translation theories during the country’s quest for modernity (2004: 15-28).

Taking the centre stage of this heated debate were Lu Xun and Liang Shiqiu. Their incessant correspondence in the form of written essays went further than two intellectuals defending their personal positions in literature and translation. The theme of their debate soon drifted from translation theorizing to politics; this was the case especially with Lu Xun. In the essay “‘Stiff Translation’ and the ‘Class Nature of Literature’” [Yinyi yu wenxuede jiejixing] written by Lu Xun in 1930 in response to Liang Shiqiu’s criticism, Lu Xun provided a ‘political’ explanation for his translation. He stated that his translations were for a particular class of readers who were in favour of proletarian literature; thus, they would try their best to understand these Marxist theoretical works despite the difficulties (ibid.: 93). Lu Xun prolonged and intensified the debate by calling Liang Shiqiu names such as “a shame” and “a Capitalist running dog” (ibid.: 154). Lu Xun’s attack on Liang Shiqiu was both personal and political because he believed that Liang Shiqiu and the members of the Crescent Moon Society, Liang’s literary associates, were attached to the Guomindang (GMD). An important point to note is that when the debate between Lu Xun and Liang Shiqiu took place, Lu Xun was the leader of the League. Lu Xun misconstrued Liang Shiqiu and the Crescent Moon members’ genuine stance on their literary principles as efforts at ingratiating themselves with the GMD (Pollard 2002: 146). It is apparent that at the core of the debate between Lu Xun and Liang Shiqiu lies their ideological differences in politics quite apart from their positions on academic principles in translation. Hence, it is important to contextualize the sociopolitical background of China during the 1920s and 1930s in
order to understand the role of translators and their translations in China in this particular era because translation, Chinese intellectuals and politics were intertwined. It was very common for early Republican intellectuals to be associated with some kind of literary society or groups as they were formed on the basis of common personal backgrounds or ideological grounds (Liu 1995: 248). These literary groups or institutions subscribing to their respective ideological orientations might have been instigated by political powers and the intellectuals associated with these literary institutions would reflect such ideological orientations in their translations, in terms of translation principles or political viewpoints.

The sociopolitical and sociocultural milieu of China during the 1920s and 1930s that bred different ideological orientations will be examined in Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2.

2.2.1 SOCIOPOLITICAL CONTEXT

The GMD was founded in 1912 after the 1911 Revolution by Sun Yat-sen 孫中 山 (1866-1925) with the major goals of overthrowing the Qing Dynasty and reviving and modernizing China. The party adopted the “Three Principles of the People” 三民主義 [sanmin zhuyi] as the fundamental ideology developed by Sun in 1924. The three principles are generally rendered as nationalism 民族 [minzu], democracy 民主 [minzhu] and people’s livelihood 民生 [minshen] (Schoppa 2000: 282-283). The 1911 Revolution lasted for months and the country’s political state was chaotic, with Sun Yat-sen’s provincial government established in Nanjing in the following year
and the growing authoritarianism from Yuan Shikai 袁世凱 (1859-1916), leader of the Beiyang Army based in Beijing. Yuan revived the monarchy system in China and proclaimed himself Emperor in 1915. However, his reign was short-lived, ending in 1916 with Yuan’s death. This brief revived monarchy met with intensifying opposition from international governments and was never really recognized (Spence 1999: 282). After Yuan’s death, the country was segmented by the local military warlords and such political turbulence lasted for almost a decade, with the Northern Expedition finally putting an end to the Warlord Era (1916-1928). During the time of the Northern Expedition, the leader of the GMD was General Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石 (1887-1975), the successor of Sun Yat-sen. With the more important goal of unifying the country and reclaiming it from the hands of the warlords, Chiang initiated a collaboration with the nascent CCP. Founded chiefly by Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 and Li Dazhao 李大釗 (1889-1927) in 1921, the CCP subscribed to the ideals, as stated in its founding manifesto, of a classless (actually, working-class dominated) society predicated on common ownership of economy and production, abolition of the existent oppressive government and institutions, and the liberation from the hegemonic control of capitalistic foreign powers. (Qi 2012: 87)

During the formative stage of the CCP, it was the Party’s goal to disseminate Marxist ideals including the liberation from capitalistic controls and the abolition of social inequalities (Bai: 2002: 486-488). The Communists believed that these ideals could be achieved through class struggles and that these political doctrines should reach the general masses including soldiers, students and peasants (Saich and Yang 1996: 11-13).
The Northern Expedition meant not only an attempt to reunite China but also the first joint endeavour of the GMD and the CCP, generally referred to as the First United Front. The two parties formed an alliance called the National Revolutionary Army with the common objective to terminate the political dominance of the warlords and to build a new, modern and democratic China. While this first collaboration of the GMD and CCP may have been successful in overthrowing the local warlords, it was doomed to founder on a major point of conflict between the two parties, i.e. the provision of civil and military leadership for China. With the growing influence of the CCP and the infiltration of the CCP members into the GMD, Chiang Kai-shek saw it as his paramount goal to launch a campaign against them. In 1927, Chiang Kai-shek turned his troops against the CCP in Shanghai, killing hundreds and arresting thousands of CCP soldiers who were mostly workers. This marked the end of the First United Front (Spence 1999: 323-374).

The GMD then went on to further launch the GMD Extermination Campaigns against the CCP. The result was the retreat of the Communists, frequently described as the legendary Long March (1934-1935) in orthodox history books in China. An important result of the Long March, for the Communists and China, was the emergence of Mao Zedong 毛泽东 (1893-1976) and his leadership of the CCP. The GMD government’s aggressive campaigns against the CCP did not stop until 1937 with mounting Japanese aggression. What followed was another joint endeavour of the two parties, despite their ideological conflicts, known as the Second United Front. This lasted from 1937 to the conclusion of World War II in 1945. The country then
witnessed a few more years of political turmoil, from 1945 to 1949, with Civil War between the two parties seeking political dominance. During the Civil War period, from their rural base, the Communists gradually advanced further into the GMD-controlled cities. With Shanghai, Nanjing and Beijing falling into the hands of the CCP, Chiang Kai-shek finally decided to flee to Taiwan in 1949. In the same year, the Communists declared victory and the founding of the People’s Republic of China.

2.2.2 SOCIOCULTURAL CONTEXT

The ideological difference between the CCP and the GMD did not lie solely in their political orientations but also in cultural policies. After the May Fourth Movement, especially from the collapse of the First United Front until the end of the Northern Expedition in 1927, China was roughly divided into two zones: the GMD-controlled area and the CCP-controlled area (Qi 2012: 89). The GMD-controlled area consisted mostly of big cities while the CCP controlled poor, rural regions near the mountains and the borders which were difficult to access because of their geographical locations. An explanatory note is in order here regarding the two controlled areas: they simply denote the power bases of the two political parties; inhabitants residing in these areas were not necessarily confirmed followers of either the CCP or the GMD.

In the GMD-controlled cities, life was modern and Western influenced. This was especially the case in Shanghai. With the progressive expansion of the French
Concessions in the early Republican years, the city had become the ‘Paris of the Orient' and the metropolitan life in Shanghai was not much different than that in Europe or America (ibid.: 89). Apart from the commonly-seen automobiles, buses and trains, entertainment was blooming as well. Easily accessible to the more affluent inhabitants of Shanghai were cinemas, Hollywood movies, books, magazines, music, nightclubs and prostitution (Dong 2001: 1).

After the military setback of the CCP in 1927 Chiang Kai-shek, as the head of the GMD, inaugurated nationwide campaigns to revive Sun Yat-sen’s “Three Principles of the People” and later launched the New Life Movement 新生活 [Xin shenghuo], which he describes thus:

The New Life Movement aims at the promotion of a regular life guided by the four virtues, namely li 礼 [ritual/decorum], yi 义 [rightness or duty], lian 廉 [integrity or honesty], and chi 耻 [sense of shame]. Those virtues must be applied to ordinary life in the matter of food, clothing, shelter, and action. The four virtues are the essential principles for the promotion of morality. They form the major rules for dealing with men and human affairs, for cultivating oneself, and for adjustment to one’s surroundings. Whoever violates these rules is bound to fail, and a nation that neglects them will not survive. (Jiang 1934: 1; Chinese characters added)

It may not be a coincidence that the New Life Movement was initiated when the GMD was, arguably, enjoying political dominance over the national government and the CCP was at its weakest. It is not within the scope of this thesis to analyse Chiang’s reasons for implementing the New Life Movement; however, its projected goals were apparent. It was a movement aimed at restoring the traditional Confucian virtues through the cultivation of individual morality in order to improve people’s
living conditions in general, which eventually led to the transformation of the entire society (Ferlanti 2010: 963-964). The New Life Movement included campaigns to cure “social ills” and “antisocial behaviour” such as “spitting, urinating, or smoking in public, casual sexual liaisons, and provocative clothing” (Qi 2012: 90). One of the most palpable policies to revive the conservative traditions was the GMD government’s description of Chinese women’s roles within the framework of the New Life Movement campaigns. Instead of advocating feminist ideas of freedom, equality and social activism, the GMD government took a drastic turn and urged Chinese women to cultivate the ‘four virtues’ and concentrate on household chores such as sewing, cooking and arranging furniture (Spence 1999: 356-357). Chiang Kai-shek, for example, stated that “it is harmful for women to take part in politics,” (Maloney 1980: 168) while Chiang’s wife Soong Mei-ling openly suggested that women’s duties should be limited to the household or the selling of traditional handicrafts such as embroidery (Diamond 1975: 9-10).

In fact, the GMD government had been consistent in its conservative disposition. As early as 1926 when the party came to power, the social and educational policies as well as the traditional moral teachings it adopted and patronized reflected the GMD’s conservative attitude (Grieder 1981: 266-267). To many, what the New Life Movement meant to (re)-uphold were the traditional Confucian social ethics which were once believed to be the source of China’s backwardness before the May Fourth Movement. The New Life Movement failed to ignite significant positive response from the people and gradually “trickled away in a stream of trivia” (Spence 1981: 357).
The Communists adopted a very different disposition in the CCP-controlled areas. The Communists took the provinces of Shaanxi, Gansu and Ningxia as their base and Yan’an as its capital since the mid-1930s. Unlike the GMD-controlled cities, Shanghai and Nanjing, the CCP sphere of influence was made up of rural areas and border regions. Western entertainment and luxuries such as nightclubs and shopping malls were basically non-existent. Contrary to the conservative policies adopted by the GMD government, the Communists saw it as their paramount task to modernize and mobilize the rural peasants, including women. This forms a sharp contrast in terms of the policies implemented by the two political powers. In the CCP-controlled area, the advocacy of women’s rights was a top priority, second only to the anti-Japanese campaign during the war with Japan (Larson 1998: 168). Instead of dividing men and women into two spheres as was traditionally done in Confucian China, men and women were given equal opportunities in the CCP-controlled area. The equality of roles between the two sexes also meant the elimination of gender-specific differences. Women had to join the labour force and take on various social tasks traditionally assigned to men; even their physical appearance was transformed to that of the male worker-peasant style (Li 2002: 119).

Another policy adopted by the CCP government for the mobilization and modernization of the uneducated rural peasants was the mass language 大眾話 [dazhong hua] and Latinized New Writing 拉丁化新文字 [Ladinhua xin wenzi] movements in the 1930s. The new language movement was launched in 1934. Taking an antithetical position towards the dead classical Chinese used in writing, the CCP
advocated a new form of written language developed from the spoken language. This new form of language, *dazhong hua* or mass language, evolved from the blending of various dialects and would be the real “proletariat’s language” (DeFrancis 1984: 245). The communists perceived the need for a new language because they saw that *baihua*, advocated by the May Fourth intellectuals, could only reach the bourgeoisie whereas *dazhong hua* should be able to reach the masses who were mainly composed of peasants (Liu 2013: 43). This new language, as defined by the CCP, was “owned by the masses, needed by the masses and used by the masses” (Li 1981: 288). In addition, the Latinized New Writing 拉丁化新文字 (*Ladinhua xin wenzi*) was a new writing system created jointly by the Chinese Communists and the Russian linguists in the early thirties (DeFrancis 1984: 246). As its name suggested, the scheme was, in essence, to Latinize Chinese characters and replace entirely the written Chinese ideographs which had been in use in China for centuries (Tagore 1967: 160). The feasibility of the scheme may have aroused debates amongst the Communists but it was supported by Mao Zedong. In an interview with the American journalist Edgar Snow in Yan’an in 1936, Mao said that:

> [w]e believe Latinization is a good instrument with which to overcome illiteracy. Chinese characters are so difficult to learn that even the best system of rudimentary characters, or simplified teaching, does not equip the people with a really efficient and rich vocabulary. *Sooner or later, we believe, we will have to abandon characters altogether if we are to create a new social culture in which the masses fully participate.* (Snow 1968: 446)

The scheme turned out to be “impractical” and it remained merely a “ naïve utopian theory of language” that was never put into practice with much success (Lee 1986:...
439). The concept of Latinizing Chinese characters, however, later evolved with much success into a phonetic aid for reading Chinese rather than an outright replacement for Chinese characters (ibid.: 439). In addition, Mao’s theory, “to create a new social culture in which the masses fully participate” became the seal of his literature policy in 1942 and the language reform campaign for the advocacy of simplified Chinese characters after 1949. These policies in language and literature turned out to be more successful after the 1940s.

2.3 THE POLEMICS OF LITERATURE AND TRANSLATION

What emerged from the military and ideological clashes between the CCP and the GMD was the dissimilar attitudes towards translation from translation agents, e.g. writers and translators, subscribing to their respective ideological orientation. The vibrancy in literature and translation that sprouted from the sociopolitical context (section 2.2.1) and sociocultural context (section 2.2.2) in China during the late 1920s and 1930s can be roughly divided into three major networks.

Taking the left of the literary arena were writers and translators who were in favour of the CCP or the Communists’ policies. The failure of the First United Front may have meant military retreat on the Communists’ side but it prompted the implementation of their strategic policy in literature, i.e. to seize dominance or leadership in the world of letters (C. T. Hsia 1999: 119). In Shanghai, especially in the relative safety of foreign concessions, Communist writers or intellectuals affiliated to the CCP were mounting their initial attempts to propagate revolutionary
literature. The ten years following the military setback of the Communists in 1927 marked their success in seizing dominance in literature, which provided fertile soil for the sprouting of the League. The League managed to recruit prominent leaders such as Lu Xun, Xia Yan 夏衍 (1900-1995), Zhou Yang 周揚 (1908-1989), and Tian Han 田漢 (1898-1968). The paramount mission of the League was to create Chinese revolutionary and proletarian literature, including translated literature, in order to unify as many Chinese writers and intellectuals as possible to create a united front.

The League was an organization with “a powerful executive committee and several other committees assigned to cultural, social, and propaganda tasks” (C. T. Hsia 1999: 125). At the initial stage when the League was formed, seven committees were formed with different responsibilities. One of these committees was called the International Liaison Committee. Its major duty was “to translate good proletarian revolutionary works and to draft a list of other countries’ proletarian revolutionary works to be translated” (Wong 1991: 72-73). With these specific translation policies blending in with the League’s two official documents, i.e. ‘Theoretical guideline of literature’ and ‘The new mission of the revolutionary literature of the Chinese proletariat’, both adopted in the inaugural meeting, the principal advocacy of the League was to create proletarian art and literature in order to struggle for emancipation (Lee 1986: 429). Although the term proletarian literature was never clearly defined, there were three injunctions proposed by the League, as concluded by Lee:
First, the league writers must ‘pay attention to the large number of subjects from the realities of Chinese social life’, especially those related directly to revolutionary objectives; second, the league writers must ‘observe and describe from the proletarian standpoint and outlook’; and third, the form of their literature ‘must be simple and understandable to the workers and peasants. (1986: 429)

Given the sociopolitical backdrop of China during the late 1920s and 1930s as well as the League’s literary agendas, league members translated mostly works by Russian or Soviet authors, such as Maxim Gorky (1868-1936), Mikhail Aleksandrovich Sholokhov (1905-1984) and Alexander Fadeyev (1901-1956), in addition to the Marxist literary theories and criticism by Soviet scholars (Qi: 2012:97). When the League was formed, the CCP was still in its formative stage. The principal goal of the League was to unify Chinese writers for the production of revolutionary literature, however different their literary and political views may be. League members represented a broad spectrum of writers. There were confirmed leftists, such as Qu Quibai 瞿秋白 (1899-1935), who took a more radical stance in the advocacy of “massification” of literature and language (Pickowicz 1977: 297-312). There also were moderate leftists who were less radical, who joined the League simply because they were more sympathetic to the idea of proletarian literature advocated by the CCP than to the GMD’s attitude on literature (Lee 1986: 436). These writer translators who had adopted a more moderate stance would be more ‘independent’ with the choices of translation. Dai Wangshu for example, translated mostly literature by French writers including Stéphane Mallarmé (1842-1898) and Charles Baudelaire (1821-1867), representative figures in the French Symbolists movement known for their advocacy of the art for art’s sake movement (Qi 2012: 97).
In all, the League managed to gradually attain dominance in the literary arena during the mid-1930s. This triumph is known as the “Left-Wing League Decade” 左聯十年 [Zuolian shinian] (Wang 1982: 162-216). In response to the united effort of the League writers, which could represent the revival of political and military powers of the CCP, Chiang Kai-shek launched a strict censorship campaign, generally known in history as the ‘White Terror’ banning the publication of literature propagating Marxist theories and communist ideals (Wong 1999: 6). When literary censorship by the GMD government was in full swing, what Chiang Kai-shek did not do in the meanwhile was to provide patronage for literature or literary movements in favour of the GMD regime, which could have contributed to the GMD government’s military defeat in 1949 and later its retreat to Taiwan (ibid.: 7).

Taking the opposite side of the literary arena of China during the 1930s were intellectuals who did not subscribe to the political and ideological orientations of the League. These ‘non-leftists’ or ‘apolitical’ intellectuals could be further divided into the following factions. One faction of these Chinese intellectuals in principle subscribed to the “art for art’s sake philosophy” and was “critical of the revolutionary, proletarian art and literature programmes” of the League (Qi 2012: 96). This faction was mostly made up of Chinese intellectuals who were “educated in Anglo-American schools and [had] fallen under the influence of New Criticism and other Western literary trends of the times” (ibid.: 96). This camp of writer translators believed in the “autonomy of literature” and that literature “must be judged by its own intrinsic values without considerations of historical age, environment or class” (Fairbank and
Feuerwerker 1986: 431). Notable figures from this group include Xu Zhimo, Liang Shiqiu and Hu Shi. They were members of the Crescent Moon Society and had become the major target of attack by the League. Other notable intellectuals sharing similar literary orientations are members of the Critical Review School 學衡派 (1922-1933) [Xueheng pai] such as Wu Mi 吳宓 (1894-1978), Mei Guangdi 梅光迪 (1890-1945) and Wu Xianxu 胡先驌 (1894-1968). This particular faction of writer translators translated mostly canonical literature by Shakespeare (1564-1616), the Romantic poets, the Pre-Raphaelites, Hardy, Galsworthy (1867-1933), Tagore (1861-1941), Ibsen (1828-1906), Maruois (1885-1967) as well as 18th and 19th century English novels and drama (Lee 1973: 18-19). To the eyes of the League writers, the introduction of these writers’ literary works was these writer translators’ attempt to favour literature and translation that “convey[ed] a highly ‘ivory-towerish’ quality” (ibid.: 18).

Another ‘apolitical’ camp of intellectuals of this particular period were the ones who “wisely refused to engage in quarrels with the [Left] League” and who were “not so much interested in the making of a serious modern literature in the maintenance of honest opinion” (C. T. Hsia 1999: 132). These were the independent intellectuals who simply wished to write “to assert their individuality” through the publication of essays and other forms of personal writing (ibid.: 132). This particular group of writers perceived writing and literature as “channels of self-expression”; they would write about “personal and historical trivia … [for] mental relaxation in their study of Chinese and Western Literature” (ibid.: 134). These writer-translators had made notable contributions to translation as well. Exemplary figures from this
particular faction include Lin Yutang 林語堂 (1895-1976) and Zhu Shenhao 朱生豪 (1912-1944). Lin is highly appraised by many Chinese readers for his English translation of Chinese classics as well as Chinese translation of literary works by the Italian philosopher and historian Benedetto Croce (1866-1952), Oscar Wilde (1854-1900) and Joel Spingarn (1895-1939) (Qi 2012: 98) while Zhu is widely known for his early efforts in the introduction of Shakespeare to China. His initial intention was to translate all of Shakespeare’s plays and he started the project circa 1935 but he died at the age of 33; having completed 31 of the plays (Levith 2004: 10-11). It is probably due to their independent political and ideological orientations that this faction of intellectuals, despite their literary contributions, have been overshadowed by their counterparts from the League camp as well as the ‘art for art’s sake’ camp.

It is important to note that the sociocultural and sociopolitical landscape sketched above should not be read as a segregated segment sliced out from the historical stage of the Republican years. It needs to be read as a continuous thread of a legacy that could be traced to not only the May Fourth years but also the late Qing period (Hunters 1988). As described by David Der-wei Wang, these were years of complexities and contradictions when Chinese intellectuals were engaged in ongoing debates over issue including:

quantity versus quality, elite ideal versus popular taste, classical language versus vernacular language, central versus marginal genre, foreign influence versus indigenous legacy, apocalyptic vision versus decadent desire, exposure versus masquerade, innovation versus convention, enlightenment versus entertainment[.] (1997: 14)
It is precisely these paradoxical debates that encapsulate the literary, cultural, ideological and political diversities of the late Qing and Republican decades. Dominating the discourse of these complexities were the notions of “modernity” and “revolution” which were supposed to be introduced through the translation of Western models (ibid.: 30-31). It is not the scope of this thesis to provide an account of the long process of “revolution” and the pursuits of “modernity” in Chinese literature; however, translation was indeed one of the major factors that led to the “substantial change in thematics, narrative devices, social functions, and readerships” of Chinese literature (ibid.: 30). Therefore, the translational activities conducted in the late 1920s and 1930s examined in this thesis should be regarded as Republican intellectuals’ collective efforts working under the grand umbrellas of “modernity” and “revolution”.

2.4 CONCLUSION

The historical study outlined in this chapter presents the new conceptual views in translation that flourished during sociopolitical and sociocultural dimensions of Republican China between the late 1920s and 1930s. Specific attention is paid to the description of the polemics of literature and translation undertaken by three major literary camps fermented out of historical context during the war-torn years of Republican China. However, taking a different position from most orthodox research on Chinese history and literature, instead of viewing the three currents of thought or literary polemics as opposing forces, they can be treated as “three entities
simultaneously in an intricate relationship” (Fung 2010: 3) because it is the
difference in their political and ideological orientations that prompted their debates
as well as production in literature and translation by agents from the three literary
camps. Such translation productions include the Chinese renditions of novels written
by canonical British female writers.

It is a generally-accepted statement that translation does not exist in a vacuum.
The argument about the need to study translation sociologically is posited by
Tyulenev:

First, translation is never practised (and therefore, should not be theorized) outside
the social context: it mediates – successfully or not, partially or impartially –
between peoples, nations, groups and individuals. Second, translators themselves
are social beings: they grow up in a society, absorbing in a particular worldview, and
ethical and aesthetical values … Their work, their translations, whether written or
oral, bear an imprint of their socialization, sometimes invisible even to translators
themselves. On the surface many decisions translators make appear as their own.
The social underpinnings of their decisions, however, always lurk behind their
individual wills and individual styles. To bring them to the force, a meticulous
analysis, taking into account the entire social milieu in which translators work(ed),
is required. (2014: 5-6)

This is especially the case with translation production in Republican China. The
present thesis takes the Chinese translation of novels by British female writers as a
case for in-depth analysis. These translations were published during the period
between 1927 and 1939 (see Chapter 4): the year 1927 marked the CCP’s military
setback; the year 1939 saw the beginning of the GMD’s military deterioration
(Martin Wibur 1986: 566). Not only does this unique context gives rise to the
vibrancy of literature and translation, in terms of literary and translation productions as well as theoretical discussions, it also conditions the social agents to produce these translations. While it was common for these social agents, i.e. Chinese intellectuals, writer translators and publishers, to be involved with some kind of literary institutions subscribing to their respective political and ideological orientations, the present thesis examines the influence of these social agents on the selected translations. The social, political and historical milieu discussed above shall form the historical setting of this present study.
CHAPTER THREE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the theoretical framework adopted for the present study. The point of departure for such discussion is the ‘cultural turn’ purported in the 1990s as it marks a significant shift of research focus in Translation Studies. The traditional perspective of analysis, especially in literary translation, is mostly the product, i.e. the translated text. The focal point of research taking such an analytical perspective concerns the linguistic assessment of ‘right’ or ‘wrong’, ‘faithful’ or ‘unfaithful’ textual comparison between the source and target texts; however, other aspects related to the translation phenomenon or the functions of cultures and literature are neglected (Lefevere 1992b: 6). Therefore, the ‘cultural turn’ calls for an integrated examination of historical and cultural factors in order to examine such neglected aspects. In response to the ‘cultural turn’, Jacquemond proposes two approaches for Translation Studies scholars to consider; they are:

(a) that the privileged object of translation studies, namely the translated text, cannot be analyzed without a global understanding of the phenomena of linguistic contact and creation as they take place within the linguistic and cultural community to which the text belongs, and (b) consequently, translations cannot be understood merely through a linguistic and/or literary analysis: they must be analyzed in relation to their social and historical context. (1996: 93)

This call for change leads to a ‘shift of paradigm’ (Snell-Hornby 2006) and an expanded research horizon and methodologies in Translation Studies. The analysis of
historical and cultural factors involved in translation production leads to the focused
discussions that explore translators who are traditionally perceived as mediators
merely responsible for the linguistic transfer on the textual level. The scope of
Translation Studies research is further expanded from translators to the inclusion of
other social agents, such as editors, publishers, institutions, readers and authors who
are involved in the production of translation (Tahir-Gürçağlar 2003), which then
sheds light on the analysis of the power relations of social agents or institutions that
condition translations (Bassnett and Lefevere 1990; Hatim 2001; Gentzler 2002;
Bassnett 2002).

Following this theoretical vein, the ‘power turn’ in Translation Studies explores
the textual and extra-textual constraints that translators face during the manipulative
process of translation (Bassnett 1998: 123) and this is where the emphasis of social
contexts begins to blend into the mix. This perception that translation is a
socially-regulated activity prompted by social agents leads to the ‘social turn’ where
sociology is incorporated into Translation Studies. Since sociology studies analyses
“the structure of social relationships as constituted by social interactions”
(Abercrombie, Hill and Turner 1994: 4), the hybrid of the two academic disciplines
brings forth the sociological perspective to examine the social contexts that condition
the production of translation. The sociological take on translation analysis opens up
new research paths for Translation Studies as it objectifies translation as a form of
knowledge that concerns the individuals and institutions as social determinants
where empirical investigations of the relevant social practices could be applicable
(Inghilleri 2005: 129-130). This leads to a growing interest in adopting Bourdieu’s
concepts of habitus, capital and field as well as Latour’s ANT as frameworks to examine translation (Buzelin 2005; Kung 2009, 2015). In Translation Studies, Bourdieu’s theory of cultural action can be perceived as a theory that synthesizes the institution and its agent, and it can be used to study the relationship between the translation agents and their social environment (Kung 2015: 391) while Latour’s ANT mostly concentrates on the relationships between different actors within the networks (Buzelin 2005).

It is the subject of this chapter to discuss the relevance of Latour’s ANT, adopted as the overall research model for the analysis of translational activities in Republican China. It is the common objective of the identified translation networks, formed by human and nonhuman actors, to further the production or circulation of the artefacts with the networks’ provision of patronage (Lefevere 1992a). This framework is supplemented with Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital (1989) which is used to analyse the construction of an individual translator’s agency within the different translation networks. The case in point is the translation of novels by British female writers between the years 1927 and 1939.

3.2 THE SOCIOLOGICAL ‘TURN’ AND TRANSLATION AGENTS

The sociological ‘turn’ in Translation Studies leads to the introduction of Latour’s ANT, which is adopted as the theoretical framework for this present thesis while such a framework is supplemented with Lefevere’s concepts of patronage and Bourdieu’s concepts of capital which advance the production of translation. The
complimentary nature of Latour’s ANT, Lefevere’s patronage and Bourdieu’s concepts of cultural capital shall be highlighted for discussion from the perspective of its relevance to this study.

The examination of constraints and translators’ interplay with cultural, political and social factors further branch out Translation Studies to the sociological discipline. The shift of emphasis thus delves into the social environment where translation takes place. With the emergence of the ‘social turn’ (Wolf 2006) in Translation Studies, there is a growing interest in the adoption of sociological approaches that examine translation as a social activity where the emphasis is placed on the contexts rather than texts (Holmes 1988: 14). The emphasis on contexts is further elaborated by Chesterman who perceives translation as a social activity which is only made possible with translators becoming the predominant agents conducting the activity. The shift of emphasis thus turns translators into the ‘object’ of examination called “TranslaTOR Studies”, which could be regarded as “a new subfield” or “a new branch” in Translation Studies which focuses specifically on the investigation of “translators and interpreters” (Chesterman 2009: 13). The “sociology of translators”, in Chesterman’s words, is an academic sub-field that:

covers issues as the status of (different kinds of) translators in different cultures, rates of pay, working conditions, role models and the translator’s habitus, professional organizations, accreditation systems, translators’ networks, copyright, and so on. Questions of a different kind under this heading are those relating to gender and sexual orientation, and to power relations, and how these factors affect a translator’s work and attitudes. The sociology of translators also covers the public discourse of translation, i.e. evidence of the public image of the translator’s profession, as seen e.g. in the press, or in literary works in which one of the central
The conclusion Chesterman draws in this article is the proposal of a sociological analytical perspective in Translation Studies, named the “agent model” as it:

covers research which focuses primarily and explicitly on the agents involved in translation, for instance on their activities or attitudes, their interaction with their social and technical environment, or their history and influence. (ibid.: 20)

This shift of focus directs Translation Studies to a new analytical perspective. Not only does it bring the translators under the spotlight of attention, the agents involved in every stage of the translation process are also encompassed in such research. Agents, however, is a term that needs further explanation. As perceived by Sager, agents play “an intermediary position between a translator and an end user of a translation” (Sager 1994: 321). Abstractors, editors, revisers and translators are examples of agents (ibid.: 111). Sager then positions the agent:

at the beginning and the end of the speech act of translation; the previous speech act of writing the document, and the subsequent speech act of a reader receiving the document are both temporally, spatially and casually quite independent.” (ibid.: 140)

The list of agents is further extended by Shuttleworth and Cowie who include publishers and commissions as well as “any other person who assigns a job to a translator” (1997: 7). Milton and Bandia stretch the list of agents even further by including patrons, politicians or companies, magazines, journals or institutions (2009: 1). To Milton and Bandia, agents do not only “help to change cultural and linguistic policies”; they also play an important role in the sense of cultural innovation and
change as agents are often:

individuals who devote great amounts of energy and even their own lives to the cause of a foreign literature, author or literary school, translating, writing articles, teaching and dissemination of knowledge and culture. (ibid.: 1)

A notable research outcome in response to the “sociology of translators” and the “agent model” is the growing interest and awareness in the investigation of the translators’ presence in translational activities. This leads to the surfacing of theoretical approaches that explore the role of agents in translation (Inghilleri 2005: 142). Bourdieu’s theoretical model of capital, habitus and field has recently gained popularity in Translation Studies. The three elements are usually used in trinity to investigate translation in the social context, which is another broadened avenue after the emergence of the ‘social turn’. With the application of Bourdieu’s model of analysis, some Translation Studies scholars focus their examination on the interpretation of the translators’ agency in the translated texts in order to further analyse the social functions of the translation agents (Sela-Sheffy 1997; Simeoni 1998; Wolf 2002, 2007). There are researchers who focus on the reconstruction of translation agents’ personal experiences and socializing histories which play an important role in the constructed social roles of the translation agents (Gouanvic 2005). In all, such Translation Studies research mostly focus on the examination of agents’ roles from the sociological perspective: agents as language or cultural mediators as well as their relations with other agents which could influence translational activities and products.
3.3 FROM AGENTS TO AGENT ASSOCIATIONS: LATOUR’S ACTOR-NETWORK THEORY

While Chesterman’s proposed “TranslaTOR Studies” may have gained much academic currency especially through the application of Bourdieu’s concepts of habitus, field and capital which theorizes the interactive relationship between social agency and structure (Inghilleri 2003; Simeoni 1998; Wolf 1997, 2002), this agent-oriented approach is not without shortcomings. First, the model conceptualized by Chesterman is an overall perspective of analysis for which an elaboration on the exhaustive definition of agents and the description of possible approaches for the model is not provided. Also, there is a tendency that scholars’ research overemphasizes an individual translator which leads to a translator-centred model (Foglia 2014: 26). The application of Bourdieu’s concepts, moreover, reveals its limitations as researchers are beginning to realize that this model overemphasizes the individual agents’ histories and actions while it does not pay much attention to the multiple translation agents involved in the production process of translation (Buzelin 2005, 2007). Such weakness becomes overt especially when scholars limit their views on Bourdieu’s concept of habitus as the study of the translator’s biography and life story. An example of such is Torikai (2009) who describes the life stories of five pioneer interpreters and the development of their career as interpreters in a chapter entitled “Habitus” (quoted in Tyulenev 2012: 117-118). This is an example where Bourdieu’s model is reduced to the translators’ life stories only and that the agency is considered from mere individualistic perspective (Buzelin 2005: 215). In addition, translator-centred analysis may pose another problem if the study involves
lesser-known translators whose bio-bibliographical information is not extensive or non-existent. Given the argument that the ‘social turn’ in Translation Studies is to analyse translation as a social activity conducted by translators and agents, the objective of such analysis is to bring translators to the centre of the stage; yet the lesser-known translators cannot be benefited from this model of analysis. To fill in this particular missing link for the lesser-known translators, other agents related to them need to be identified in order to establish a network which helps the reconstruction of such translators’ identities through their socializing histories established within the network. This leads to the use of Latour’s ANT as its emphasis on the actors’ connections within networks could help in bridging the missing links.

ANT is a theoretical model that emerged during the mid-1980s from primarily the work of Bruno Latour, Michel Callon and John Law (Crawford 2005: 1). The original conceptual framework of ANT is to explore the “collective sociotechnical processes” in science and technology studies while ANT suggests that “the work of science is not fundamentally different from other social activities” (ibid.: 1). Latour later refines ANT to a theory, as much as a method, to examine the different actors being linked through a network of contacts and the network produces a project; thus, in ANT, researchers observe how each of the influential factors is connected for the formation of a network which ultimately leads to the production of an artefact (1987). Some of the defining terms are worth further elaboration here. The term actor, or actant:

is any agent, collective or individual, that can associate or disassociate with other agents. Actants enter into networked associations, which in turn define them, name
In essence, these actors or actants, be they humans or nonhumans, associate themselves as a heterogeneous composition with the common objective, i.e. the production of an artefact. The term network, refers to the “processual, built activities performed by actants out of which they are composed” (ibid.: 1). Therefore, Latour’s major concerns lie in the understanding of the “process” rather than the “product” in order to present the dynamic nature of the artefacts (Kung 2015: 392). Latour further clarifies the term himself, that the notion of network is about the established connection between two (or more) elements and that the network is a distinctive association that transcends geographical boundaries (1996: 372). In other words, the definition of network is about connections and relations rather than distance and space. Furthermore, when actors develop themselves as networks, these networks nestle within other diverse networks (Crawford 2005: 1).

The emergence of Latour’s work is originally from the Science and Technology sphere but it finds its relevance with Sociology and later in Translation Studies as well. It has been discussed that when ANT is applied in Translation Studies, it could be about the examination of the “strategies, negotiations, struggles, conflicts – but also alliances – and consequently the modalities and reasons underlying the importation of foreign literature in a given context” (Buzelin 2005: 208-209). Outlined in Buzelin’s article are some of the possible research questions that can be answered with the analytical lens of Latour’s ANT; for instance, “how and by whom (through which channels) is the text to be translated selected? What are the
arguments (and by whom) in this selection process? Who participates in the negotiations over translation rights? How are these participants recruited? How do they interact and negotiate room for manoeuvre?” (*ibid.*: 209). Under the theoretical framework of ANT, translation agents, humans and nonhumans, are referred to as social actors (*ibid.*: 197); the list of such actors could be exhaustive, including translators, editors, publishers, readers, among many others while the artefacts are the translational products, e.g. the successful publication of translated texts or completion of interpreting assignments. The artefacts represent the result of the interrelational interaction of the actors forming the network as the actors need to discuss and negotiate to ensure connections established amongst actors which progressively lead to the production of the artefacts (*ibid.*: 197). In addition, within the actor-network theory, existing human and nonhuman actors do not only prompt the objective of artefact production, they also invite other new and influential actors into the network (Jones 2009). The influence or the power of the network actors can only be in effect if their relationships with other actors are established; in order words, these actors’ influences shall no longer retain within the networks once the connection is lost (Latour 1996: 372).

There is growing popularity in the application of ANT in Translation Studies in at least two complementary ways. From the holistic perspective, ANT can be used in conjunction with other post-structuralist theories where translation is used as a metaphor to explain displacement, hybridity and creativity; an example of viewpoints from the same vein is Pym’s attempt to draw possible connections between ANT and the theory of the ‘third space’ proposed by Homi K. Bhabba (Buzelin 2013: 188).
From the empirical perspective, however, ANT opens up avenues for conceptual and methodological analysis of translation process “starting with but not limited to interlingual and intersemiotic translation process” (ibid.: 188); examples of such research include Buzelin (2005), Jones (2009) and Kung (2009, 2015). In principle, the objective of using ANT is to empirically analyse translation and to reveal “the multiple processes of translation (proper or general) involved in the production and circulation of any artefact” (Buzelin 2013: 189). Since the “agent model” has the tendency of delving into the analysis of translators or translation agents from the perspective of a single unit (Tyulenev 2012: 118), the strength of Latour’s ANT lies in the examination of an agency consisting of more than one actor which allows researchers to explore translation as a broader picture of social practice and interaction (Kung 2015: 393). While the ANT was originated from Computer Technologies Studies, it finds it application effective in Translation Studies as well, the terms actors and agents used in this study have similar or identical effects and they are defined as human translators, intellectuals and professionals as well as nonhuman institutions, literary organizations and publishing entities involved in the production of translation.

3.4 LATOUR’S ANT IN LITERARY TRANSLATION IN REPUBLICAN CHINA

Taking Latour’s ANT outlined above as prelude to the following discussion, this section sets forth to explain how ANT can be advantageous for the present thesis, especially when it is complimented with Lefevere’s concept of patronage (1992a) and Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital. The application of such theoretical
framework in Translation Studies is inspired by two articles. The first one is Hélène Buzelin’s “Unexpected Allies: How Latour’s Network Theory Could Complement Bourdieusian Analyses in Translation Studies” (2005), in which the writer explains, with much elaboration, how the supposedly opposing schools of thoughts of Latour (ANT) and Bourdieu (habitus, capital and field) could be complementary when they are applied in Translation Studies research. The insights drawn from the article could help address specifically the research limits of the polysystemic framework in Hermans (1999), which is the lack of focus on the agents. The second one is Szu-wen Kung’s “Bourdieu’s Capital and Latour’s Actor-Network Theory as Conceptual Tools in Translation Research” (2015). In the article, Kung exemplifies her views with the English translation of Taiwanese literature. The artefacts, Taiwanese novels translated into English, are successfully produced and exported through the continuous negotiations of the networks of actors (agents in both the source and target cultures), whose cultural capital also contribute to prompting the process of production. Forming the theoretical backbone of this thesis’s analytical lens is the complimentary nature of Latour’s ANT and Bourdieu’s concepts of capital, as explained and exemplified in the two articles discussed above. The present study pays particular attention to the Chinese translations of novels by four British female writers published between 1927 and 1939, namely the translations of Elizabeth Gaskell’s Cranford, Jane Austen’s Pride and Prejudice, George Eliot’s Silas Marner, and Charlotte Brontë’s Jane Eyre. It is from the perspective of ANT that the production of these translated novels are examined against the specificities of the 1920s and 1930s of Republican China while Latour’s theoretical model is selected for its strength preliminary noted from the observations of the historical,
sociopolitical and sociocultural milieu of this particular period.

The first advantage of using ANT as the theoretical framework is the intrinsic connections it observes between human and nonhuman actors within translation networks. Extending the list of human actors, especially the translators, who are at the core of the production of the artefacts, there are also the translators’ patrons, mentors and literary associates. These human actors, together with the other agents involved in the production of translation, are termed by Gideon Toury as “agents of change” who are mostly writers and intellectuals responsible for the production of cultural repertoire (Toury 2002:151). These agents are not merely mediators acting between the source and target languages and cultures, they “take on various identities or professions in the social life of a given culture, and ... carry out intermediary roles in translation-related practices, emerging as individuals with multi-functions” (Demircioğlu 2009: 133). Moreover, there are nonhuman actors, including literary or political institutions, publishing companies and so on which also play crucial roles in enabling the production and circulation of translation. The literary landscape of China during the 1920s and 1930s was divided into various literary flanks whose literary and ideological orientations were represented under the flags of the different literary societies or organizations, e.g. the League, the Crescent Moon Society, the Unnamed Society [未名社 Weiming she] and many others. Many of these literary groups or institutions were formed during the 1920s and 1930s, and the vibrancy of these literary groups epitomized “one important facet of the production of literature in Republican China (1911-1949)” (Denton and Hockx 2008: 3). As most of the translators or agents were members of or somehow connected to certain literary
groups, it is not without grounds to make the claim that these human actors were to a certain extent at least, if not entirely, influenced by these nonhuman actors, i.e. the literary groups with different literary beliefs or political standpoints. Thus, the interplay between the human and nonhuman actors denote a translation network where the common objective of these actors is the publication and circulation of literary creations, including translation. What needs to be emphasized here is that some of these Republican literary groups or institutions, e.g. the League and the Crescent Moon may have been studied from the perspective of history or literature, yet their social role as a translation agent lacks theorized examination. With the application of Latour’s ANT, the formation of translation networks based on the intrinsic connections between the human actors (translators or literary mentors) and the nonhuman actors (literary groups or publishers) shall be examined in order to analyse the social roles of these actors which can be influential for the translational activities and production conducted with these networks.

Another advantage of using ANT is the model’s potential to reconstruct the social identities of the lesser-known translators through their socializing histories and connections with the relevant actors. One important element of investigation of this thesis is the role of agents and their cultural capital in translation production during the Republican years. Some of them are more established, well-known intellectuals, Liang Shiqiu for example, whose literary contributions are vast and notable; others are less explored or lesser-known writer translators whose biographical accounts are almost non-existent, such as Dong Zhongchi 董仲篪 (born 1931; year of death unknown) and Zhu Manhua 朱曼華 (n. d.). These translators only exist in
quantitative studies where their names and translations are included in bibliographical materials or publication catalogues. Therefore, the concept of connections amongst actors or translation agents within the translation networks is especially important when it is used to examine the lesser-known translators included in this study because it is through the fabrication of the human and nonhuman actors that the reconstruction of the social identities and ideological orientations of the understudied translators is possible. Latour’s ANT is especially helpful in unearthing the translational contributions of these translators and the individual influence exerted in their translations.

For Latour’s ANT to be used in Translation Studies research, the key concepts embedded in such application are ‘network’ and ‘translation’ (Buzelin 2005: 197). The networks examined in this thesis are formed by actors involved in the process of translation and they are generally termed as translation networks which exist within the broader realm of other networks. These networks may not necessarily exist in concrete or physical form where actors sign official documents to include themselves or others into the networks; instead, human and nonhuman actors develop themselves into translation networks through personal or business connections or affiliations. These networked actors then exercise their ideological or publication constraints in order to see the successful production or circulation of the artefacts. In the context of the present thesis, three types of networks are identified: the leftist network, the humanist network and the independent network. These networks are named according to the literary, political or ideological orientations of the translators as they are the core actors who actually undertake the task of interlinguistic transfer for the
production of novels by British female writers in the Chinese language. The identification and definition of these networks shall be discussed in Chapter 4. The point to emphasis here again is the application of Latour’s ANT in Translation Studies and it mostly about the understanding of the translation “process” rather than the “product” (ibid.: 196). Such translation ‘process’ could be understood in various forms. For instance, the translation ‘process’ in Kung’s examination of English translation of contemporary Taiwanese novels prompted by translation agents and networks refers to the “process of negotiation and tension between actors” (2009: 126). However, within the dimensions of this thesis, the translation ‘process’ suggests the established connections of the human and nonhuman actors which lead to the formation of different translation networks while it is the interaction between the networked actors that influence the translators’ capital which ultimately leads to the production of the translated texts as artefacts.

By mapping these agents against this unique historical period of China, politically segmented by the CCP and the GMD and culturally segmented by different literary schools or institutions subscribing to their respective ideological orientations, Latour’s ANT is helpful in the analysis of translation production. It can help identify the nature of the different translation networks as they play a crucial role in advancing translation production given that the translators’ ideologies and also their translations are constructed under the influence and constraints from the human and nonhuman actors involved within the translation networks. These networks, moreover, are intangible in physical form and spatial existence. They are not ‘officially registered’ social organizations and the scale of these networks could
change when actors, especially the more powerful ones, recruit more actors into the networks or when actors cease their connections with the networks. Therefore, the concept of a ‘network’ is useful in the sense that it helps “concretise the agency of different actors as a ‘team’” (Kung 2015: 393). To sum up, Latour’s ANT is useful in this study because the concept of translation networks enables our understanding, in broad view, the political and ideological constraints in force within the translation networks and the ideological influence from the involved networked actors which ultimately affect the production of the artefacts. Such constraints, noted during the process of translation, can be explained with the concept of patronage (Lefevere 1992a) while the influence from the networked agents can be perceived as crucial elements that help construct the translators’ capital (Bourdieu 1986).

3.4.1 LEFEVERE’S PATRONAGE

Patronage of literary productions in China is not at all an uncommon arrangement, from the institutional patronage of Buddhist sutra translation since the Tang Dynasty (Cheung 2006) to the production of reportage literature in the 1930s (Laughlin 2006). However, there is a lack of research on translation and patronage in China except the translation of the Bible and Christian texts by missionaries under the institutional patronage of the Christian societies (Lai 2006, 2007) and the translation of Buddhist scripts patronized by Chinese emperors and the imperial courts (Cheung 2006). The concept of patronage is especially useful in the understanding of the social role that translation networks play and how actors, especially the translators, are under such influence within the translation networks.
Patronage, as listed in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, means “the action of a patron in using money or influence to advance the interests of a person, cause, art, etc.” (“patronage”), while a “patron” is “a person standing in a role of oversight, protection, or sponsorship to another” or “an advisor, a mentor” or “a person or organization that uses money or influence to advance the interests of a person, cause, art, etc.”. With these definitions serving as the formative ideas of what a patron does and how patronage works in general, I will further investigate the patronage that translation networks provide their actors with while translators as well as the translational products are under such influence. According to Lefevere, patronage is “something like the powers (persons, institutions) that can further or hinder the reading, writing, and rewriting of literature” (1992a: 15). He suggests that the power of patronage could be exerted by individuals or groups of persons or institutions such as religious organizations, political parties, social classes, publishers as well as the media including newspapers, magazines and television companies (*ibid*.: 15).

Patronage has three major components: the ideological, the economic, and the status-based. The ideological component “acts as a constraint on the choice and development of both form and subject matter” (*ibid*.: 16). The economic component refers to the financial benefits that the patrons could secure for translators if they produce translation under their patronage framework (*ibid*.: 16). The status component means that by accepting such patronage, the translators are granted integration or access to “a certain support group and its lifestyle” (*ibid*.: 16).

Lefevere further explains that there are two different forms of patronage: differentiated or undifferentiated (*ibid*.: 17). Undifferentiated patronage refers to a
case when all three components mentioned above are provided by the same patron whereas differentiated patronage means that these three components are offered by three different patrons (ibid.: 17). Lefevere provides an exemplary elaboration to illustrate his point about patronage. He suggests that the key factor behind the classical Chinese literary system’s resistance to change is undifferentiated patronage. In ancient China, producers and readers of literature were dominated by the imperial court and the intellectual elites who imposed their ideological and literary and poetic principles on a small audience (ibid.: 24). This is an effective example to illustrate a case of undifferentiated patronage applied in the study of classical Chinese.

Lefevere’s concept of patronage could offer insights on the patronizing influence that the translation networks cast upon their respective actors. Patronage mostly concerns ideology, which is generally understood as the dominant concept of what society should be, or can be allowed to be (ibid.: 14). It can be seen as a “grillwork of form, convention and belief which orders our actions” (ibid.: 16). Thus, patronage could be viewed as a form of power (Milton and Bandia 2009: 5). The three translation networks identified in this thesis represent exemplary elaborations on their role as a publication platform for their respective actors’ who tried to engage (or disengage) from the literary or political conflicts of China during the 1920s and 1930s. By theorizing the connections between literary institutions and human actors within the translation networks, the artefacts, i.e. the translation of novels by British female writers, produced by the network actors, could be studied as a result of not only the common objective of the networks but also the processual ideological influence from various actors exercised within the networks. The influential and
manipulative powers exercised within the networks of translation can be empirically observed and studied from the perspective of the translators. Such individually-angled examination can reveal the processual ideological impact that the translators have received, which is then transferred to the artefacts. In the following section, I shall explain how the concepts of cultural capital can be applied in this particular context.

3.4.2 BOURDIEU’S CONCEPT OF CAPITAL

Pierre Bourdieu’s theoretical model of habitus, capital and field has proved to be useful in examining the relationship between translation and its social context from a micro point of view. Recently it has been widely adopted for agent-oriented research in Translation Studies; examples of these are works by Simeoni (1995, 1998), Sela-Sheffy (1997) and Inghilleri (2003). The core of such research lies in the critical analysis of the role of translators and interpreters, as well as the cultural agents involved in translation, who actively participate “in the production and reproduction of textual and discursive practices” (Inghilleri 2005: 126). Bourdieu’s conceptual framework focuses on the explanation and analysis of translation practice by relating it to the translators’ social positions and their trajectories on an individual basis (Buzelin 2005: 194). In the present study, the concepts of cultural capital is singled out to examine the actors’ impact on the production of translation with specific attention paid to the individual actor’s power and influence exercised during translation, which is a result of the patronizing influence prescribed by their respective translation networks.
Presented by Bourdieu are four fundamental forms of capital: economic capital, social capital, cultural capital and symbolic capital. In Bourdieu’s words:

[E]conomic capital … is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; … cultural capital … is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of education qualifications, and … social capital [is] made up of social obligations (‘connections’), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility. (Bourdieu 1986, quoted in Halsley, Brown, Lauder and Wells 1997: 47)

While symbolic capital is “the power granted to those who have obtained sufficient recognition to be in a position to impose recognition” (Bourdieu 1989: 23), these quotations present a brief definition of the four forms of capital coined by Bourdieu and they are worth elaborative definition here so that their relevance with Translation Studies can be identified.

Economic capital is related to the conventional understanding of monetary power. It can be viewed as money, goods, commodities and various types of material assets which are resources that can be incorporated into the “circuits of production” in order to generate more money (Smart 1993: 391). The other three types of capital are more ‘immaterial’ or ‘non-economic’ in nature. Symbolic capital has stronger interconnected ties with economic capital because it is “perhaps the most valuable form of accumulation in a society” which encompasses the “prestige and renown attached to a family and a name” (Bourdieu 1977: 179). In short, symbolic capital can be perceived as the social agent’s prestige or social honour which could be
converted to economic capital (Smart 1993: 392). Social capital is the actual or potential resources which are “linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group” (Bourdieu 1986, quoted in Halsley, Brown, Lauder and Wells 1997: 51). Thus, social capital refers to the social agent’s valued relations with a specific network of important individuals and institutions, which could be viewed as a strategic investment aimed at social relationships that are usable in short or long term (ibid.: 52). Cultural capital is accumulative and can be acquired through self-improvement which may involve investments such as time, education and sacrifice (ibid.: 48). It is more relevant to the social agent’s knowledge and ability developed from his or her educational background or professional position which are used “to generate privilege, products, income, or wealth” (Smart 1993: 392).

The highlight of Bourdieu’s concepts of cultural capital is the actors’ “power or anything that can be used to influence the behaviours of others or to aid in achieving desired goals” (Smart 1993: 390). In context of the present study, cultural capital is of high relevance when it is used to examine the influence or impact that the actors of social agents, especially translators, have on the translational products, i.e. the artefacts. Such reconstruction of agents’ social experience with Bourdieu’s concepts of cultural capital, therefore, is the key to understand the socially conditioned perception of the translation agents, which subsequently affects their mediation of the translated texts (Gouvanvic 2005; Pym 1998). The strength of the concepts of cultural capital for this thesis lies in the analytical perspective it provides as it
examines and explains the translators’ attempt to influence the readers through their ideological imprints left in the translations while the translators’ ideological orientations are constructed under the influence of the actors or agents within their respective translation networks. In all, it is through the understanding of the alliance or collaborations in the form of literary or political affiliations between the networked actors of Republican China that allows us to realize how one form of literature is imported and disseminated over another (Milton and Bandia 2009: 10).

3.5 CONCLUSION

During the 1920s and 1930s what China witnessed was an era of turmoil: the country being divided by the two political powers, continuous military aggression from Japan, the founding of numerous literary groups or institutions and the height of literary and translation publication. The successful publications of translated texts represents the ultimate result of the collective effort of networked actors while the actors, especially the translators, would assert their respective ideological orientations through their literary or translational products with the intention to influence their readers. For the present study, it is this unique fabrication of human actions as “webs of mutual dependency” (Bauman 1990: 7), i.e. the complicated translational activities of Republican China that are of relevance of sociology studies.

This chapter presents the theoretical framework adopted for this thesis. The theoretical foundation of the present thesis is Latour’s ANT, complemented with Lefevere’s concept of patronage and Bourdieu’s concepts of cultural capital. Given
the discernment that translation is the result of a meaningful social action conducted by the social agents, suggesting that it is bound up with social contexts (Wolf 2002: 34) when mapped against the sociopolitical and sociocultural context of Republican China, translation represents “a meaningful social action” which plays a significant role in the construction of the literary and social history of the country. These translation networks are composed of human and nonhuman actors whose common objective is the publication or circulation of the translational products known as artefacts. An individual translator (a human actor) could then be perceived as a single unit or component within a translation network while this particular unit is intrinsically connected with the other actors within the network. Not only are these actors mutually influenced within the networks, they are also influenced by the sociopolitical and sociocultural environment of Republican China as they existed within the broader context of other networks.

Within the research framework of this thesis, instead of the opposing nature generally noted in Latour and Bourdieu, they are reconciled as a distinctive tool to be used to examine the actors who have effectively produced the translated texts in point. The strength of Latour’s ANT lies in the understanding of the relationships between actors as they are ideologically influenced and constrained by the other involved actors within the networks; while Bourdieu’s concepts of cultural capital will be adopted to understand the translators’ ideology. Therefore, when these two approaches are combined, they offer new analytical dimensions which present a more complete picture of the production of translation within the translation networks as the concern is not only the individual translators’ influence exerted in translation but
also their connections with the other human and nonhuman actors which could be influential in the production of the artefacts. Through the examination of translation production effectively conducted within such networks, our understanding of how artefacts are produced, manipulated and transformed can be advanced (Buzelin 2005: 196).
CHAPTER FOUR  DATA AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

One of the major reasons that results in the paradigm shift generally known as the ‘social turn’ in Translation Studies is the subject’s interdisplinary nature. From comparative textual analysis of the source and translated texts, researchers’ focus is brought to a new light where the social, cultural and political contexts that produce translational activities are examined. Translation is thus perceived as a “socially regulated activity” (Hermans 1997: 10) and that “the viability of a translation is established by its relationship to the cultural and social conditions under which it is produced and read” (Venuti 1995: 18). By highlighting the sociological qualities in Translation Studies, the discipline’s potential is broadened to investigate real-life translational activities and products with the use of case studies which has recently become popular amongst many students, especially at the level of postgraduate studies as students do almost nothing except ‘case studies’ (Susam-Sarajeva 2009: 37). Taking the emergence of Chinese translations of novels by British female writers in the 1920s and 1930s as a significant translational phenomenon for in depth examination, this chapter presents a detailed discussion of the research methodology adopted for the present study in regards to its relevance as a case study research in Translation Studies as well as the process of data collection for further analysis.

The methodological design of this thesis, which is in principle a case study, is constructed with reference to the widespread use of case study methods in social sciences. Case studies are traditionally used in evaluative situations to document and
analyse process implementations while they can also be used to document and analyse the outcomes of interventions (Yin 2012: xix). The major purpose of case studies research is to emphasize the study of a phenomenon within its real-world context in order to address a descriptive question, “What is happening or has happened?” as well as an explanatory question, “How or why did something happen?” (ibid.: 5). The ultimate goal of case studies research is to make analytic generalizations with the data collected (ibid.: 18).

These guidelines regarding case studies design and objectives employed in social sciences are also incorporated into Translation Studies. The use of case studies in Translation Studies, initially suggested by Pym (2006), involves merely conceptual steps. First, a case study needs to collect both “observational and explanatory factors” in order to establish a valid case; second, it has to prioritize the “the more asymmetric correlations” as these correlations are likely to explain certain translational phenomenon; and finally, it has to offer concluding remarks of the study and these remarks should “add something to our knowledge of the way translators act in the world” (Pym 2006: 13).

These conceptual steps are further refined by Susam-Sarajeva (2009) who emphasizes the characteristics and requirements that need to be present in a “good” case study. For example, a case study is only complete when it is conducted within the defined “time and space boundaries” and that the relevant and critical evidence need to be presented in order to explain the case (Susam-Sarajeva 2009: 54). This thesis thus sets forth to explore the descriptive question “Who translated these
novels?” and the explanatory questions “Why were they translated?” The answers to these questions shall provide a descriptive and explanatory narrative that broadens our existing understanding of the translation history of China during the late 1920s and 1930s. In the following sections of this chapter, I shall first explain the reasons for the significance of translated novels by female writers. Then a detailed description of data collected from multiple sources for this study, including the selection of textual and paratextual materials will be described. The chapter will also provide a brief description of the three translation networks identified for in depth discussion and analysis in chapters five to seven.

4.2 DEFINING A CASE: WOMEN AND WRITING IN REPUBLICAN CHINA

The large scale importation of female novels during Republican China is a translation phenomenon worth detailed examination especially when the following three major and overlapping contexts are taken into account. First, the late 1920s and early 1930s marked a period of growing interest in the promotion of what is generally termed as women’s culture 婦女文化 [funü wenhua] (Dooling 2005: 19). The opening of the Women’s Bookstore 女子書店 [Nüzi shudian] in the early 1930s in Shanghai, the launch of Women’s Monthly 女子月刊 [Nüzi yuekan] as well as other weekly and monthly journals edited by women and devoted to the advocacy of feminist goals and women’s writing, the increasing popularity of literature written by Chinese women writers such as Feng Yuanjun 馮沅君 (1900-1974) and Lu Yin 盧隱 (1898-1934), are all examples to illustrate such growing interest in the promotion and construction of women’s culture (ibid.: 19).
Second, such vibrant literary and publication activities undertaken by women and about women could be interpreted as elements that strengthened a new concept recently introduced to the Chinese: the association of women and writing. Before the fall of the Qing Dynasty, there were only a handful of well-known female poets in the history of Chinese literature. Women were excluded from the public sphere as well as the writing of literature, especially classical Chinese literature, which was considered an activity “closely related to the power structure of the Confucian state” (Anderson and Munford 1985: xiii). However, as the literary and political significance of vernacular fiction began to grow since the turn of the century and the women’s liberation movement continued to ferment, educated women in China began to take up writing as their career. As a newly-emerged class of intellectuals, Chinese women, especially women writers, did not simply consider writing as a channel to articulate their suppressed voice and to formulate a feminist discourse; they also wanted to be admitted into the literary circles from which they were previously excluded.

Third, the two major political camps, i.e. the CCP and the GMD had adopted antagonistic perspectives on the social roles and policies for women. For the GMD, the 1927 marked the beginning of a decade of conservatism and White Terror during which intellectual and artistic voices were suppressed (Edwards 2000: 119). Such literary suppression was coupled with the Nationalists New Life Campaign where Chinese women were encouraged to perform conventional domestic duties. The CCP, on the other hand, advocated male and female ‘equality’. The CCP’s perception of
male-female ‘equality’ involved women’s de-gendered physical transformation as well as their engagement in manual labour tasks; however, it was not the Communists’ goal to stifle literary and publishing activities, including feminist publishing activities (Dooling 2000: 19).

The brief historical context outlined above, when examined against the sociocultural and sociopolitical milieu of China during the late 1920s and 1930s (2.2.1 and 2.2.2), highlights the significance of the influx of translated novels by female writers in China during the Republican years. With the growing awareness in the Chinese intellectuals’ pursuit of ‘translation quality’ as well as their different political viewpoints and ideological orientations, I argue that the examination of such novels, their translation and publication being conducted and prompted by various translation agents, shall form a unique analytical perspective to develop a more comprehensive understanding of translational activities in Republican China.

4.3 TRIANGULATION OF DATA

It is crucial to consult a variety of sources in order to collect sufficient case study data before any analytical generalizations could be made. There are two types of data in social sciences research: qualitative and quantitative. Qualitative data is made up of non-numeric data presented in narrative form while quantitative data comprises mostly numeric data (Yin 2012: 11). For the present thesis, the quantitative data collected involves mainly textual materials and their publication information while the qualitative data used includes paratextual and extratextual
materials. The collection and definition of these materials, both qualitative and quantitive in nature, and how they are employed in this research will be explained in the following sections.

4.3.1 QUANTITATIVE DATA: SOURCE TEXTS AND TARGET TEXTS

As discussed in 2.2, the 1920s and 1930s of Republican China marked a period of dynamism in literature and translation and this is evidenced by the quantitative survey on the number of published works on literature and translation in Republican China (Appendix 1). Such figures observed from this preliminary survey are then crossed-examined with the five bibliographies which include different genres of works published in China so that all of the imported unabridged literary works written by female writers could be identified. They are “The Bibliography of Translated Titles” in *The Compendium of Modern Chinese Literature, 1927-37* 中國新文學大系 1927-37 [Zhongguo xin wenxue daxi 1927-37], *The Compendium of Modern Chinese Literature, 1937-49* 中國新文學大系 1937-1949 [Zhongguo xin wenxue daxi 1937-49], the *Publication Catalogue of the Republican Era, 1911-1949*. Foreign Literature 民國時期總書目 1911-1949 外國文學 [Minguo shiqi zongshumu, 1911-1949. Waiguo wenxue], the *Bibliography of Modern Chinese Literature* 中國現代文學總書目 [Zhongguo xiandai wenxue zongshumu] and the *New Edited Catalogue of Fiction Published during the Late Qing and Early Republican Era* 新編增補清末民初小說目錄 [Xinbian zengbu qingwei minchu xiaoshuo mulu] compiled by Teruo Tarumoto 樽本照雄. The first two catalogues present a compilation of titles published in book form and they are classified into
different literary genres. These two catalogues represent an early attempt to scientifically and systematically document all published titles but some of the information included is fragmental and needs further verification. For example, the names of the original authors are not always included which causes great difficulty for researchers to identify what these novels could have been. Moreover, the catalogued details may contain flaws; for example, inserted under the entry of the year 1918 is a novel entitled *Dr. Thorndyke’s Detective Stories* 桑狄克偵探案 [Sangdike de zhentan’an], authored by Jane Austen. When this title is verified with Austen’s literary productions, it is immediately apparent that this title does not correspond to any of the works written by the author. It is, in fact, a novel written by R. Austin Freeman who was a male British writer of detective stories.

Despite such flawed documentation, the two catalogues are important to the composition of a preliminary list of titles of translated novels by female writers published during this period and they are especially useful when such bibliographical information is cross-examined with the other two catalogues published later. The third catalogue is currently the most comprehensive bibliographical inventory that covers all titles published in book form in China between 1911 and 1949. Detailed information is provided, including titles and authors of the source texts, year and place of publication, information regarding successive editions and reprints of the same translation as well as brief notes describing these translations. The entries are chronologically listed and classified into different genres and countries of origin. The fourth catalogue specializes in the documentation of literature and translation publications from 1917 to 1949. Divided into five major genres, namely poetry, prose,
novels, drama and translated literature, it is a comprehensive documentation that provides not only the bibliographical and publication information of the titles included but the content list and the cover page of some of the works. The last catalogue focuses on the literary works published between 1840 and 1919, with a total number of approximately 19,000 entries. The five catalogues mentioned above, when used in a complementary fashion, could serve as reliable sources of bibliographical references in the quantitative research for the present thesis.

It is precisely the result of the quantitative survey from the catalogues mentioned above that leads to the core of this thesis, i.e. the examination of British female writers’ novels in China during the Republican years. Based on the statistics from Appendix 1, the total number of translated works published in China from 1911 to 1949 is approximately 4,000. Out of these translated works, 2,426 are novels and were imported from countries including the United Kingdom, France, the United States of America, Russia, Japan, among many others. The list of countries where novels were translated into Chinese is summarised in the table below.
Table 1: Top ten countries where novels were translated into Chinese and the number of titles translated between 1911 and 1949.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>No. of titles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The United Kingdom</td>
<td>413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. France</td>
<td>374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The United States of America</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Russia</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Japan</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Germany</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Poland</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Italy</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Spain</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Hungary</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Others</td>
<td>741</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,426</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Out of the 411 British novels translated into Chinese during the entire Republican period, a total of 33 novels were written by female writers. A chronological list of the translated novels by female writers published in China from 1911 to 1949 is presented in Table 2.

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Table 2: Unabridged Chinese translations of English novels by female writers between 1911 and 1949.\(^5\) Some of these titles are catalogued in Chinese only. Their original titles in English cannot be traced.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title of novel</th>
<th>Year of publication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yonge, C. M.</td>
<td><em>The Dove in the Eagle’s Nest</em></td>
<td>1916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood, Henry</td>
<td><em>Park Water</em></td>
<td>1917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood, Henry</td>
<td>聖妮小傳</td>
<td>1917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood, Henry</td>
<td>續聖妮小傳</td>
<td>1917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood, Henry</td>
<td>再續聖妮小傳</td>
<td>1917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood, Henry</td>
<td><em>Trevlyn Hold</em> (孤露佳人)</td>
<td>1918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood, Henry</td>
<td>孤露佳人續編</td>
<td>1918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barclay, F. L.</td>
<td><em>The Rosary I</em></td>
<td>1918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood, Henry</td>
<td><em>The Channings</em> (模範家庭)</td>
<td>1919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood, Henry</td>
<td>模範家庭續編</td>
<td>1919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barclay, F. L.</td>
<td><em>The Rosary II</em></td>
<td>1919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yonge, C. M.</td>
<td><em>The Lances of Lynwood</em></td>
<td>1920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mansfield, Katherine</td>
<td>曼殊斐兒</td>
<td>1924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaskell, Elizabeth</td>
<td><em>Cranford</em></td>
<td>1927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mansfield, Katherine</td>
<td>曼殊斐兒小說集</td>
<td>1927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porter, G. S. (A)</td>
<td><em>Laddie</em></td>
<td>1928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaskell, Elizabeth</td>
<td><em>Cousin Phillis</em></td>
<td>1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brontë, Emily</td>
<td><em>Wuthering Heights</em></td>
<td>1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brontë, Charlotte</td>
<td><em>Villette</em></td>
<td>1932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eliot, George</td>
<td><em>Ramola</em></td>
<td>1932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eliot, George</td>
<td><em>Silas Marner</em></td>
<td>1932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austen, Jane</td>
<td><em>Pride and Prejudice</em></td>
<td>1935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austen, Jane</td>
<td><em>Pride and Prejudice</em></td>
<td>1935*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brontë, Charlotte</td>
<td><em>Jane Eyre</em></td>
<td>1935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woolf, Virginia</td>
<td><em>Flush</em></td>
<td>1935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brontë, Charlotte</td>
<td><em>Jane Eyre</em></td>
<td>1936*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montgomery, L. M.</td>
<td><em>Anne of the Green Gables</em></td>
<td>1937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaskell, Elizabeth</td>
<td><em>Cranford</em></td>
<td>1937*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eliot, George</td>
<td><em>Silas Marner</em></td>
<td>1939*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eliot, George</td>
<td><em>The Mill on the Floss</em></td>
<td>1939</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^5\) This list is compiled based on same sources described in Table 1.
The number projected above, a total of 33 titles, may not be regarded as a significant segment when compared with the overall statistics of translated works imported into China during the Republican years. However, such translations actually represent a significant organic composition of the translation kaleidoscope of Republican China when they are collectively examined in the context of the emergence of Chinese women writers during this particular era.

The early twentieth century marked not only the fermentation of educated Chinese women taking up writing as their career but also the integration of women writers into the literary tradition. This can be exemplified by the publication of two extensive compilations about Chinese female writers, namely History of Qing Dynasty Women’s Literature [Qingdai funu wenxue shi] (1925) by Liang Yizhen 梁乙真 (1899-1950) and Historical Discussion of Chinese Women’s Literature 中國女性文學史話 [Zhongguo nuxing wenxue shihua] (1930) by Tan Zhengbi 譚正璧 (1901-1991). The publication of these two books represented literary historians’ attempts to establish and affirm women’s role as writers (Widmer 2001: 205-212). Apart from the fact that writing could be a source of financial
income, Chinese women writers considered writing as a channel to articulate their suppressed voice. Modern women writers of the 1920s made their “interior experience” as the predominant subject matter of their writing and formulated a feminist discourse (Wang 2003: 11). These female writers mainly engaged in the writing of fiction in the form of diaries and autobiographies and this particular trend was described by Leo Ou-fan Lee as “autobiographical mania” of both Chinese writers and readers (1973: 285). One of the foremost and representative examples is *Miss Sophie’s Diary* 莎菲女士的日記 (*Shafei nushi de riji*) by Ding Ling 丁玲 (1904-1986). First serialised in 1927, the novel describes an unhappy young woman who is confused with romantic feelings and sexual desire. Many of these biographical works and fiction written by Chinese female authors are narrated from the first person’s perspective to articulate their rebellious spirits against the various forms of oppressions imposed from conventional institutions and hierarchial family and social relationships (Wang 2003: 12).

Given the general perception that translation could serve as a source of literary inspiration for Chinese writers, as it is the case for science fiction with the translation of *Le Tour du Monde en Quatre Vingts Jours* (1872) in 1900 by Jules Verne (1828-1905) (Li 2004: 189-199), or female writer Xie Bingying 謝冰莹 (1906-2000) who was also inspired by Isadora Duncan (1877-1927) and Agnes Smedley (1892-1950) for her composition of *Autobiography of a Female Soldier* 一個女兵的自傳 [*Yige nubing de zizhuan*] (1936) (Xie 1936: 4); it would not be an overstatement to claim that the influx of British female writers’ novels in China during the 1920s and 1930s is a phenomenon worth further examination.
In addition, this publication trajectory of the translation of the British female writers’ novels reveals another very important pattern which coincides not only with the vibrancy in literary production and publication but also the Chinese intellectuals’ general perception regarding their pursuit of ‘quality’ in literary translation in China during the 1920s and 1930s. Out of the 33 unabridged novels by female writers translated into the Chinese language between 1916 and 1949, the 12 titles published before 1920 consist of works written by three writers only, they are Mrs. Henry Wood, Charlotte Mary Yonge and Florence Barclay. In English literature, Mrs. Henry Wood is best known for her best-selling sensational novels (Pedlar 2001: 50) while Florence Barclay and Charlotte Mary Yonge are noted for their prolific output in popular Evangelical novels (Hammond 2006: 2; 2010: 46). The list of titles reveals a new pattern after the year 1920 as the majority of the authors represent the more ‘well-known’ authors generally considered as part of the canon. The term ‘canon’, however, is not easy to define because there is no authoritative rule regarding the inclusion or exclusion of works into the canon; as such the concept can be fluid. The reception of a writer and his or her works could change over time due to various reasons, such as literary flavour, perspectives, focus and so on.

As listed in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the term canon refers to “a body of literary works traditionally regarded as the most important, significant, and worthy of study; those works of especially Western literature considered to be established as being of the highest quality and most enduring value; the classics (now frequently in the canon)”. To scholar George Landow, canon is the reflection of “aesthetic quality”
as he defines canonical works of art and literature as artistic creations that not only
guarantee high aesthetic quality but also serve as a promise or contract for viewers
that they are to be enjoyed as aesthetic objects (Landow 2006: 294). Terry Eagleton,
however, relates the concept of literary canon to its literary value as he describes:

> the so-called ‘literary canon’, the unquestioned ‘great tradition’ of the ‘national
> literature’, has to be recognized as a construct, fashioned by particular people for
> particular reasons at a certain time. There is no such thing as a literary work or
> tradition which is valuable in itself, regardless of what anyone might have said or
> come to say about it. ‘Value’ is a transitive term: it means whatever is valued by
> certain people in specific situations, according to particular criteria and in the light
> of given purposes. (Eagleton 2008: 10)

While the definition of a ‘canon’ remains ambiguous, British writer Virginia Woolf
(1882-1941) identifies five greatest British female writers of the nineteenth century.
In her work, *A Room of One’s Own* (1929), Woolf shortlists Jane Austen, the Brontë
sisters (Charlotte Brontë and Emily Brontë), George Eliot and Elizabeth Gaskell as
nineteenth century female representatives of the canon (Woolf 2001: 5, 70). The
reason for Woolf’s selection has a biological dimension, as she notices childlessness
as the common trait among these female novelists; none of them had any children
and Woolf regards this as a biological tradeoff – children in exchange for writing –
which is the major reason why these female writers had the time and space to
produce literary works of enduring quality (*ibid.*: 74).

Since it is not the concern of this thesis to debate the question “What is a
literary canon?”, I shall employ Virginia Woolf’s proposed list as the preliminary
guidelines that frame the selection of source texts for further investigation for the
present thesis. From the year 1927 to 1940, the following table presents a list of novels written by the five shortlisted female writers published in China.

Table 3: A list of unabridged novels written by the five female canonical writers published in China between 1927 and 1939.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title of novel</th>
<th>Year of publication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gaskell, Elizabeth</td>
<td><em>Cranford</em></td>
<td>1927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaskell, Elizabeth</td>
<td><em>Cousin Phillis</em></td>
<td>1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brontë, Emily</td>
<td><em>Wuthering Heights</em></td>
<td>1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brontë, Charlotte</td>
<td><em>Villette</em></td>
<td>1932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eliot, George</td>
<td><em>Ramola</em></td>
<td>1932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eliot, George</td>
<td><em>Silas Marner</em></td>
<td>1932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austen, Jane</td>
<td><em>Pride and Prejudice</em></td>
<td>1935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austen, Jane</td>
<td><em>Pride and Prejudice</em></td>
<td>1935*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brontë, Charlotte</td>
<td><em>Jane Eyre</em></td>
<td>1935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brontë, Charlotte</td>
<td><em>Jane Eyre</em></td>
<td>1936*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaskell, Elizabeth</td>
<td><em>Cranford</em></td>
<td>1937*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eliot, George</td>
<td><em>Silas Marner</em></td>
<td>1939*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eliot, George</td>
<td><em>The Mill on the Floss</em></td>
<td>1939</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* New translation

Out of the 9 novels written by the five shortlisted authors, the four novels selected for detailed examination in this thesis are: *Cranford, Silas Marner, Pride and Prejudice* and *Jane Eyre*, as compiled in the table as follows.
Table 4: A list of the unabridged translations and their publication information of the four selected novels written by the female canonic writers published in China between 1927 and 1939.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Translation Title</th>
<th>Translators</th>
<th>Publishing House</th>
<th>Publication Year</th>
<th>Number of Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Austen, Jane</td>
<td><em>Pride and Prejudice</em></td>
<td>嘆傲與偏見 <em>Jiao’ao yu pianjian</em></td>
<td>Dong Zhongchi</td>
<td>Daxue chubanshe</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Gaskell, Elizabeth</td>
<td><em>Cranford</em></td>
<td>克蘭弗 <em>Kelanfu</em></td>
<td>Wu Guangjian</td>
<td>Commercial Press</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These four novels are selected for their significance, which is reflected through their translation and retranslation within a short span of ten years. Forming the
corpus for this thesis are the first editions of these eight translated works, which will be used as the basis to examine the retranslation phenomenon noted from these translations. The selection of these texts suggests not only their significance but also a strong relevance to what Pym calls “active retranslations” (1998: 83).

In Pym’s *Method in Translation History*, he identifies two types of retranslations: passive and active (ibid.: 82-83). These two types of retranslations should be analysed from different perspectives. Passive retranslations, according to Pym, are periodic retranslations of texts like the Bible. The retranslations of a particular source text appear over a wide expanse of time or geography and the appearances of these retranslations may respond to “long-term processes of linguistic or cultural change in the target community” (ibid.: 82). Therefore, it is very possible that there is little active rivalry between or disturbing influences on these passive translations. It is likely that a comparative analysis of two or more passive retranslations would focus on the historical and language changes in the target culture (ibid.: 83). However, active translations are “retranslations sharing virtually the same cultural location or generation” and they must suggest various possible causes of different translations of the same source texts in the same period (ibid.: 82-83). A comparative analysis of active retranslations aims at identifying causes closely related to the translators or other translation-related agents such as patrons, publishers, readers and intercultural politics (ibid.: 83). Therefore, if active retranslations are positioned into the historical circumstances of the target culture, such studies could be seen as exemplary works that “yield insights into the nature and workings of translation itself” (ibid.: 83).
For the present thesis, the first edition of the eight translated works are used for a comparative study of these active retranslations by the four canonical British female writers. Since the present study is not a product-oriented research, a detailed comparison of the selected translations at the micro-textual level will not be undertaken; instead the macro-textual level of examination proposed by Farzaneh Farahzad will be employed (2009). Farahzad’s procedures of the macro-textual analysis include the consideration of elements such as comments, judgments and notes of translators, editors and publishers, illustrations or graphic design of the book cover and the like (2009: 42-47). With Farahzad’s suggested considerations as guidelines, significant textual differences from a macro view can be easily noted when the selected translations and retranslations are examined in juxtaposition. An important outcome of such an analytical examination is that it could reveal the translators’ motivations and their political or literary orientations. In addition, it can shed light on the impact that the involved agents, both humans and nonhumans, may have had on the translations when they prompted such translational activities.

4.3.2 QUALITATIVE DATA: PARATEXTUAL AND EXTRATEXTUAL MATERIALS

The qualitative data collected for the present thesis include mainly paratextual and extratextual materials. The definitions of paratexts and extratexts are built on the concepts originally proposed by Genette:
the paratext is for us the means by which a text makes a book of itself and proposes itself as such to its readers, and more generally to the public … The paratext thus is empirically composed of an assorted set of practices and discourses of all sorts and of all ages … The order of this survey will be … exterior presentation of a book, name of the author, title, and what follows as it meets the eye of a docile reader. (1999: 261-262)

An inventory of the included items in the category of paratext can further elaborate such descriptions. As Pellatt explains that paratext comes in two forms: verbal and non-verbal. The verbal form of paratext refers to:

- the footnote or endnote, the preface and foreword, the introduction and the epilogue or afterword. Less visible, but equally powerful types of paratext are the contents pages, the index, titles and subtitles, chapter synopses, and blurb on dust jacket and flap. In addition to these verbal paratexts, most publications contain a degree of non-verbal paratext, which may be in the form of illustrations, including photos, tables, charts and diagrams, dust jacket design and also the scarcely visible, but highly influential visual presentation, including fonts, paragraphing and layout. (Pellatt 2013: 2)

This quotation is important as it sums up most of the paratextual items noted in a published text. In addition, under the umbrella of paratext, Genette further identifies two distinctive components, namely peritext and epitext. Peritext refers to the materials that:

- situate in relationship to that of the text itself: around the text, in the space of the same volume, like the title or the preface, and sometimes inserted into the interstices of the text, like the titles of chapters or certain notes. (1999: 263)

Peritextual items, according to Pellatt, play an important role in enriching the
translated texts as prefaces and introductions are frequently used to provide explanation and justification (Pellatt 2013: 2-3). The introduction or preface of translated works are important as they substantially shape readers’ reception of the translation (ibid.: 3)

Epitext, however, refers to the provision of channels for readers to further know the book. Examples of epitexts, as suggested by Genette, include interviews or conversations with the media as well as private communication in the form of correspondences or private journals (1999: 264). Epitexts can involve non-verbal elements as well. As Pellatt notes that the significance of a book’s dust jacket as readers could be subjected to the manipulation of the layout while publishers could provide illustrations to enhance the verbal message of the actual text (2013: 3). Linking these concepts to translation, the peritextual materials could be perceived as the ways that a translation is ‘presented’ to the readers while epitextual materials could be interviews with, correspondences and diary entries written by the translators.

Moreover, extratextual materials are verbal or non-verbal materials about the texts or the translators or any other agents involved in the translational activities. Toury defines extratextual materials as:

semi-theoretical or critical formulations, such as prescriptive ‘theories’ of translation, statements made by translators, editors, publishers, and other persons involved in or connected with the activity, critical appraisals of individual translations, or the activity of a translator or ‘school’ of translators, and so forth. (1995: 65)
Hence, the examination of paratextual and extratextual materials of translated literature could broaden our understanding of their “cultural significance and political, ideological and commercial power” (Pellite 2013: 1). In the case of translated works, paratexts represent an important factor in the decision-making process of agents such as translators, editors and publishers (ibid.: 1). This claim is also echoed by Koster who suggests that translatorial presence could be noted through not only the translated texts but also the paratexts:

There is … a middle ground between the extratextual and textual presence of the translator, which might be coined the paratextual presence of the translator … the empirical translator may choose to make her presence paratextually manifest in different ways. Paratextual presence may range from the inconspicuous mention of the translator’s name … to adding of footnotes … Paratextual presence [of the translator] has to be considered as a contextual feature, rather than a textual feature. (2002: 33-4)

For the present thesis, a detailed comparative scrutiny of not only the paratextual but also extratextual materials derived from the selected translations and active retranslations can help construct not only the translators’ cultural capital, which enables the categorization of the translators, but also the agentive input of the different networked agents engaged in the prompting of translational productions in China during the Republican years.

4.4 TRANSLATION NETWORKS

With the collection of the paratextual and extratextual data discussed above, the
biographical information of the translators will be employed to determine the three translation networks elaborated in this thesis. The three networks are: the leftist network, the humanist network and the independent network. Since the seven translators were the core agents responsible for the linguistic transfer of the novels by canonical British female writers of the 19th century, the political or ideological orientations they subscribed to or gravitated towards during the time when the selected translated works were produced and published will be used to classify the translators into the three translation networks examined in this thesis. The other paratextual and extratextual data will be used to identify and classify the other agents, humans and nonhumans, who had exerted their effort in the prompting of the selected translated works in the form of a network.

However, it is crucial to emphasize at this stage that the translation networks included in this thesis do not exist independently in their respective enclosed domains. The concept of networks simply serves as a reasonable option to analyze translational activities and productions in Republican China in a collective endeavour. While it is convenient to establish connections amongst human and nonhuman actors from the perspective of their associations with literary groups and societies, such associations should not be interpreted as unrelated units or entities in separate contexts. In fact, the actors and agents, both human and nonhuman, in these networks represent heterogeneous efforts that prompted literary production in an interactive fashion during the Republican years. Moreover, the networks discussed in this thesis also represent a more comprehensive perspective to understand not only the personal ties or relationships amongst the human actors but also their connections with the
publishing industry. A brief description of the three networks is provided below.

4.4.1 THE LEFTIST NETWORK

The two translators included in the leftist network are Yang Bin (1905-1957) and Li Jiye (1904-1997). Of all these literary organizations founded during the Republican era, the League “was probably the largest in membership, the best organized, and certainly the most politically committed” (Wong 2008: 313). This point was also noted by prolific members of the League such as Mao Dun and Zhou Yang. Mao Dun, a well-established leftist writer, described from his own experience that the League was more like a political party (Mao 1984: 309); while Zhou Yang, one of the core members of the League, remarked in a personal memoir that instead of engaging its members in various political activities, the League could have made more contributions in literature which was supposedly the reason why the League was originally founded (Wu and Xiao 1998: 253).

A point to note here is that the launch of the League represented an intertwined alliance between literature and politics. In order to dominate the literary scene of China, the Communists adopted two strategic moves. Their paramount task was to popularize literature and seek control over the general masses in the villages and cities by propagating revolutionary literature, especially works about socialism or works written by Russian authors such as Trotsky (C. T. Hsia 1999: 119-120). Moreover, they promoted “a kind of literature that was not for leisure reading or enjoyment, but one that would help agitate and organize the masses” (Wong 2008:
Given the political functions of literature produced by the leftists as well as the two translators’ personal affiliation with the League, the cultural capital of Yang Bin and Li Jiye must have been constructed with the influence of the League’s political and literary orientations. This will be a thematic subject elaborated in Chapter 5. Moreover, the other networked agents’ influence over the translators, in terms of the construction of their cultural capital as well as the production of the novels by British female canonical writers will be discussed.

4.4.2 THE HUMANIST NETWORK

The humanist network comprises three translators, namely Liang Shiqiu, Wu Guangjian and Dong Zhongchi. During the 1930s, when the leftists were seeking dominance over the Chinese literary scene, they were intellectuals who did not share the leftists’ literary or political views. These intellectuals who opposed the use of literature as propaganda formed other literary organizations to uphold their own literary beliefs. Examples of these literary organizations were the Crescent Moon Society and the Critical Review School.

The inauguration of the Crescent Moon Society was marked by the publication of the *Crescent Moon Monthly* in 1928. In this maiden issue, one of the Crescent Moon founders Xu Zhimo wrote an article entitled “The Attitude of the Crescent Moon” 新月的態度 [*Xinyue de taidu*] in 1928 which precisely encapsulates the essence of the Group’s two major principles: health and dignity (quoted in Xu 1969: 279-283). The definitions of these two terms were not provided by the Crescent
Moon members but they argued that it was only through health and dignity that the current literary trends, which they perceived as abnormal and chaotic, could be rectified (Wong 2008: 295). Unlike the literary leftists who saw the use of literature as a tool to propagate political ideals, Crescent Moon members believed that literature including poetry and drama, as a form of art, should remain as a pure form of art (Yu 1927: 194).

The Critical Review School, on the other hand, held the belief that traditional Chinese values should be safeguarded. Members of the Critical Review School took an “[explicit] oppositional stance towards the New Cultural Movement” (Feuerwerker 2008: 149) as their mission was to revive classical Chinese. Some important members of the Critical Review School were Wu Mi and Mei Guangdi.

A preliminary survey of the Crescent Moon and the Critical Review School members’ biographies directs the researcher to their common mentor Irving Babbitt (1865-1933). One common thread identified amongst these members was their educational background. Most of them received a Western education and were inspired by Babbitt and his advocacy of New Humanism. This identified common ground serves as the basis for the categorization of the three translators into the humanist network. Of the three translators, Dong Zhongchi is the least studied. His biographical account is basically non-existent. However, with the use of the relevant paratextual items, the translator’s personal affiliation with the Crescent Moon members can be established. Hence this particular piece of the jigsaw puzzle is discovered with the theoretical application of translation network. The same
theoretical application becomes a useful analytical tool to examine Wu Guangjian’s translation of *Cranford* (1927) and *Jane Eyre* (1935) in a comparative fashion in a number of ways. The Chinese rendition of *Jane Eyre* was translated and published during the years when Wu and the Crescent Moon members formed an attachment. This could be an exemplary case to explain how network actors enroll a new actor into the same translation network for the publication of translation as an artefact. A comparative analysis of the two translated works can be used to examine the different ideological influence that translators received from the networked actors during the process of translation. Chapter 6 discusses how the three translators constructed their capital from their educational experiences but also their personal attachments with the other Chinese intellectuals sharing similar literary and ideological beliefs. These networked agents all played a role in prompting the translation of novels written by canonical British female writers during the Republican years.

4.4.3 THE INDEPENDENT NETWORK

The remaining two translators, Shi Ying (1912-1986) and Zhu Manhua, are categorized into the independent network in this thesis. Unlike most of the other translators covered in this thesis, existing biographical information and research on Shi Ying and Zhu Manhua are rare. One major reason for their remaining under-researched – and this is true of many other translators of similar background – is their independent stance despite their contribution in literature and translation. This is especially the case for Shi Ying because his output in translation and literature is
extensive. Since their biographical information does not reflect that they were personally affiliated with any literary or political organizations, for the present research, these two translators are grouped together as independents who may not have had any agenda to uphold any of the literary or political principles advocated by any of the political or literary organizations of Republican China. In addition, the two translated novels, *Cranford* and *Silas Marner*, were both published by Qiming Bookstore 啟明書店, which was most well-known for its massive publication of textbooks for teenagers during the 1930s. With these primary observations, the thematic subject of Chapter 7 is not to examine the political or literary objectives to be attained through these translated works; instead, it is their educational function prescribed by a nonhuman actor, i.e. Qiming Bookstore, that prompted such publications.

4.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has sketched the methodological steps used to examine the translational activities conducted during a specific historical time span in Republican China. As inspired by the case study research broadly employed in social sciences, this chapter first explains the identification of a case, then the selection of source texts and their target texts, and finally the classification of different translation networks that prompted such translational artefacts. Such descriptions serve to justify the theoretical use of Latour’s ANT to study the translational activities conducted against the sociocultural and sociopolitical milieu of Republican China. With the translations and active retranslations of the four novels, the present thesis analyses
the role of translation agents of a representative selection of target texts. These agents, being classified into three translation networks, form a dynamic analytical view of how translational activities of Republican China were conducted. The structural design and the methodological steps adopted in this thesis, i.e. the selection of the source and target texts as well as the classification of the three translation networks, could be analysed as three independent cases. However, when they are studied in a collective fashion, they can also be viewed as intertwined cases sprouting from this unique Republican era, reflecting a comparative picture of the translational activities conducted by different groups of agents during this special period in China. The design of this thesis, thus, resembles a multiple-case study design frequently used in social science research. In all, the research outcome of this thesis can benefit our understanding of translational activities of Republican China in a holistic view as “the study of a cluster of individual translation acts and processes allows us to draw conclusions about translational activities of a certain period in a certain society (country, nation, etc.)” (Tyulenev 2012: 27).
CHAPTER FIVE  THE LEFTIST NETWORK

5.1 INTRODUCTION: DEFINING THE LEFTIST NETWORK

This chapter explores the patronage provided by the leftist network for the translation of the two canonical British female writers’ novels by the leftist translators during Republican China. The two Chinese translations chosen for detailed discussion are *Jane Eyre* by Li Jiye and *Pride and Prejudice* by Yang Bin. The leftist network is further divided into two sub-networks with the individual translator at the core since they are the translating agents undertaking the linguistic transfer of the translational activities under study. Through the examination of the textual, paratextual and extratextual materials related to the translations as well as the translation agents contextualized with the sociopolitical and sociocultural backdrop of China during the 1930s, the research findings of this particular chapter shall come in twofold: the construction of the two leftist translators’ cultural capital enabled by the actors of the translation network. These human and nonhuman actors include the translators’ mentors and the literary or political organizations they had personal affiliation with. These actors may not subscribe to the leftist ideology yet they played a significant role in not only shaping the ideological orientations of the two translators but also the production of the two translated texts. Through the examination of the agentive influence from their mentors and affiliated literary or political associations on the translators’ decision-making process, the research findings will connect us to the analytical focus where the translators’ motivations can be established. Evidence from the translations as well as the relevant paratextual and extratextual materials will be drawn to illustrate the literary or political imprints the
translating agents intended to bring forth through the Chinese translations of the canonical novels by British female writers.

The departing point of discussion at this stage is the definition of the term leftist as it serves as an important element to validate the categorization of Li Jiye and Yang Bin as leftist translators. In the broadest sense, leftists are political advocates who believe in the ideas of social equality and egalitarianism while they are against the concepts of social hierarchy and inequality (Bobbio 1997: 37; Smith and Tatalovich 2003: 30). These political principles were first introduced to China in the late 1910s and further formulated when the CCP was formed in the 1920s (see 2.2.1 and 2.2.2). What followed was the tumultuous years when China was politically divided by the CCP and the GMD from the mid-twenties until the late forties. During these decades of political struggle, the CCP managed to maintain its gradual influence and finally succeeded with its dominance until today. One of the major reasons that marked the CCP’s political success was the literary policies and strategies they adopted. Instigated by the CCP, the League was formed as a “concerted effort to rally the restless urban writers” to advocate Communist literary and cultural movements with the ultimate objective “to dominate the literary scene in the 1930s” (Lee 1986: 428). The result of this political use of literature was a thin line that separated the political leftists and literary leftists. It was the League’s paramount mission to unify as many Chinese writers, scholars and intellectuals as possible in order to create a united front to battle the GMD through the creation and publication of Chinese revolutionary and proletarian literature, including translated literature (ibid.: 428).
Under the League, seven committees were formed, each with different responsibilities. One of these committees was called the International Liaison Committee and its major duty was “to translate good proletarian revolutionary works and to draft a list of other countries’ proletarian revolutionary works to be translated” (Wong 1991: 72-73). With these specific translation policies blending in with the League’s two official documents, i.e. ‘Theoretical guideline of literature’ and ‘The new mission of the revolutionary literature of the Chinese proletariat’, both adopted in the inaugural meeting, the principal advocacy of the League was to create proletarian art and literature in order to struggle for emancipation (Lee 1986: 429).

Given the sociopolitical backdrop and the League’s literary agendas, in the aspect of literary translation, members of the League translated mostly works by Russian or Soviet authors, such as Maxim Gorky, M. A. Sholokhov and Alexander Fateyev, in addition to works of Marxist literary theories and criticism by Soviet scholars (Qi: 2012:97). Although the principal goal of the League was to unify Chinese writers for the production of revolutionary literature, its members represented a broad spectrum of writers with different literary and political orientations. There were confirmed leftists, such as Qu Quibai, who took a more radical stance in the advocacy of “massification” of literature and language (Pickowicz 1977: 297-312); there were also moderate leftists who were less radical, and who joined the League simply because they were more sympathetic to the idea of proletarian literature advocated by the CCP than to nationalist literature promoted by the GMD (Lee 1986: 436).

As the number of league members was rapidly growing, it is an act of oversimplification to include or exclude writers and translators into the category of
the leftists by only checking the list of registered members of the League. In fact, authoritative documentation showing complete records of registered members of the League as well as its branches during its existence are currently unavailable. At present, the most comprehensive list of registered league members can be found in The Collected Historical Records of the League of the Left-wing Dramatists of China [Zhongguo zuoyi xijujia lianmeng shiliaoji], which presents members from the drama circle including musicians, directors and actors. Representative figures of these members are Xian Xinghai (1905-1945), Xu Ke (1912-1985) and Hu Ping (born 1916; year of death unknown).6

One of the reasons behind the undocumented records would be the numerous committees and branches all operating under the League. In just a few years, the number of league members multiplied from about fifty to over four hundred; yet no one had been assigned with the task of keeping records of the registered members. Meanwhile there were activists who frequently participated in the activities organized by the League but they were never registered (Wong 1991: 63-65). For the present study, Li Jiye and Yang Bin are defined as translating agents of the leftist network for two reasons even though their names are not included in the registered list of members mentioned above. First, it was their personal association with the leftists or leftist activists, although authentic documentation to prove their official registration with the League or the CCP are absent. Second, it was the leftist ideology Yang Bin and Li Jiye subscribed to during the time when the translations were produced. Such conclusions are made from an exhaustive study of the biographic accounts of the two translators, with specific attention paid to their

6 The list includes a total number of 142 members from 1930-1936 (Department of Culture and Party Archive 文化黨史資料部 [Wenhua dangshi ziliaobu] 1991: 446-452).
personal relations and literary affiliations during the time when the translations were produced. The biographic accounts of the two translators, Yang Bin and Li Jiye, will be elaborated in the following sections where the construction of the translators’ cultural capital will be discussed.

A point to emphasize here is that many of the leftist intellectuals in Republican China, be they writers or translators, were in line with the ideological doctrines of the League as they would create revolutionary literature or translate literary works from Russia to propagate to the general masses. However, the two novels, *Pride and Prejudice* and *Jane Eyre*, selected for translation by Yang Bin and Li Jiye, do not meet these guidelines prescribed by the League. Therefore, the intended purpose to translate and publish these two Chinese translations by the networked agents during this particular period in China marks an interesting case for further exploration and scrutiny. Such examination is conducted through an in-depth examination of the personal and literary backgrounds of the translators, as well as their associations with other networked agents such as their mentors and affiliated literary societies. The literary and ideological influences that these human and nonhuman agents had on the translators could contribute to the understanding of the construction of the translators’ cultural capital. Such influences can be observed and substantiated from the triangulated examination of the texts, the paratexts and the extratexts related to the selected translations.
5.2 YANG BIN’S CULTURAL CAPITAL

The construction of Yang Bin’s cultural capital is based on a brief biographical outline of the translating agent, supplemented with the ideological influence noted from the following networked agents: the League, Professor Grace Boynton and Yanjing University 燕京大学.

The name at birth of Yang Bin was Yang Jizheng 楊季徵 (1905-1957). She was better known for her pen name or Yang Gang 楊剛. Born into a privileged family, Yang’s father was the chief secretary to the Hubei governor and then the commissioner of finance, and later the acting governor of Hubei for a short time during the warlord era while her mother was the youngest daughter of a big landlord (Fairbank 1983: 273-274). Yang developed her career as a prolific journalist, writer and translator. She attended the American missionary Baldwin School for Girls 褓靈女子中學校 in Nanchang in 1924. It was during these study years when “she first became conscious of the social privileges of wealthy families like her own” (Dooling 2005: 35). This was also a period when she wrote under two pennames: Yang Bin and Zhen Bai 貞白. Upon completion of high school, Yang started studying at Yanjing University in Beijing majoring in English in 1928. As a student activist, she soon joined the CCP and was beginning to get involved in radical causes in Beijing (ibid.: 35). In 1931, Yang was arrested and jailed briefly for participating in an International Workers’ Day demonstration, and upon her release she became a founding member of the Beijing Branch of the League 北方左聯 [Beifang zuolian] (ibid.: 35). Yang later withdrew from the CCP but she never stopped participating in
communist activities. She moved to Shanghai in 1933 and it was about this time that she took up a new penname Yang Gang, which could be perceived as a symbolic act that confirmed her leftist devotion since the Chinese character *gang* 剛 literally means steel; this penname thus carries a connotative relevance to Stalin (Fairbank 1983: 275).

As the Japanese aggression was becoming more intense in the mid-1930s, Yang rejoined the CCP in 1938 hoping to defend the country. She began her career as a journalist when she started working as a reporter for *Dagongbao* 大公報, *L'Impartial* and followed the staff of the paper when they moved to Hong Kong where she eventually succeeded Xiao Qian 蕭乾 (1910-1999) as editor of the paper’s literary supplement (Dooling 2005: 35-36). She did not cease her active involvement with anti-Japanese resistance causes in Hong Kong and she was productive with the writing of historical and revolutionary works. One notable example of such literary production is *Raging Dreams* 沸騰的夢 [*Feiteng de meng*] (1939), a collection of essays about Shanghai under Japanese occupation. In 1944, she was sent to the United States as an overseas correspondent until 1948 when she returned to China. After the founding of the People’s Republic of China in 1949, she began serving Premier Zhou Enlai 周恩來 (1898-1976) as his secretary. This is the role that Yang is generally remembered for. As she completed her term as Premier Zhou’s secretary, she started working as the Deputy Chief Editor of *People’s Daily* 人民日報, the official newspaper of the Chinese government established in 1946.

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7 The reason of Yang Bin’s withdrawal cannot be established within the scope of this thesis. It is not mentioned in John King Fairbank’s personal recollections of Yang Bin in his *Chinabound: A Fifty-year Memoir* but it is included in the 1932 entry of Yang’s “Literary Timeline” in *The Collected Works of Yang Gang* 楊剛文集 [*Yang Gang wenji*] that she withdrew from the CCP due to illness (Xiao 1984b: 580).
Years later in 1957, Yang committed suicide. The reasons for her taking her own life remain undetermined.8

5.2.1 AGENTIVE INFLUENCE: THE LEAGUE

There have not been adequate scholarly discussions devoted to the literary achievements of Yang Bin despite her noteworthy roles as Premier Zhou’s secretary, the Deputy Chief Editor of People’s Daily as well as the Party’s official translator of Chairman Mao Zedong’s famous speech “On the Protracted War” (1937) 論持久戰 [Lun chijiu zhan]. The recent interests in the study of Yang’s life and works mostly gravitated to the literary contributions she made under the pen name Yang Gang and other later works published after 1938 when she rejoined the CCP. The few of her early works that manage to catch researchers’ attention, especially in orthodox Chinese publications, are limited to works with a distinctive revolutionary theme. Examples of such publications include, The Collected Works of Yang Gang 楊剛文集 [Yang Gang wenji] and Eagles of the League 左聯之鷹 [Zuolian zhi ying]. In these orthodox Chinese publications, Yang’s earlier life and works written and published under the pen name Yang Bin, including the full-length Chinese translation of Pride and Prejudice, are rarely mentioned. It is difficult to generate an

8 Yang Bin’s suicide stimulates speculations related to the Anti-Rightist Movement which was at its peak in 1957 but such speculations are not confirmed (Dooling 2005: 37). However, in the memoir of John King Fairbank, Yang’s personal acquaintance, he suggests that the suicide was a result of an injury she had been suffering from after a serious car accident (1983: 418). A more detailed elaboration of Yang’s suicide is described in the “Preface” written by Hu Qiaomu 胡喬木 in The Collected Works of Yang Gang but the act of suicide is only lightly hinted. Hu states that Yang had a car accident in 1955 and she never gained full recovery. Then in 1957, she lost an important notebook which could have been used against her. During this period, many intellectuals had been arrested and persecuted for alleged anti-rightist acts or behavior but Yang was feeling nervous about the loss of the notebook. “On 7th October, when Yang was in an extreme state of mental instability, she left this world” (1984: 2).
authoritative explanation regarding the toning down of Yang’s earlier life and works while highlighting her later works; however I will attempt to offer an explanation here of this common phenomenon observed in Chinese orthodox publications on Yang Bin. Her earlier life and works, including *Pride and Prejudice* as well as other literary productions, were mostly written under the pen name Yang Bin. These works were published around 1932 when Yang temporarily quit the CCP, which could be perceived as an act of betrayal of the Party. Authoritative explanations of her leaving the CCP in 1932 are never established; however, it is probably due to the sensitive nature of this incident that these Chinese orthodox works tend to lighten the life and works of her early years and works in general. To illustrate this point, in *The Collected Works of Yang Gang*, it is stated that Yang left the CCP in 1932 due to sickness (Xiao 1984b: 580 and Xiao 1984c: 588), which could be interpreted as a result of her unwillingness to quit the CCP, while in *Eagles of the League*, her temporary withdrawal is not even mentioned as Yang’s biographic narrative only begins from the year 1938 (2011: 105-110). Therefore, there is a possible correlation between politics and only taking Yang’s later works as the tenet of these orthodox works. Last but not least, it is noted that Yang began to take a more radical stance in many of her later works written and published after 1938 when she rejoined the CCP. The most overt example of such literary creations is the epic poem “I am Standing at the Centre of the Earth” (1939) [Wo zhanzai diqiu de zhongyang] in which the persona of the poem declares openly that he or she is armored and ready for battles ahead (Yang 1984: 66). The symbolic significance of this poem, however, lies more in Yang Gang’s re-established ties with the CCP and her overt radical stance. In the last stanza, Yang wrote that “I … possess the beauty
of white feathers and golden arrow” (ibid.: 66) and this is the origin of the name “Goddess of Golden Arrow” that Yang is usually referred to in most of the Chinese publications about her.9

In the Preface to Yang Bin’s *Pride and Prejudice* dated 1932, Wu Mi states that Yang completed the translation of *Pride and Prejudice* “four years ago” and that she “had been revising the completed translation” (Wu 1935: 1). The actual time Yang spent on translating and revising the novel as well as the reasons why the translation was only published in 1935 are not offered in the Preface; however, with the information provided by Wu Mi, a quick calculation would reveal that the time span for the translation and publication of *Pride and Prejudice* began before 1928 (mostly likely around 1927 when she began her Yanjing years) and continued until 1935. These were the years when Yang joined and quit the CCP but her engagement with the League never ceased. In fact, she founded the Beijing Branch of the League with other Chinese intellectuals such as Li Shouzhang 李守章 (1905-1994), Xie Bingying, among many others (Chen 2000: 255). Yang’s active participation in the League’s activities after 1932 is well-documented (Wu 1992: 318) and such ideological influence was reflected from her personality and attitude, as the late sinologist John Fairbank, Yang’s personal acquaintance, would remember and describe her as a “leftist but not openly communist” intellectual (1983: 275). Yang’s subscription to the leftist ideology, developed as a result of Yang Bin’s association

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9. The extract of the poem in Chinese:

我站在地球的中央，
竖起了战斗的大纛！
我的旗子有鲜明的红光，
有青天的荣耀！
有白刁金箭的美 (Yang 1984: 66).
with the League, played a crucial role in the construction of her cultural capital as well as her political and ideological orientations during the years when she was translating *Pride and Prejudice*. These were the years before she rejoined the CCP.

5.2.2 AGENTIVE INFLUENCE: GRACE BOYNTON AND YANJING UNIVERSITY

In the construction of Yang’s cultural capital, two more agents, one human and one nonhuman, need to be studied in a collaborative fashion. They are Professor Grace Boynton (1890-1970) and Yanjing University. The personal attachment Yang developed with the professor during her Yanjing years formed another contributive element to Yang’s ideological development, especially in terms of Christian ideals, albeit the conflicting nature noted between Christianity or religion, and leftist socialism.

As discussed above, Yang Bin started translating *Pride and Prejudice* circa 1927 and 1928. This was the time when she was a student at Yanjing University. As noted by Fairbank, Yang developed “a very close and filial relationship with Professor Grace Boynton” who was a teacher of the English Department and had “a deep influence on her young Chinese students and played an important part in [Yang Bin]’s life and the growth of her literary interests” (Fairbank 1983: 274). This was further documented by writer Xiao Qian, who established an intimate friendship with Yang Bin when they were both students of Yanjing University. Xiao Qian always remembered Grace Boynton as “an inspirational teacher” when he was a student at
Yanjing. Boynton taught the course ‘The English Novel’ and “concentrated on Victorian novelists – George Eliot, the Brontë sisters and Dickens” (Xiao 1994: 50). Xiao also remembered seeing Yang Bin for the first time in a poetry-reading session held in Boynton’s house. It was a regular literature session that Boynton organized for her students every Friday where she and her students would take turns and recite Victorian poetry, such as works by Tennyson (ibid.: 51). As a student then, Xiao Qian noted that during Boynton’s lectures on the English novel, the professor became extremely enthusiastic when it came to the discussions on _Pride and Prejudice_ (Xiao 1984a: 538). The assumption that there is a direct causal relationship between the above observations from Xiao Qian and Fairbank, that Yang Bin translated _Pride and Prejudice_ for her mentor’s passion for this book may lack documented support to be discovered; however, the argument regarding Boynton’s ideological influence over Yang Bin’s translation motivation, noted as an agentive influence on this particular translational activity, is a point that can be evidenced based on the findings currently available.

Published in 1935, the first edition of Yang Bin’s Chinese translation of _Pride and Prejudice_ includes a 13-page introductory remark on Jane Austen written by the translator herself. At the end of the introductory remark, Yang Bin included a footnote which stated that the article was written based on the reference materials compiled by Professor Grace Boynton (Yang 1935: 13). Therefore, as Boynton’s student, Yang Bin was not only provided with a detailed account of Austen’s biographic narration but also a cautious analysis on Austen’s writing style. However, it is interesting to note how Yang highlighted the religious nature of the novel. In the
Introductory remark, Yang highlighted the significance of the presence of Puritan disciplines in the novel by alluding to it twice. That “strict Puritan disciplines were fully reflected” in *Pride and Prejudice* through the depiction of the middle class everyday life (*ibid.*: 2) and that such “Puritan disciplines [advocated by the characters in Austen’s domestic satire] formed the core of the novel (*ibid.*: 3).

Austen’s description of Puritan disciplines in *Pride and Prejudice*, as noted by Yang Bin is not a point generally shared by literary critics in the West. Western literary critics who perceived Austen as a religious novelist generally agree that “Austen’s novels are religious not because they contain religious controversy or ‘a strong ecclesiastical motif’ … but because they show ‘the underlying principles upon which men live their lives and by which they judge the characters of others’” (Kelly 1997: 155).

The debate regarding the classification of *Pride and Prejudice*, as well as other Austen novels, as religious novels needs not to be concluded in this thesis; however, the observation that the novel has high religious significance is a point acknowledged by Yang Bin. The “Puritan disciplines” Yang Bin saw in *Pride and Prejudice* and highlighted in the introductory remark was the direct result of Professor Boynton’s ideological influence assimilated at Yanjing. As an American missionary-educator, her religious concepts need to be incorporated with the history and background of Yanjing University for further scrutiny. When Yanjing University was established in China at the beginning of the 20th century, it was a transplant of a liberal arts college from America operated by missionaries to spread Christian ideals (West 2007: 174). The teaching and learning principles of Yanjing were best captured in the university
President John Leighton Stuart’s motto for Yenching [Yanjing], “Freedom through truth for service” [yin zheng de ziyou yi fuwu], is a prism that allows us to see what the Yenching [Yanjing] founders had in mind … The truth that was sought and taught was both a religious and philosophical truth and included the sciences. (West 2007: 174)

Since the Christian faith was a subscribed doctrine of Yanjing University, and that “the Christian faith remained important to many of [the Yanjing faculty and students] to the end” (ibid.: 196), it was likely that Yang Bin’s religious ideals were patronized by Grace Boynton and shaped during her Yanjing years. By highlighting this particular point in the Preface, the ideological influence, in the sense of the Christian faith, was noted in Yang’s *Pride and Prejudice*.

5.3 TRANSLATION AS A NETWORKED ARTEFACT

Not only did the ideological influences enable the construction of Yang Bin’s cultural capital during her Yanjing years but they were also applied to the translational activities undertaken by Yang during these special years, including *Pride and Prejudice*. With the application of Lefevere’s differentiated patronage (1992a: 16-17) and Latour’s ANT, in this section, I argue that it was the result of the ideological influences from the League as well as Grace Boynton and Yanjing University that prompted Yang Bin to translate *Pride and Prejudice*. Such ideological influences could be noted from the triangulated examination of the translated text, the paratexts and the extratexts. The agentive input from all the included agents could
be understood as their concerted effort that led to the successful production of the artefact.

The blending of the Christian faith as well as the leftist doctrines adopted and applied by Yang Bin will be the focus of discussion. It is important to note that atheism was the fundamental doctrine of Marxist-Leninists (Thrower 1992: 45). Therefore, the Christian influence from Grace Boynton and the leftist influence from the League that Yang had been receiving must have worked as two oppositional forces. The question about how Yang, a leftist, developed an intimate friendship with Grace Boynton, a confirmed Christian, was a question that interested Yang’s personal friend Xiao Qian as well. Xiao remembered that he had once asked Yang about this but she did not respond (Xiao 1984a: 538). Such religious influence in her works could be a major reason why the currently available orthodox Chinese publications on Yang Bin have the tendency to tone down her early literary productions including this full-length translation of *Pride and Prejudice*. Moreover, the year 1935 was an interesting year for the dissemination of *Pride and Prejudice* in China as two Chinese versions of this novel were published in the same year. Yang Bin’s rendition was published by Commercial Press in Shanghai while the other version translated by Dong Zhongchi was published in Beijing by University Press, or in Chinese 大學出版社. A detailed examination of the two versions, one by a leftist and the other one by a humanist (see Chapter 6), could be used as an exemplary illustration to analyse how the translators’ different ideological orientations could affect the translation of the same text. Although Yang Bin’s *Pride and Prejudice* has not been receiving as much scholarly attention as it deserves, its
literary influence in China is well-observed. Yang’s version had been republished for years in China since 1935 and her Chinese rendition of the title, *Aoman yu pianjian* 傲慢與偏見, which literally means arrogance and prejudice, is still adopted by basically all subsequent versions of the novel until the present day, be they Chinese retranslations, abridged young readers’ editions or theater adaptations. While Dong Zhongchi’s Chinese translation of the novel’s title, *Jiaoao yu pianjian* 驕傲與偏見, which literally means pride and prejudice, or other renditions of the title are seldom preferred when referring to Austen’s novel in Chinese.

It was during the Yanjing years when Yang had been translating for Association Press of China 青年協會書局 [*Qingnian xiehui shuju*]. This publishing house was in fact a subsidiary of YMCA, a Christian organization. In a 1939 catalogue of Association Press of China, of all the books published by the Association before 1939, a total number of four books could be traced, written and translated by Yang under the pen name Yang Bin. A quick glimpse at the titles of these books translated by Yang provides researchers with some insights regarding Yang’s psychological journey of understanding and balancing the two conflicting ideals, i.e. Christianity and socialism, which played a role in the analysis of Yang’s translation motivations of *Pride and Prejudice*.

In the catalogue, there are a total number of four works by Yang Bin: three translations, namely Reinhold Niebuhr’s *Moral Man and Immoral Society* (1932), Julius Hecker’s *Religion and Communism: A Study of Religion and Atheism in Soviet*

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10 See *Publication Catalogue* 出版物目録 [*Chubanwu mulu*], Association Press of China, 1939.
Russia (1933), Josiah Royce’s *The Philosophy of Loyalty* (1908) and a book titled *The Development and Training of China’s Social Life* 中国社會生活的發展與訓練 [Zhongguo shehui shenghuo de fazhan yu xunlian] (1937). As a publisher associated with a Christian organization, it was natural to see a list of biblical works or Christianity-related works in this catalogue, published under the series title “Religious Studies Curriculum” 宗教研究教程 [Zongjiao yanjiu jiaocheng].

However, there was also a series called “Books about Soviet Russia” 蘇俄叢書 [Su’e congshu]. Some of the titles included in this series were Eddy Sherwood’s *Russia Today: What Can We Learn from It?* (1934) and Samuel N Harper’s *Civic Training in Soviet Russia* (1931). There was another series called “Social Reform” 社會改造 [Shehui gaizao] which included books such as 農村工作經驗談 [Nongcun gongzuo jingyantan].

On closer examination of these series titles and book titles, one can derive a common theme for all of these publications, i.e. the spread of Christianity through social reform with the experiences of socialism. It was a theme indicating a mixture of Christianity, the newly-emerged ideals of socialism and reforming China. The use of the adapted strategy for spreading Christianity – the blending of Chinese values with the West – was not new to the missionaries. A frequently-quoted example that best illustrates this strategy of the missionaries is from Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) and Michele Ruggieri (1543-1607). They were one of the first Jesuits to successfully begin the spreading of Christianity in China and they did this by learning the Chinese language and culture and by familiarizing themselves with the predominant Buddhist and Taoist religious elements (Dunne 2006:28).
It was highly probable that Yang Bin may have observed this strategy, not only from the Association Press of China, but also from Yanjing University. To take root in China, Yanjing’s mission of education was “to preserve all that was best in Chinese life” and to join religious faith with Confucian ideals to shape the Yenching [Yanjing] community’s idea of progress and reform (West 2007: 185). The blending of these ideas could be broadened to other similar issues observed in Yanjing. In fact, the Yanjing missionary educators and the leftist leaders in China during the 1930s had a lot in common. As Fairbank has noted, the missionaries and the leftists shared common commitments, such as the spread of literacy and male-female equality. Both liked to use words like ‘give’, ‘service’, ‘sacrifice’, and ‘self-denial’ (Fairbank 1974: 7).

Connecting all of these ideas together, it is reasonable to suggest that Yang Bin may have been inspired by the adaptability of the missionaries and the Yanjing educators for the purposes of education and social reform, and that she had adopted a similar strategy to spread her political ideals, which she perceived as a form of religion. The missionary personality in Yang Bin was observed by Fairbank’s personal recollection of her:

[Yang] was Leninist in [her] faith in the party and [her] acceptance of its discipline. But this faith was essentially practical, in that individuals acting alone could do little; in unity lay [her] strength. No supra-rational miracles, no dogmas of virgin birth, divinity of the savior, or resurrection were necessary. As home missionaries [they] seemed to me well prepared to gain converts. (Fairbank 1983: 276)
In fact, Yang had been converting her friends and family members to the leftist ideals as well. As her intimate friend Xiao Qian remarked, Yang would take every opportunity to propagate revolutionary ideals to him and encouraged him to read the works of Lunacharsky and Plekhanov, which she considered as “important theories” representing the essence of “revolutionary truth” (Xiao 1994: 52). In addition, she had also successfully converted her brother Yang Chao 楊潮 and her cousin Yang Xiandong 楊顯東 to revolution (Yang 2009: 133-134).

Moreover, Yang would also spread her leftist ideals through her literary productions. It was the element of realism Yang noted in Pride and Prejudice, a writing style much celebrated by the leftists, that prompted her translation of the novel. Through the translation of Pride and Prejudice, Yang could use it as a tool to disseminate realism. This is highlighted in the Preface written by the translator. In the Preface, she defined the novel as a “domestic satire” and emphasized the detailed description of the characters’ daily lives (Yang 1935: 3). She also drew readers’ attention to Austen’s established canonical status as a writer of realism. Yang wrote:

G. H. Lewes, great English critic, praised Austen’s objective to reflect social lives through literature. … Another famous prose writer praised her canonical status by aligning Austen and Shakespeare. Moreover, Scott praised her refined descriptions and realistic sentiments; Austen was able to offer witty and interesting details for plain and ordinary characters … Austen’s characters are mostly peasants and commoners who only cared about trivial domestic matters … Amongst these plain people, not a trace of romanticism can be observed. (ibid.: 7-8)

Yang further explained in the Preface, with much elaboration, the descriptions of the characters:
These characters may be different in nature and personality – they may be good or bad, silly or sensitive – the author never reported to her readers what these characters were like. Instead she would unveil the characters’ personalities from different perspectives without adding her personal comments or flavour so that we could understand what a real-life person in a realistic fashion is like. (ibid.: 8-9).

Terms like “realistic works”, “plain and ordinary people”, “peasants” and “unromantic” were archetypal ideas of the kind of literary realism propagated by Chinese leftist writers in the 1930s. In all, the repetitive use of these terms and the provision of an extensive narrative to relate Austen to realism in the Preface are the translators’ overt strategies to emphasize the leftist tenet present in the novel.

Apart from Austen’s writing style, one important element that Yang observed in *Pride and Prejudice* was class and gender inequality. The major social reform goal espoused by the CCP in the 1930s was to abolish the distinction of social classes through mass education, class equality, gender equality (Rawski 1991: 140). It was the CCP’s paramount goal to advocate “class equality” while the pursuit of “gender equality” could be noted as a subsidiary of this prioritized goal (ibid.: 141). The advocacy of equality in class and gender is embedded in the translation by Yang Bin. In the Preface, Yang explained that *Pride and Prejudice* was a novel about “a newly-emerged social class in between the upper-class and the peasants” and this was “a special class of people growing in number and influence” (Yang 1935: 7). The rise of one special class, “growing in number and influence”, is of high significance as it would impact the other existing social classes in terms of their size and influence, which may eventually lead to the possible abolition of these classes.
Such leftist ideals, i.e. the advocacy of class and gender equality through the abolition of classes, are realized in Yang’s translation of certain terms in relation to class and gender in *Pride and Prejudice*.

In the translated text, Yang minimized the distinction of the different social classes through her cautious avoidance of using certain terms that could have connotations of the concept of class. First of all, Yang addresses all of the gentlemen in the novel as *xiansheng* 先生, which literally means ‘mister’, instead of the other Chinese terms such as *shenshi* 紳士 or *xiangshen* 鄉紳 which may be more equivalent to Austen’s concept of gentlemen, in terms of linguistic definitions. With reference to the *Xinhua Dictionary* 新華字典 [Xinhua Zidian], one of the most authoritative Chinese dictionaries, the term *xiangshen* is defined as “gentlemen of the villages who are usually rich and renowned landlords or retired bureaucrats” while the term *shenshi* suggests “landlords and the rich.” In addition, Yang avoids the use of the Chinese term *jieji* 階級, which literally means “rank” in the translation. The Chinese term *jieji* is a very sensitive discursive term in context of the leftists and the CCP because to them, *jieji* does not simply suggest “ideology legitimating oppression”; it also “denotes exploitative relations between people mediated by their relations to the means of production” (Gimenez 2001: 24). Such ideology legitimating oppression is not highlighted in Yang’s translation as she uses substituting terms or expressions to render the word “rank”. An example is quoted here to illustrate that the translator’s avoidance of using the term *jieji* is not a mere coincidence. Another example is noted from Chapter 29 when Mr. Collins describes Lady Catherine de Bourgh as someone who “likes to have the distinction of rank
preserved” (188). The statement undoubtedly presents Lady Catherine de Bourgh’s acknowledgement of the different social classes and that she is from a superior class. This description of the lady, as translated by Yang, is someone “who likes to have the distinction of grades preserved” 她這人歡喜保存品位之間的分別 (231). The association of “rank” and “class” in the translated text, is toned down with the term pinwei 品位, which is defined as “grades” 等級 [dengji] in the Xinhua Dictionary. Yang’s intentional avoidance of the Chinese term “jieji” forms a sharp contrast when the translation is comparatively analysed with Dong Zhongchi’s version as the term “rank” is constantly translated as “jieji” in the latter translation.

The advocacy of gender equality, another keynote item on the propaganda agenda of the leftists and the CCP, is also achieved by the translator through Yang’s intentional equation of the social status of men and women in the translation. Throughout Yang Bin’s Chinese translation of Pride and Prejudice, the terms men and women are generally rendered into nanren 男人 and nuren 女人, which literally mean men and women. One may suggest that these are merely natural translations of the two terms; however, I argue that such translations were the translator’s strategy to equally position the two sexes on the same level. The term women could be rendered into a variety of Chinese terms that mean the female gender; examples were nüzi 女子, the weaker women, or furen 婦人, the married women. However, the dictionary definitions of these terms nüzi and furen suggest the weaker nature and the subordinate social status of women. Therefore, it is important to note how Yang consciously avoided using nüzi or furen, which were very common terms used to refer to women in general. By equating men and women into
one social class, the translator was highlighting her awareness of women’s
consciousness of their identity as individuals or as men’s equals. Such consciousness
or realization was common amongst modern Chinese literature written by women, as
Qiao Yigang has remarked: “[f]emale consciousness in the modern sense stills
embodies the ideas of women being a natural/biological formation, but the
associations with women as social beings have actually changed. The most important
change lies in the recognition of women as individuals” (2010: 86).

In the Preface, Yang explained to her readers that the plot of *Pride and
Prejudice* revolves around the romance between Elizabeth, a middle-class young
woman, and Mr. Darcy, an upper-class gentleman (Yang 1935: 9). From the plot of
the novel, the translator immediately jumped to the distinctive personality of the
female protagonist Elizabeth which was noted as the tenor of the novel by
specifically drawing readers’ attention to the “rebellious spirit” on Elizabeth through
the inclusion of a lengthy description to highlight her personality. Yang explained to
her readers that Elizabeth was a young girl from a middle-class family but the
prejudice she developed towards Mr. Darcy actually came from her “rebellious spirit” 反抗心理 [fankang xinli], a sensation developed from the feeling of inferiority
originated from the social class she belonged to (*ibid.*: 10). Yang actually borrowed a
Chinese saying, “poor people, great spirits” 人窮志氣大 [Renqiong zhiqi da] to
illustrate the “rebellious spirit” of the lower class, represented by Elizabeth,
developed towards Mr. Darcy at the beginning of the novel (*ibid.*: 10). The emphasis
of Elizabeth’s “rebellious spirit” serves as an important clue that links the novel to
the overture of the CCP formulated by Qu Qiubai during the Party’s formative years.
Qu believed that a Communist revolution would help achieve the country’s independence and realize the political power of the common people (Zhao 2004: 89). This concept was further developed in the early 1930s when Qu advocated the use of popular literature and art form to spread revolutionary ideology (K. Liu 2004: 89).

Elizabeth’s “rebellious spirit” is noted as her “revolution of civility” and is best demonstrated through her confrontation with Lady Catherine de Bourgh (Wiesenfarth 1994: 112). During the confrontation between the ladyship and the female protagonist, Elizabeth defeats Lady Catherine de Bourgh with her intelligence, which marks her as “a new model for the civilized women” (ibid.: 112) while such “rebellious spirit” is emphasized by the translator in Elizabeth’s opinion of the arranged marriage between Mr. Darcy and his cousin in Chapter 56:

Yes, and I had heard it before. But what is that to me? If there is no other objection to my marrying your nephew, I shall certainly not be kept from it by knowing that his mother and aunt wished him to marry Miss de Bourgh. You both did as much as you could in planning the marriage. Its completion depended on others. If Mr. Darcy is neither by honour nor inclination confined to his cousin, why is not he to make another choice? And if I am that choice, why may not I accept him? (406)

This speech, rendered into Chinese by Yang, is emphasized with the significance of love in a relationship:

Yes, and I had heard it before. But what is that to me? If there is no other objection to my marrying your nephew, I shall certainly not be kept from it by knowing that his mother and aunt wished him to marry Miss de Bourgh. You both did as much as you could in planning the marriage. Its completion depended on others. If Mr. Darcy is neither obliged to marry his cousin out of responsibility nor love, why is not he to
make another choice? And if I am that choice, why may not I accept him?11 (Yang 1935: 476; highlight added)

The added emphasis on the pursuit of love in marriage, carries significant relevance with the new female individuals breaking away from patriarchal conventions and seeking freedom in life, including the freedom of choosing a spouse of their own will; while the pursuit of romantic love symbolizes an ideological weapon of life achievement as individuals (Wang 2008: 41). Since it was not the strategy of most Chinese translators of the 1930s to make extensive linguistic changes to the source text, this inserted emphasis on the pursuit of love in marriage should not be ignored and it should be taken as the translator’s intentional strategy to deepen Elizabeth’s “rebellious spirit” highlighted in the Preface. The stimulation of people’s “rebellious spirit”, embedded in literary works, can be intertwined with class politics under the leftist propaganda because “the process of rechanneling one’s desire, impulse, and affection into politically acceptable outlets” means “an individual can love politics as passionately and intensely as she loves another human being, sometimes even more fanatically (Wang 2003: 473).

In the above sections, I have used Yang Bin and her Chinese rendition of Pride and Prejudice as an example to illustrate how a translator constructs her cultural capital with the ideological influences from other agents of the same, as well as different, networks. Such ideological influences are crucial to the production of the

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11 Elizabeth’s response in Yang Bin’s translated version:『對了，我以前聽見過。不過那與我什麼相干？假如沒有別的理由反對我和你侄兒結婚，那麼要說他媽和他姨要把他配給狄波小姐，我是一定不管的。你們已經盡了力安排這場婚姻，但是成功不成功還得由人。假如達綏先生既沒有和他表妹結婚的義務，也沒有愛，為什麼他不可以另外挑別的人？假如他挑了我，為什麼我不可以接受他？』 (Chapter 56, p. 476)
translated text. By cautiously avoiding terms connotative to social superiority and privileges enjoyed by the upper class and highlighting the “rebellious spirit” of the protagonist, the translator’s leftist ideological imprints are strategically inserted into the translated text. In the following sections, I will explore how Li Jiye, another leftist translator, presented his ideological orientation in his translation with the agentive input from other networked actors.

5.4 LI JIYE’S CULTURAL CAPITAL

The second sub-network of the leftists included for discussion in this thesis is a translation network composed of Li Jiye, the translating agent; Lu Xun, one of the leading figures of the League; and the Unnamed Society [Weiming she], a short-lived literary organization of the Republican era. The section begins with Li Jiye’s biographical narrative specifically focusing on the years when he was associated with Lu Xun. This will be further elaborated with the analysis of the agentive influence from the other networked agents, namely Lu Xun and the Unnamed Society. By bringing together the integrated ideological influence from the two agents, the translator’s cultural capital is constructed. The translation of *Jane Eyre*, the artefact of this translation network, and its related paratextual and extratextual materials will be examined to verify the translator’s motivation and ideological imprints noted in the translation resulting from the agentive influence of the networked actors which in turn influenced the readers of Republican China.

Born in Anhui in the year 1904, Li Jiye went to Yeji Mingqiang Primary School [Yeji Mingqiang xiaoxue] in 1914 and was in the same school with
Wei Suyuan 韋素園 (1902-1932), Wei Congwu 韋叢蕪 (1905-1978), and Tai Jingnong 臺靜農 (1902-1990), who later became Li’s close literary ally (Shanghai Lu Xun Memorial Hall [Shanghai Lu Xun jinianguan] 2004: 360).

Li then continued his education at Buyang No. 3 Normal School 埠陽第三師範學校 where he was beginning to encounter opportunities to read literature related to Communism (Li 1994: 352). In 1921, Li nursed his friend Wei Congwu through a bout of sickness. As a result of this Li had missed too many lectures and was later suspended from school (ibid.: 352-353). Li and Wei decided to return to their hometown where they started the publication of The Illumination Weekly 微光周刊 [Weiguang zhoukan] and wrote articles attacking the Chinese feudal conventions and the traditional marriage system (ibid.: 353). In 1923, Li went to Beijing with Wei where they reunited with Tai Jingnong. Li enrolled in the missionary school Chongshi High School 崇實中學 where he was taught Biblical and Christian concepts and ideals. Li argued against these ideas with his teachers using his atheist viewpoint (ibid.: 353). In the summer of 1924, Li completed the translation of Russian writer Leonid Andreyev’s (1871-1919) To the Stars (1905) and with the help of a friend, the manuscripts were sent to Lu Xun for comments (ibid.: 354). This marked the beginning of the long-term mentorship/friendship between Li Jiye and Lu Xun.

The acquaintance with Lu Xun led to the formation of the Unnamed Society organized with the “primary mission … to publish and promote literary translations by patriotic and promising young writers” (Qi 2012: 62). The period when Li Jiye was affiliated with Lu Xun and the Unnamed Society played an important role in
shaping his leftist ideology and this is reflected in the extensive translation output produced during these years. However, the Society was short-lived and it was forced to close down in 1928 due to the publication of the Chinese translation of *Literature and Revolution* (1924) by Leon Trotsky (1879-1940), for which Li was jailed for 50 days (Li 1994: 354). Later in 1930, he was offered a teaching job at Hebei Women’s Normal College 河北女子師範學院 where he would work until the outbreak of the Japanese war in 1937. It was during these years in Hebei that Li completed the translation of *Jane Eyre*.

The major reason for the inclusion of Li Jiye in this particular network is his leftist literary and political orientations inherited from his personal association with Lu Xun. His literary contributions include well-received prose, novels and poetry as well as translations. Li Jiye was a prolific and influential writer, translator and educator. To commemorate the 100th birthday anniversary of Li who passed away in 1997, a nine-volume collection of Li Jiye’s works, entitled *In Memoriam Li Jiye* 李霽野紀念集, was published in 2004. In this collection, all of Li’s literary creations such as prose, travel writing, fiction, poems, translated works, letters as well as his translation of *Jane Eyre* are included. Li was generally remembered for his roles as Lu Xun’s literary protégé and as one of the founding members of the Unnamed Society. The following sections will focus on the discussion of the ideological influence from the two agents that enabled the construction of Li Jiye’s cultural capital, especially during the years when he was translating *Jane Eyre*.

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12 See “Li Jiye’s Bibliography of Translation and Literature” in *Memorial to Li Jiye* 李霽野紀念集, 369-388.
5.4.1 AGENTIVE INFLUENCE: LU XUN

This section discusses, in principle, the ideological patronage Lu Xun had over Li Jiye. Such patronage, in fact, was not at all exclusive for Li Jiye. In the late 1920s, Lu Xun had already established himself as the “towering literary figure of the generation” and it was not an uncommon case for young writers to receive patronage, in various forms, from this venerated personage; in fact, the young writers who were “lucky enough to receive his patronage became overnight sensations” (Liu 2003: 39). Rou Shi 柔石 (1902-1931), Xiao Hong 蕭紅 (1911-1942) and Xiao Jun 蕭軍 (1907-1988) are examples of such writers who benefited from Lu Xun’s recognition and could embark on a writing career more smoothly than others, as shown by Kong Haili (1998: 31-51). Kong’s argument can be applicable to the study of Li Jiye as well due to Lu Xun’s “idolized” status in Mao’s socialist China; Lu Xun’s associates, Li Jiye included, have been brought under the scholarly scrutiny of many researchers.

When Lu Xun and Li Jiye became acquainted in around 1924, it was around the time that Li Jiye was making his way into the literary world. Since then, Li had been expressing unsparingly his heartfelt gratitude to Lu Xun for the mentorship and inspiration that he had received.13 In the short autobiography Li wrote, he expressed his gratitude once again as he discovered Lu Xun was already reading his first draft of To the Stars, his first serious translation attempt, the very next day after Lu Xun

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13 Li’s writings dedicated to Lu Xun are collected and compiled in In Memoriam Mr. Lu Xun 回憶魯迅先生 [Huiyi Lu Xun Xiansheng], Shanghai: Xinwenyi chubanshe, 1956.
received it (Li 1994: 354). The mentorship relationship between Lu Xun and Li Jiye can be theorized from the perspective of ideological patronage in two aspects: selection of source texts and translation style.

It is important to note that around 1926 Lu Xun, the mentor himself, was going through a significant stage of ideological transition to the leftists, which was completed in 1930 when he took leadership of the League (Eber 1985: 261-263). This ideological conversion of Lu Xun, which involved major intellectual changes, as noted by Leo Ou-fan Lee, was due to his acquaintance with the Marxist literary theories and his familiarity with the theories of art and literature formulated by Plekhanov and Lunacharski (Lee 1976: 291-324). A fundamental precept of the construction and conversion of Lu Xun’s leftist ideology was another Russian writer Leonid Andreyev. Lu Xun appreciated Andreyev’s works so much that he actually undertook the task of translating two of his short stories, included in the Anthology of Foreign Fiction 域外小說集 [Yuwai xiaoshuoji] published in 1909. A few years later he translated two more short stories by Andreyev for another anthology entitled Collected Works of Modern Translated Fiction 現代小說譯叢 [Xiandai xiaoshuo yicong] published in 1922. In addition to these completed translations, Lu Xun also attempted to translate another longer piece by Andreyev entitled The Red Laugh (1904), although he never finished it (Hanan 2004: 220).

Lu Xun’s inclination to Russian writers evidenced not only his literary preference, but also an ideological principle highly associated with the function of literature. Lu Xun’s conversion to the leftist was more about the confirmation and
sharpening of his belief in the educational function of literature by describing the lives of the “oppressed” in his fictional creations (Eber 1985: 264). This was a sense of sympathy for the “oppressed people” that Lu Xun developed in the early 1920s when he could identify China and its people with such literatures that described the sufferings and hardships of the “oppressed nations and people” (Shuang 2009: 111). The origin of the term “the oppressed” can be traced to a number of special issues of the very popular Short Story Monthly 小說月報 [Xiaoshuo yuebao] published in the 1920s in which literary works from Russia, Poland and other ‘minority countries’ from Europe were branded with the name “literatures of the oppressed nations” (Shuang 2009: 111). They were European countries “oppressed by the major powers” while literature about them was related to thematic subjects such as revolution, national emancipation, and freedom (Eber 1977: 129). The concept of “literatures of the oppressed” impacted Lu Xun and his brother Zou Zuoren 周作人 (1885-1967), on the way they perceived literature and its function. They then formulated one major motive to introduce such foreign literature to the Chinese audience with the purpose to enlighten the general masses with concepts such as “[n]ationalism, patriotism, heroism, love of one’s oppressed country, and unconventional and fearless men trying to bring light and freedom” (ibid.: 130). With these as the fundamental images and definition of the “oppressed nations and people” developed in the early 1920s, the new sociopolitical and sociocultural context of China in the 1930s broadened the membership of these “oppressed nations and people” to include not only nationalities in Europe but also people who spoke Arabic, Persian, Brazilian and many other languages, who were facing imperialist oppression (ibid.: 139). These literatures of the “oppressed nations and people” played an important role in the literary dynamics
of China during the 1920s and 1930s while the central themes of such literature remained the same, i.e. the pursuit of freedom and emancipation from imperialism, national revolution, and the opposition to social injustice (ibid.: 140). These conceptual ideas about the literature of the “oppressed nations and people” are further concretized in Lu Xun’s essay “How I Started Writing Fiction” (Wo zenyang zuoqi xiaoshuo la) (1933), in which he explains that through the descriptions of the “oppressed people” or the unfortunate characters in a diseased society, he wants to expose sickness and bitterness and to arouse attention for cure (vol. 4: 511-514). The cure is the “enlightened individuals” with evolved and improved humanism awakened by these literary works.

Lu Xun’s leftist inclination as well as his perceptions of literary works by writers of the “oppressed nations” and about the “oppressed people” as well as their functions formulated during the late 1920s and early 1930s would serve as important elements to the construction of Li Jiye’s cultural capital during the same period. After Li’s first translation attempt of Leonid Andreyev’s To the Stars in 1924, Li translated more works by the same author, such as The Marseillaise (1925), Rape of the Sabine Women (1926) and The Black Maskers (1927). These translations were published in the late 1920s when the written correspondence between Lu Xun and Li Jiye was the most frequent and the mentor was offering his disciple comments on many of his translation drafts.

Lu Xun’s style of translation would be another important element contributing

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14 The written correspondences between Lu Xun and Li Jiye are included in The Complete Works of Lu Xun 魯迅全集 [Lu Xun quanji], vols. 11-13.
to the construction of Li Jiye’s cultural capital. Since 1920s, Lu Xun and his brother Zhou Zuoren shared similar views in translation and adopted ‘direct translation’ 直譯 [zhīyì] as their dominant translation strategy. The 1920s and 1930s of Republican China was a significant period in the development of Chinese translation theories because there were heated debates about issues such as “What should be translated?” and “How should foreign works be translated?” Lu Xun was at the forefront of these debates because the ‘direct translation’ or ‘straightforward translation’ strategy he favoured stimulated unceasing debates. To Lu Xun’s opponents, especially Liang Shiqiu, the ‘direct translation’ method Lu Xun advocated and also applied in his own translated works made the translation so incomprehensible that the purpose of translation was nearly defeated (See 2.2). However Lu Xun and Zhou Zuoren believed it was only natural that a translation did not sound Chinese unless the foreign writer could write in Chinese (Zhang 2005: 56-57). Lu Xun saw Europeanization of the Chinese language as a cure because the Chinese language was “imprecise”, as he argued in a letter he wrote to Qu Qiubai written in 1931:

Translation is not only about the importation of new content but also new writing styles. The problem with the Chinese language, in written or spoken form, is its lack of precision ... Through the importation of new vocabulary and syntactical structures, the language can be enriched. (Luo and Chen 2009: 346-347)

Therefore, ‘direct translation’ was an experimental strategy that Lu Xun used to incorporate Europeanized structures and other foreign ‘nutrients’ into the Chinese language in order to broaden the repertoire of linguistic resources of the Chinese language (Chan 2001: 208). However, the application of ‘direct translation’ could result in translational products that readers of Republican China and even today’s
readers found baffling, as exemplified and evidenced by Lennart Lundburg (1989). Lu Xun’s translations soon triggered challenges from Crescent Moon member Liang Shiqiu who wrote the essay entitled “On Lu Xun’s ‘Stiff Translation’” 论鲁迅先生的「硬译」[Lun Lu Xun xiansheng de ‘yingyi’] (1929) in which he described Lu Xun’s recent translation of Lunacharsky as indecipherable and that he followed the syntactical structures of the source text so closely that the translation became almost unreadable. Liang called this kind of translation “dead translation” 死译 [siyi]. These severe remarks from Liang Shiqiu thus marked the beginning of the heated debate in the form of written essays that would go on for years between Lu Xun and Liang Shiqiu (See Chapter 6). In all, Lu Xun’s unique style of ‘stiff translation’ would be influential to Li Jiye and his translational products.

Lu Xun’s ideological influence on Li Jiye is an important element leading to the construction of Li Jiye’s cultural capital as the translator explicitly admits in his memoir, “it was my biggest joy in life to have received encouragement and teachings from Lu Xun” (Li 2004: 257); however, Lu Xun’s ideological patronage needs to be examined with the integration of the Unnamed Society, the nonhuman agent of this network, in order to offer a more complete picture of the ideological dimensions of the translating agent’s cultural capital.

5.4.2 AGENTIVE INFLUENCE: THE UNNAMED SOCIETY

An important agent contributing to the construction of Li Jiye’s cultural capital is the Unnamed Society and it was Lu Xun who played a contributive role in the formation and the actual operation of the Society. After Lu Xun and Li Jiye became
acquainted in 1924, Lu Xun initiated the formation of the Unnamed Society a year later. Major members of the society were mostly young and budding intellectuals such as Li Jiye, Wei Suyuan, Wei Congwu, Tai Jingnong and Cao Jinghua (1897-1987). Seeing the difficulties for emerging writers to publish their works, the Society was established with the predominant goal to advance young writers’ literary careers by providing them with a new publishing platform. Between the years 1925 and 1928, for instance, the Society printed a bi-monthly literary journal titled *The Unnamed* [Weiming]. To initiate the operation of the Unnamed Society, all members had to offer financial contributions. Lu Xun offered the biggest share, an initial contribution of $200 which was later increased to $466; the remaining five members offered $50 each (Qin 2011: 184).

Since Lu Xun was the leader of the Society, the literary objectives endorsed by the members corresponded with the mentor’s perspectives on literature formulated during the late 1920s. The Society agreed that in the aspect of literary production and publication, priority should be given to the translation of literary works from Russia, Northern Europe and the United Kingdom as well as literary works about socialism, revolution and the “oppressed people” such as women and workers (*ibid.*: 185). As prescribed by Lu Xun, literature about the “oppressed people” can be used as an overture which would gradually lead to people’s revolution. The correlation between literature and revolution is explained in a speech Lu Xun delivered at the Whampoa Military Academy in 1927 as he asserts that:

> Literature should voice out the inequality, pain and people’s suffering ... when such voices become people’s roar, it is time for people to wake up and get ready to revolt.
As soon as people’s roar is noted in literature, revolution is about to appear because they are already in rage. Therefore, when people’s anger can be heard in literature, it is time for revolutions to take place. (vol. 3: 419)

This notion about the function of literature, to “voice out the inequality, pain and people’s suffering” through literature, would later become the grounding principle of the Unnamed Society and Li Jiye’s translational activities from the late 1920s until the mid-1930s (Li vol. 2: 51).

The first literary work published by the Unnamed Society was Lu Xun’s “After Leaving the Ivory Tower” (Chuzou xiangyata zhi hou) (1925); he later became a frequent contributor to the Society. The Unnamed Society’s literary principles cast significant ideological influences on the members as well. A close examination of Li Jiye’s publication bibliography confirms the point that when Li Jiye was associated with the Unnamed Society, almost all of his translated works were published by the Society and most of these works were originally the work of Russian writers. 

The Unnamed Society, albeit short-lived, was a closely-knit organization and members frequently produced translations in a networked effort. Examples of such joint translation projects include Poor Folk (1846) by Fyodor Dostoevsky and Literature and Revolution (1924) by Leo Trotsky. Wei Congwu took the

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16 See “Li Jiye’s Bibliography of Translation and Literature” 李霽野譯著年表 [Li Jiye yizhe nianbiao] compiled by Zhang Suqin 張素琴 in Memorial to Li Jiye 李霽野紀念集 [Li Jiye jinanji], 369-388.
responsibility to translate *Poor Folk* from Constance Garnett’s English translation and Lu Xun checked it against its Japanese translation while Wei Suyuan compared the manuscripts with the Russian source text before it was published in 1926 (Gamsa 2008: 284). Similar logistics were used for the translation of Leo Trotsky’s *Literature and Revolution*, a key text that encapsulates the essence of Trotsky’s views on literature. Lu Xun read the Japanese rendition of the source and initiated another collaborative translation project with Li Jiye and Wei Suyang using the same three languages (*ibid.*: 284). The consequence of the publication of *Literature and Revolution* in 1928, however, was the Society being raided by Warlord Zhang Zongchang 張宗昌 (1881-1932) and the incarceration of Li and Wei for 50-odd days (Yeh 1990: 374).

Upon release from jail, Li continued to focus on the translation of literary works from Russia including a collection of short stories he entitled *The Misfortunes* (1929) and *The Humiliated and the Insulted* (1934) by Fyodor Dostoyevsky. These translated works that described the lives of the “oppressed people” can still reflect the literary principles and ideological orientations of Lu Xun and the Unnamed Society. When Wei Suyuan died at the age of thirty in 1932, the Unnamed Society had basically dissolved and Li Jiye had already taken up a teaching position in Hebei. However, the literary principles subscribed to by the Society as well as Lu Xun’s ideological influence, would still play an important role in the construction of Li Jiye’s cultural capital in the years to come. This can be evidenced by Li’s translational activities such as *Jane Eyre, War and Peace* (1869) and works by Soviet writers until the 1950s. Li finished the translation of *Jane Eyre* in the early 1930s.
when he was teaching in Hebei; although the novel is not a literary creation from Russia and is frequently received as a romantic novel, it portrays the uncompromising, rebellious spirit of an “oppressed” young lady who strives for freedom and independence. The epic novel *War and Peace* is one of the finest literary creations by Leo Tolstoy which depicts the stories of five Russian aristocratic families during the French invasion of Russia. By this time, Li had already moved to Tianjin where he would spend four years to complete this project but the book would never be published because the entire manuscript was lost in transit on its way to publication during the Sino-Japanese War (Li 1994: 355).

In all, the construction of Li Jiye’s cultural capital during the years when he translated *Jane Eyre* was the result of the agentive influence from his mentor Lu Xun and the Unnamed Society. Such ideological imprints can be noted in Li’s translation of *Jane Eyre*, which would in turn impact readers of the translated novel.

5.5 TRANSLATION AS A NETWORKED ARTEFACT

When Li Jiye finished the translation of *Jane Eyre* in 1933 he made an attempt to get it published by writing a brief proposal to Zhonghua Bookstore with the translation draft attached. The proposal was then endorsed with a simple remark “Not approved” without any reasons stipulated (Gong 1989b: 124). The translation, however, was eventually published in the serialized *The Collected Works of World Literature* [Shijie wenku] of Shenghuo Bookstore [Shenghuo shudian] from August 1935 to April 1936, and was republished in book
form in September 1936. The inclusion of Shenghuo Bookstore in this sub-network as a nonhuman actor has two implications: it provided a platform for the publication of the artefact and the publisher’s leftist affiliation was an important key to strengthen the defined leftist orientation of the network. A quick review of the currently available data collected about Shenghuo Bookstore shows that it was established in 1932 by the well-known patriotic journalist Zou Taofen 鄒韜奮 (1895-1944) (Reed 2004: 284). The bookstore was most noted for its progressive weekly journal of the same name (Lee 2001: 120). Supported by the CCP, the bookstore published criticisms of GMD policies and the intensifying Japanese aggression; both were meant to stimulate readers to action. In 1938, the GMD began to refuse advertisements for publications of the Shenghuo Bookstore (Coble 2015: 113). The bookstore’s Shanghai branch was first closed by the Chiang Kai-shek government in 1941. This was followed by the closure of other branches in Guilin, Guiyang and Kunming. At the same time many of the bookstore staff were also arrested (ibid.: 113). In this section, these historical facts about the Shenghuo Bookstore will be coupled with the translating agent’s cultural capital constructed with the agentive influence from Lu Xun and Unnamed Society in order to validate the leftist imprints noted in the artefact.

The original Chinese title of the translation was The Autobiography of Jane Eyre 简爱自传 [Jian Ai zizhuan] and later when the translation appeared in book form, it was changed to Jane Eyre 简爱 [Jian Ai]. It is a well-received point in a number of orthodox Chinese research projects that Lu Xun is credited for personally referring Li Jiye to Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸 (1898-1958), who was then the chief
editor of *The Collected Works of World Literature*, for the publication of *Jane Eyre*. The foundation of this argument probably originated from Li Jiye’s autobiography written in the 1980s, in which he states very clearly that it was with Lu Xun’s reference that he finally managed to publish his first translated novel *Jane Eyre* (Li 1994: 355). This particular point is mentioned again and again in various studies related to Li Jiye. An easily found example of such is Li Jiye’s obituary issued by the Xinhua News Agency in 1997, in which Li was given credit as the first Chinese translator to render *Jane Eyre* and it was published with Mr. Lu Xun’s referral (quoted in Gong 1989a: 118). Another example is the chronological list of Li’s major life events included in *Memorial to Li Jiye 李霽野紀念集 [Li Jiye jinianji]*. Under the entry of the year 1935, it reads, “*Jane Eyre* was included in *The Collected Works of World Literature* with Mr. Lu Xun’s recommendation” (Shanghai Lu Xun Memorial Hall 1994: 362). In addition, Li’s gratitude for Lu Xun’s contribution to the translation of *Jane Eyre* can be interpreted from a poem written by Li Jiye on 1st May, 1983. The poem was written to commemorate the publication of a new edition of *Jane Eyre* and the poem consists of two stanzas, each with two couplets. In the first stanza, Li wrote:

There was once an orphan, so poor and lonely,
yet the love and determination in the orphan is beyond this world.
Fifty years have passed so swiftly,
Recollecting my days when I was still an apprentice of translation. Oh, how I miss my mentor.\(^\text{17}\)

\(^{17}\) The poem is included in *The Collected works of Li Jiye 李霽野文集 [Li Jiye wenji]*, vol. 3, 124:

孤零身世大堪憐 ,
情感堅貞別有天。
飛逝韶光五十載，譯林學步憶先賢。
Li’s appreciation of his mentor who inspired him when he was “still an apprentice of translation” is well reflected in this poem written in 1983. A rough calculation of “fifty years” ago would be approximately 1933, the year when Li was engaged with the translation of Jane Eyre, which is about “a poor orphan” who possesses the qualities of “love and determination.” Although the name of the very much missed mentor is not revealed in the poem, it could be interpreted that Li Jiye had Lu Xun in mind when he wrote this.

However, this well-established viewpoint is challenged by scholar Gong Mingde. In the article, Gong disputes the point about Lu Xun referring Li’s Jane Eyre to Zheng for publication, casting doubt on the accuracy of the record (1989a). Some of the more significant reasons for his claim have been summarized as follows. First of all, no traces of written correspondence between Lu Xun and Li Jiye could be found where the two discuss the translation or the publication of Jane Eyre. It would not seem probable that an incident as important as the translation and publication of a 400,000-word novel was something they never discussed in their frequent exchange of letters. Also, Lu Xun and Zheng Zhenduo were engaged in intense arguments so heated that Lu Xun actually withdrew his manuscripts from Zheng and took them for publication elsewhere. The manuscripts were his Chinese translation of Dead Souls (1842) by Russian novelist Nikolai Gogol (1809-1852). The dispute between the two is a well-documented case and Gong concludes that

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重温舊籍憶當年，大好年華美夢酣。
不笑咿呀新學語，為牛俯首亦心甘。
with all the reasons stated above, it is thus impossible for Lu Xun to recommend Li Jiye to Zheng Zhenduo for the publication of *Jane Eyre* (Gong 1989a: 115-121). Whether or not Lu Xun actually referred Li Jiye’s *Jane Eyre* to Zheng Zhenduo for publication may remain an unsolved question to be further explored, yet I argue that Lu Xun’s role as an agent to prompt the publication of *Jane Eyre* should not be limited to the debate over the publication referral of one book. The mentor’s agentive influence over the mentee, i.e. Lu Xun’s leftist inclination and literary influence, needs to be explored with the integration of the ideological orientation of the Unnamed Society in order to establish how the networked agents influenced the translating agent Li Jiye when he was producing the artefact *Jane Eyre*. This can be examined in two stages: the motivation to translate the novel which is related to the selection of translation material, and the translation strategy applied in the translated text.

A crucial paratextual item to explain Li Jiye’s motivation to render *Jane Eyre* into the Chinese language in early 1930 is the 39-page “Translator’s Note”. Written in 1979 and later revised in 1981, the “Translator’s Note” is included at the end of the translation re-published in 2004. This paratextual item includes three major themes: an extensive biography of Charlotte Brontë from her childhood years in Yorkshire to her last solitary years in London; an analysis of the author’s writing style, and the elaborate characterization of the protagonist. These three themes can be regarded as the major reasons for Li Jiye to render the novel into the Chinese language.
A point to note here is that the very first Chinese translation of *Jane Eyre* actually appeared in China in 1925. It was, however, an extensively abridged rendition by Zhou Shoujuan 周瘦鵲 (1894-1868). Considered a popular author associated with the so-called Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies School, Zhou’s literary tastes and creations were inclined to romantic love stories and his Chinese translation of *Jane Eyre*, entitled *To See Light Again* 重光記 *[Chong guan ji]* was reduced to a simple love story in four parts: (1) Strange Laugh; (2) Budding Love; (3) Mad Woman and (4) Fruit of Love (Qi 2014: 21). Similar to other typical translation products of the early 1920s, Zhou’s rendition of *Jane Eyre* was more of an adaptation and it was written in classical Chinese. Although it was the first Chinese translation, it is seldom studied.

It is not mentioned in any of Li’s personal recollection that he was aware of Zhou’s version; thus the hypothetical motivation for Li Jiye to translate *Jane Eyre* with the intention to improve on the previous rendition cannot be established. Instead, the more likely reason for Li Jiye to translate *Jane Eyre* is the prestige of the novel and its canonical status in the source text culture. In the “Translator’s Note”, Li Jiye praises the novel by quoting from a number of positive literary comments published in significant journals and newspapers in the source text culture. For example, *Edinburgh Review* suggests that it is a novel of experiences from the author’s depth of melancholy and that it is a powerful, passionate and unique novel that has not been seen in years (Li 2004: 603). *Blackwood’s Magazine* identifies *Jane Eyre* as a narrative of incidents which is common but interesting. It is written with vivid and clever descriptions. It is a novel that would be enjoyed by readers who are
compassionate and understanding (ibid.: 603). G. H Lewis states in *Fraser’s Magazine* that it is an autobiography of real-life agony and experiences, which gives life to this novel. It is a spiritual novel that can communicate with readers’ souls (ibid.: 604). To highlight these literary remarks, Li specially includes the literary comments written by female novelist May Sinclair who suggests that Charlotte Brontë’s description of the passionate love between Jane Eyre and Mr. Rochester is sacred, beautiful and pure (ibid.: 604-605). All of these affirmative comments could be interpreted as the translator’s attempt to affirm the prestige of the novel as well as the writer’s canonical status in the source text culture. In addition, the translator specifically mentions that by the time the “Translator’s Note” was written, *Jane Eyre* was the novel that had the most number of reprints and publications in England (ibid.: 605). As can be observed from the translator’s overt efforts to authenticate the canonical status of the novel through such authoritative quotations, it is the novel’s canonicity that justifies the source text selection.

Another thematic subject of the “Translator’s Note” is the description of the female protagonist. Li describes Jane Eyre as a model of the “new woman” who is:

passionate and rebellious; she dares to defy social conventions from her oppressors. As a female from an era where social and economic independence does not exist, she advocates male-female equality and independence. She has the courage to overcome obstacles encountered in life and she represents a legendary figure in her romance. Jane Eyre is a phenomenal character in English literature. (ibid.: 619)

These highlighted descriptions about Jane Eyre – a humiliated orphan, rebellious, desirous of freedom – represent a ‘prototypical feminist’ position that contains two
major ideological elements inspired by the translator’s leftist inclination: “revolution”
by “the oppressed people” and women’s liberation. First of all, Jane Eyre is an
exemplary figure of “oppressed people” which was a main literary concern of Lu
Xun and the Unnamed Society. Li’s repeated emphasis of Jane Eyre’s rebellious
spirit and her desire for liberation is extended to the translated text. Jane Eyre’s
desire to “resist” and “revolt”, two frequently-appearing words in the novel, are
translated as *fankang* 反抗, *duikang* 對抗, and *fanpan* 反叛 (which literally mean
resist, defy and rebel), as well as *douzheng* 鬥爭 (which literally means struggle).
These terms, intentionally used by the translator in a repetitive manner, should not be
seen as merely a literal translation of “resist” and “revolt” into Chinese; instead the
use of these terms was prescribed by Lu Xun’s views on literature and revolution.18

The voice of Jane Eyre, the “oppressed” female protagonist, and the repeated
use of terms such as *fankang*, *duikang*, *fanpan* and *douzheng* in Li Jiyu’s translation
are a praxis of the functions of literature formulated by Lu Xun and adopted by the
Unnamed Society. Through Li Jiyu’s strategic internalization of the “oppressed”
governess’ desire to “resist” and “revolt”, the female protagonist’s evolved
humanism serves as an inspiration to Republican Chinese readers during the years
when China was experiencing internal turbulence and Japanese aggression. Such
discursive imprints in the translation, therefore, are important evidence that reflect
the translating agent’s leftist inclination and the ideological influence from Lu Xun

18 For a detailed discussion about the leftist discourse in Li Jiyu’s *Jane Eyre*, see Zhang Ping’s essay
“Socio-cultural context and translators’ discursive decisions – a contrastive analysis of two
translations of *Jane Eyre*” 社會文化與譯者的選詞 – 對《簡愛》兩種譯本的比較 [Shehui wenhua
huanjing yu yizhe de xuanzi – Dui 《Jian Ai》 liangzhong yiben de bijiao] in Memorial to Li Jiyu 李
霽野紀念集 [Li Jiyu jinian ji], pp. 255-264).
and the Unnamed Society during the years when the novel was translated.

The translator further asserts in the “Translator’s Note” that the novel is a success in the United Kingdom because the author champions “women’s liberation” through the female protagonist (ibid.: 606). Li discerns in the “oppressed” heroine’s rebellious spirit to “resist” and “revolt” an important quality that a “new woman” of Republican China should possess in order to achieve “women’s liberation”. Taking a different perspective from the radical leftists who saw “women’s liberation” as a de-gendered campaign where women were dressed in worker-peasant style and assigned tasks originally taken up by men (See 2.2.2), Lu Xun believed that women’s financial independence was the ultimate key to “women’s liberation”. This is reflected in his famous speech “What Happens after Nora Leaves Home?” (1923) in which he assertively argues that women can never lead an independent life without financial independence, which can only be acquired through some kind of professional skill; women who abruptly leave home like Nora in Henrik Ibsen’s A Doll’s House are faced with two scenarios: she will either fall to the ills of prostitution or commit suicide (Lan and Fong 2015: 176-181). Li was in line with his mentor in this respect as the equation of women’s financial independence with “women’s liberation” is a point highlighted in the novel, when Jane Eyre declares, “I am independent … as well as rich: I am my own mistress” but still chooses to love Mr. Rochester who by this time is already blind (Chapter 37, 618). This point is reiterated in the “Translator’s Note” where Li describes Jane Eyre as a character who

19 “What Happens after Nora Leaves Home?” is originally a talk Lu Xun gave at the Beijing Women’s Normal College on December 26, 1923. The English version is collected in Women in Republican China. A Sourcebook, 176-181.
possesses the spirit to pursue male-female equality, freedom, social and financial independence (Li 2004: 619). The translator then borrows a notable fictional female character Lady Wang Xifeng 王熙凤 to illustrate what financial independence could mean to a woman (ibid.: 620). Lady Wang is a character from Dream of the Red Chamber 红楼梦 [Hongloumeng] (c. 1791), also called The Story of the Stone 石頭記, a well-studied Chinese novel written by Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹 (1715-1763). Wang Xifeng is generally known to Chinese readers as a beautiful and elegant lady who is also intelligent, competitive and calculating. For years, she controls and manages the finances and domestic affairs of the Jia 賈 family while she makes full use of this power to capitalize on financial returns for herself. By drawing a direct comparison between Jane Eyre and Lady Wang Xifeng, the translator is trying to use these two exemplary characters to illustrate Lu Xun’s point about financial independence as a crucial key to “women’s liberation”.

In addition, Li Jiye’s translation motivation can be explained by the author’s association with socialism, an ideological position that resonates with Li’s leftist inclination. The association of Brontë with socialism is not a commonly-perceived point in the study of English literature, but it is prominent in the author’s profile created by the translator. In Section Three of the “Translator’s Note”, Li states that in an article entitled “The English Middle Class” written by Karl Marx, the socialist master once placed Charlotte Brontë and Charles Dickens together in the same category (ibid.: 621). In the article, Marx actually includes Dickens, Thackeray, Brontë and Gaskell in one group and crowns them as “the brilliant contemporary school of British novelists” and praises their writings as “eloquent and graphic
portrayals of the world that have revealed more political and social truths than all the professional politicians, publicists and moralists put together” (Marx 1973: 64). In the “Translator’s Note”, however, Li only mentions Brontë and Dickens; Thackeray and Gaskell are dropped from the list. This, I argue, is Li’s intentional omission. The established status of Dickens in Republican China explains why Li kept him while dropping the other two. In the 1930s, many novels by Dickens had already been translated into Chinese and Dickens was generally received by most Chinese readers as a social critic whose novels “were classified as satires devoted to exposing social ills” (Hung 1996b: 32). The juxtaposition of Brontë and Dickens as “brilliant writers”, therefore, is Li’s strategic alignment of the two writers’ profiles as satirists who wrote to expose social ills.

Another important influence from Lu Xun to be noted in Jane Eyre is the translation strategy adopted by the translating agent. This is not explained in the “Translator’s Note” but ‘direct translation’, a translation strategy favoured by Lu Xun, is noted in the artefact. This argument can be substantiated with an exemplary quotation from the novel in which the female protagonist expresses her views about the desires and social conventions women face:

It is in vain to say human beings ought to be satisfied with tranquility: they must have action; and they will make it if they cannot find it. Millions are condemned to a stiller doom than mine, and millions are in silent revolt against their lot. Nobody knows how many rebellions besides political rebellions ferment in the masses of life which people earth. Women are supposed to be very calm generally: but women feel just as men feel; they need exercise for their faculties, and a field for their efforts as much as their brothers do; they suffer from too rigid a restraint, too absolute a stagnation, precisely as men would suffer; and it is narrow-minded in their more
privileged fellow-creatures to say that they ought to confine themselves to making puddings and knitting stockings, to playing on the piano and embroidering bags. It is thoughtless to condemn them, or laugh at them, if they seek to do more or learn more than custom has pronounced necessary for their sex. (Chapter 12, 157)

Li Jiye’s translation:

To say that people are satisfied with tranquility is futile. They must have actions, if they cannot find actions, they must create. Thousands and millions of people are suffering from their doomed destiny stiffer than I, thousands and millions of people are revolting against their destiny in silence. Nobody knows that apart from political rebellion, how many other rebellions are fermented on earth by its living things. People in general think that women are quiet and calm, but they have feelings just like their brothers do, they need to use their talents and abilities, they need a venue where they can strive, just like their brothers do. The conventions are too rigid, the stagnation too absolute. These conventions are applied to women the way they would make men suffer. Their peers who are privileged say that they should be confined to making pudding, knitting socks, playing the piano, sewing bags, this is narrow-mindedness. If they want to do more than customs allow them, and can do better, learn more, then to scold them, laugh at them, this is stupid and ignorant.²⁰

From Li’s translated version, it is obvious that the translator has made minimal lexical and syntactical changes to the source text. Such linguistic inclination is more obvious when the same extract is compared with Wu Guangjian’s version, rendered

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²⁰ Li Jiye’s translation in Chinese: 說人們當以寧靜為滿足是枉然的，他們必須有動作，假若找不到動作時，他們要創造出來。千百萬的人受着比我還要靜寂的厄運，千百萬人默默反抗著他們的命運。沒有人知道，除了政治的反叛之外，在大地上的眾生中，醖釀着多少其他的反叛。一般人總以為女人是很沉靜的，但是女人正如男子一樣感覺，她們需要運用她們的才能，需要一個努力的場所，正如她們的兄弟一樣。太古板的約束，太絕對的死滯，也一毫不差地如同對於男子似的，使得她們吃苦，她們的更享有特權的同類要說她只應當限於做布丁、織袜子、彈鋼琴、繡口袋，那是心胸褊狹。假如她們要想比習俗所許可的做得更多，學得更多，而就去罵她們，笑她們，那是愚蠢無知的。 (Chapter 12, 141; highlight added)
in the quasclassical style he perfected.21

Modeling on Lu Xun’s strategy of direct translation, Li Jiye’s intentional use of Europeanized structures in the translation of Jane Eyre reflects an obvious trace of literary influence from his mentor even as it showcases the method as a mark of the mentee’s support for Lu Xun during the literary feud between Lu Xun and Liang Shiqiu while novel was being translated in the late 1920s. Although his translation is not an extreme case of ‘direct translation’ where translation allegedly becomes ‘stiff’ like Lu Xun’s translations of Russian literary works and Marxist literary criticism during the late 1920s (Chan 2001: 201), Li Jiye’s ‘direct translation’ could produce a certain level of incomprehensibility to readers of Republican China. Such incomprehensibility is caused by the translator’s lack of regard for the syntactical differences between Chinese and European languages.

Li Jiye’s application of ‘direct translation’ in Jane Eyre becomes more conspicuous when the translated text is compared with Wu Guangjian’s version, both published around the same time. Using the same passage presented above, the entire

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21 Wu Guangjian’s translation in Chinese: 有許多人說，一個人有安靜日子過，就該滿意，這句話是不相干的。凡人都是好動的，倘若不給他一個用武之地，他自己就要動的。我現時所過的日子，總算是安靜的了，但是世上還有億萬人，所過的日子比我所過的還要安靜得多，但是這億萬人，外面看不出什麼，心裡還不是要造反，求過活潑日子麼？世人只曉得，只看得見政治上的造反，看不見無數女子心裡對於境遇上也要造反，世人以為女人是最安靜的，但是女人也是個人，她們也要個用武之地，施展她們的本能，同男人一樣，束縛她們得太緊，她們心裡也是極難受的，男人們對於女人們，是很不恕的，總說是女人們應該深藏在家裡，製點心，織纗子，彈琴，繡花。男人若是笑女人不務正業，要作學問，要出來涉世，也未免太不知女人性格了。(Chapter 12, 148-149)
extract that describes Jane Eyre’s views about female desires and social conventions is ‘faithfully’ and ‘directly’ presented in Li’s translation while the entire passage is deleted in Wu’s translation. Such an extensive deletion, however, should not be passed as an exceptional occurrence. In fact, extensive textual deletions can be easily noted throughout the entire translation by Wu if a macro juxtaposed comparison of the two translated texts is performed. This observation is also noted by Mao Dun in an article he wrote in 1937, in which he draws textual examples from the two translations to illustrate Wu’s textual deletions and linguistic deviations from the source text.

Going back to Lu Xun’s predilection for ‘direct translation’, which started as a translation strategy he personally favoured and led to the debate with Liang Shiqiu, drew support from other Chinese intellectuals. One of these prolific figures was Mao Dun who expressed his preference for “direct translation” in the essay “‘Direct Translation’ and ‘Dead Translation’” (1922). He explains that direct translation may require more effort from the reader but it would not be incomprehensible (Luo and Chen 2009: 415). The expanse of Mao’s support for Lu Xun’s ‘direct translation’ was extended to Li Jiye’s Jane Eyre as well. Mao Dun made it clear in the frequently-quoted article published in 1937 that Li’s translation was superior to Wu’s because Li’s translation was closer to the source text (Mao 1994: 12). Taking a closer look at Mao Dun’s comments, analysed from the perspective of today’s translation theories, most would agree that his comments are

22 See Wu’s Jane Eyre, Chapter 12, p. 149.
23 Mao Dun’s article, “Two Translations of Jane Eyre” (《真亞耳》的兩個譯本 《Zhen Yaer de liangge yiben} was first published in the journal Translated Texts 譯文 [Yìwen] in 1937 and was later included in Memorial to Li Jiye, 1-12. References made in this thesis are from the latter.
merely personal remarks; however, this is one of the earliest attempts of these Republican scholars and intellectuals such as Mao Dun and the like to discuss two translations from a contrastive perspective.

A notable point to mention here is Mao Dun’s leftist inclination in his views on the functions of literature. He believed that literature was not merely about aesthetic values, it was more about its inspiration for people to envision an ideal future (Qi 2012: 65). Mao Dun saw that it was the responsibility of the writers, as well as translators, to use literature to reveal social rottenness to awaken people’s spirit and stimulate their desire for social protest (ibid.: 65). In line with the ideological orientations of the leftists and being a frequent contributor of the Shenghuo Bookstore as well, one may argue that Mao Dun’s favourable comments on Li Jiye’s translation are partial and subjective. It is not the scope of this thesis to review the validity of Mao Dun’s remarks on the two translations but Li Jiye’s version of Jane Eyre, generally known as the novel’s de facto translation, is very likely the result of the translating agent benefiting from the association he had with Lu Xun and Mao Dun.

The canonical status of Li Jiye’s Jane Eyre can be noted from the following evidence. First, there are more reprints for Li Jiye’s Jane Eyre. From its first publication in book form in 1936, it was published again in 1945, 1947 (in Chongqing) and 1946 (in Shanghai). Second, the name of the translated novel Jian Ai 简爱, Chinese transliteration of Jane Eyre, became so well-established in the

24 The same quantitative data collection process described in 4.3.1 applies.
target text culture that subsequent translations produced after 1949 are named *Jian Ai* although such transliteration method does not conform to modern principles for the translation of Western names into Chinese. *Jian Ai* is the direct transliteration of Jane Eyre while *Jian* 简 in Chinese is a family name and *Ai* 愛 is a commonly-used girls’ first name which literally means love. Contemporary translators would usually transliterate Jane into *zhen* 珍 (Lai 2010: 235); however, most of the novel’s subsequent translators simply followed Li Jiye’s direct transliteration and translated the novel’s name into *Jian Ai*. Examples of these include Ji Fang 季芳 (1971), Liang Xuting 梁绪婷 (1971), Huang Yuanshen 黄源深 (1971), Wu Junxie 吳鈞燮 (1971, 1973), Song Zhaolin 宋兆霖 (1976), Li Wenqi 李文绮 (1979). The title *Jian Ai* was used in all of these subsequent versions of *Jane Eyre*, be they novels or movies. On the contrary, Wu’s more poetic title *The Adventures of an Orphan Girl* 孤女飄零記 [*Gunü piaolingji*] is seldom adopted by subsequent translators.

5.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter presents elaborative details regarding the translational activities undertaken by two agents belonging to the two sub-networks within the leftist domain during the period between the late 1920s until 1930s. Leftist literature, from literary texts with an overt, radical leftist stance to literary creations reflecting a mild leftist inclination produced during these years would be an important foundation for the construction of a hegemonic leftist cultural and literary ideology in the interrelated strands of literature and politics which would gradually take shape later with the Yan’an Rectification Movement (1942-1944) and also the founding of the People’s Republic of China (1949). An important reason for the success of the
League and also the leftists is their affiliation with Lu Xun; as explained by Wong Wang-chi:

Lu Xun’s contribution to the left in the thirties was invaluable. His name alone stood out as a great symbol. A famous writer and the ‘mentor of the youth’ 青年导师 [qìngnián dàoshi], he was able to attract around him a group of young fighters. This alone made him such an important member of the left-wing literary movement. (1991: 7; Chinese characters added)

The ‘mentor of youth’ attracted around him a large number of young people who were trying to embark on their literary careers. This role that Lu Xun played corresponds with Latour’s definition of an influential actor whose task is to recruit more actors into the network. One of these newly-recruited young people, as exemplified in this thesis, was Li Jiye who adopted and applied his inherited leftist ideological orientations in the literary creations produced during the 1920s and 1930s. Another reason for the Leftists’ success was the League’s patronage of literary production. For youngsters who were not personally offered patronage by Lu Xun, they gravitated to the left because they could not accommodate themselves to the series of censorship movements which later led to the White Terror imposed by the GMD authorities. This was the case with Yang Bin.

With the two translating agents at the core of the two translation sub-networks, their cultural capital was constructed under the ideological influence of the human and nonhuman networked agents. Their agentive influence is reflected in the artefacts which are produced with the intention to influence the reading masses. Playing to the leftist tune, both translators have, in their own means, subtly
embedded their leftist discursive imprints into the translations which would be used to enlighten the readers’ “rebellious spirits”. Highlighted by both translating agents in the two networked artefacts *Pride and Prejudice* and *Jane Eyre* are the two female protagonists who are described as “oppressed people” with a “rebellious spirit” and this should not be taken as a mere coincidence with the growing popularity of revolution literature during the late 1920s and early 1930s, which became a noted literary trend with the growing number and influence of leftist writers (Liu 2003: 63-64). Instead of packaging the novels as pure romance, the “rebellious spirit” of the two female protagonists is highlighted by both translators to reflect the leftist tenet in the novels.

Existing studies about Li Jiye and Yang Bin seldom discuss the translations of these two novels by British female writers. An easy explanation is that these two novels are generally perceived as belonging to the category of romance, making them unlikely exemplars of leftist literature favoured by the leftists during the time of publication. However, the study of Li Jiye’s *Jane Eyre* and Yang Bin’s *Pride and Prejudice* in this thesis adds a new dimension to the existing studies about the leftist writers and translators because it has been evidenced through the two romantic novels that both translators’ leftist ideological orientations, formed under the agentive influence of the networked actors, can still be excavated from the artefact which was intended to be used “as a weapon in the battle of revolution” (Anderson 1990: 54).
CHAPTER SIX THE HUMANIST NETWORK

6.1 INTRODUCTION: DEFINING THE HUMANIST NETWORK

This chapter presents a contextualized examination of the specific translating agents and their translations of canonical British female novels produced under the ideological influence and patronage within the humanist domain. The three translating agents, Liang Shiqiu, Wu Guangjian and Dong Zhongchi, are categorized into this particular network due to their association with the Crescent Moon Society, a literary society composed of a circle of friends and intellectuals who were considered as ‘elites’ or ‘orchid class’ of literati while they took a vantage position to view China when the country was going through times of turmoil (Laurence 2003: 101). Crescent Moon members and associates were under severe attack from the leftists and the CCP due to their literary principles and alleged inclination towards the GMD. They were given names such as ‘rightists’, ‘nationalists’ or ‘bourgeois’ and were severely criticized for their alleged association with the GMD or their ‘apolitical’ or ‘aloof’ views in literature and politics.

Although the three translating agents included in this particular network were associated with the Crescent Moon Society in various forms, I would like to deliberately avoid naming this a Crescent Moon network for its unique ties with poetry as well as the discussions over the years which cast the Society and its members, especially Liang Shiqiu, in rather black-and-white terms. Unlike the League, the Crescent Moon Society was never an inaugurated formal organization.
No official documentation of its registered members can be established since it sprouted from dinner gatherings of Chinese intellectuals residing in Beijing. It was Xu Zhimo who initiated these gatherings with friends including Hu Shi, Wen Yiduo 閻一多 (1899-1946), Chen Xiying 陳西澄 (1896-1970) and other intellectuals who had been educated abroad. The name of the Society Crescent Moon was inspired by a collection of poems written by the Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) (ibid.: 103). While the group’s original objective was to write and stage drama, it was later developed into the writing of poetry and its contribution to poetry was considered the greatest (Wong 2008: 283). Leading figures of the Crescent Moon Society such as Xu Zhimo and Wen Yiduo developed a poetic style so distinctive that their writing soon earned the label of Crescentist poetry (ibid.: 285). Moreover, the term Crescent Moon presents too strong a tag as the leftists’ enemy (Wong 2008: 306); therefore, for the present thesis, the term humanist will be used instead as it basically encompasses the general literary principles subscribed by the Crescent Moon members and their associates in a collective fashion. This is a term derived from New Humanism advocated by Irving Babbitt (1865-1933) in America in the early 1900s while his doctrines were introduced to China during the late 1920s by his ardent disciples including Liang Shiqiu.

In Babbitt’s first book Literature and the American College: Essays in Defense of the Humanities (1908), he defines humanism and advocates humanistic doctrines. Babbitt initiates the discussion by first tracing the root of the word humanism to its Latin origin, humanus and humanitas, and defines a humanist as someone who is:
interested in the perfecting of the individuals rather than in schemes for the
elevation of mankind as a whole, and although he allows largely for sympathy he
insists that it be disciplined and tempered by judgment. (1908: 8).

Then he further elaborates the qualities of a humanist as a person who:

moved between an extreme of sympathy and an extreme of discipline and selection,
and became humane in proportion as he mediated between these extremes ... To
state the truth more generally, the true mark of excellence in a man, as Pascal puts it,
is his power to harmonize in himself opposite virtues and to occupy all the space
between them (*tout l’entred eux*). By his ability thus to unite himself opposite
qualities man grows his humanity, his superiority of essence over other animals.
(*ibid.*: 22)

The core of Babbitt’s advocacy, i.e. the defense of ancient humanist doctrines
and upholding the revival of classical virtues of restraint and moderation, is generally
regarded as New Humanism in America in the 1920s and 1930s (Ryn 1997: 9).
Babbitt’s New Humanism, when coupled with literature, redefines the classical
values in literature and equates it with “judicious imitation”, “discipline”, “restraint”,
“standards”, “higher wisdom” and the like; these are palpable signs of the revival of
the traditional moral orthodoxy (Sohigian 2007: 251). Such humanistic qualities in
literature resemble the Crescent Moon Society’s ‘apolitical’ use of literature.
Grappling with the relationship between art and politics during Republican China,
one major objective of the Crescent Moon Society was to “reassert the standards of
health and dignity” which would also be reflected in their translating activities (C. T.
Hsia 1999: 121). The artefacts selected for extended analysis in this chapter are *Silas
Marner, Cranford, Jane Eyre,* and *Pride and Prejudice,* all novels by British female
writers imported to China by the translating agents of the humanist network during
the years of political and literary chaos.

The humanist network discussed in this chapter is grounded in the three translating agents’ affiliation with the Crescent Moon Society, an important non-human influential agent that can draw more agents into the network. Therefore, this chapter will first discuss the literary orientations of the Crescent Moon Society, followed by the construction of the translating agents’ cultural capital through the integrated examination of the relevant paratextual and extratextual items of the translated texts. The objective of this chapter is to unfold the collective effort of the translating agents’ motivation to import such texts for the Chinese readers, the agents’ literary principles as reflected in their artefacts and the intended literary functions of these translations.

6.2 NON-HUMAN AGENT: CRESCENT MOON SOCIETY AND CRESCENT MOON BOOKSTORE

The Crescent Moon Society represented writers and intellectuals of two generations of overseas educated individuals (Kinkley 1987: 82-83). From its poetry reading days and informal dinner gatherings in Beijing in around 1925 and 1926, it was reincarnated in Shanghai to its somewhat more formal assembly during the years between 1928 and 1933 with the christening of the magazine, the *Crescent Moon* 新月月刊 [Xinyue] and the bookstore of the same name. Extensive studies on the Crescent Moon Society exist elsewhere (Lee 1986; Laurence 2003; Wong 2008); the focus of this section, therefore, will be the Society’s role as a nonhuman translating agent with specific attention directed to its literary and translation principles casting
ideological influence over the networked agents or prompting translational activities
during its Shanghai years when it was attacked by the leftists. In most orthodox
Chinese publications – works conducted by Chinese scholars and published in
mainland China – the Society had been negatively depicted as a “reactionary
comprador bourgeois writers’ clique” (Ding 1955: 93-95; Liu 1979: 223-229).
However more ‘sensible’ comments on the Society began to surface in recent
decades; from neutral remarks that describe the Crescent Moon members and
associates as writers who aimed at producing literary works of “ivory-towerish”
quality (Lee 1973: 18) or “subscrib[ed] to the ‘art for art’s sake’ philosophy and
hence critical of the revolutionary proletarian art and literature programs” (Qi 2012:
96), to more positive observations that praise them as “the more serious writers who
cared for the development of modern Chinese literature” (C. T. Hsia 1999: 121). The
common reflection noted from these recent comments on the Crescent Moon Society
is their collective attitude toward literature, that it should be aesthetic, classical and
above all ‘apolitical’.

The Crescent Moon Society, unlike the League, was not really a literary
association with any overt political agenda and the members were relatively silent on
politics-related topics. However, it does not mean that the Society members did not
engage in any discussion about politics at all. Members such as Xu Zhimo, Wen
Yiduo and Liang Shiqiu were generally against Communism (Wong 2008: 303). Xu
Zhimo, for example, associated communists and pro-communists with “fanaticism,
irrationalism, cruelty, jealousy, threat, libel, ignorance, stupidity, etc.” (Leung 1972:
195). To the leftists, the Crescent Moon members’ silence and anti-communist views
naturally turned them into pro-nationalists. The truth is, however, they were not politically inclined to either party. This ‘apolitical’ stance can be justified from the following instances. Despite the core Crescent Moon members’ anti-Communism sentiments, the Bookstore published the Chinese translations of works by confirmed Marxist H. J. Laski (1893-1950), namely *Communism* (1930) and also *A Grammar of Politics* (1931). The first presents an exposition of Communism while the latter advocates the nationalization of electricity, food, transportation and industries directly related to people’s livelihood. Moreover, it is not difficult to identify articles published in *Crescent Moon* that openly criticized the GMD’s policies. Liang Shiqiu, for instance, wrote articles that criticized the GMD government, especially its policies on publication. In an article published in 1936, Liang compared the GMD with “fascist countries” where authorities passed decisions to ban ‘reactionary’ publications (1989c: 59-63). In addition, an important Crescent Moon contributor Luo Longji 羅隆基 (1898-1965) was arrested on November 4, 1929 for his negative remarks on the GMD’s “one-party totalitarian rule” (Wong 2008: 303). Coinciding with this incident was the raid by the GMD authorities on the Beijing branch of the Crescent Moon Bookstore, confiscating over a thousand copies of *Crescent Moon* (ibid.: 303). In addition, the GMD was also trying to ban the magazine in different parts of China (Wang 1985: 321-22). Therefore, it would be inaccurate and unfair to describe the Crescent Moon Society as a pro-nationalist organization just because it exhibited anti-communist sentiments.

Not only were the Crescent Moon members caught in between the political polemics of the CCP and GMD, they also adopted a clear ‘apolitical’ attitude towards
literature which became its greatest struggle during the time when the leftists were making determined attempts to dominate the Chinese literary scene through the publication of propaganda literature. Educated in the West, the Crescent Moon members firmly believed in freedom of expression despite one’s political stance (Wong 2008: 304). Liang Shiqiu, for instance, although he was fully aware of the League writers’ political agenda, wrote an article paying compliments on their “tremendous progress” because they realized the importance of artistic skills in literature and that proletarian literature should be welcomed to the literary arena for those who love literature” (Liang 1936: 59-60). In essence, Crescent Moon members believed that writing was a channel to express their individual beliefs, feelings and voices; it provided writers a safe refuge where their feelings and sentiments can be expressed in the form of individualism (Laurence 2003: 58). The emphasis in the expression of individual feelings and sentiments was transformed from the ideology which some of the Crescent Moon members were exposed to while studying in England when they were influenced by the personalities, lives, and poetry of the British romantics (Laurence 2003: 108). The ideological ties between the British romantics and the Crescent Moon members are also confirmed by Bonnie McDougall, yet in a way different from the leftists. The leftists were knotted with Romanticism “to the cause of individual liberation and national revolution while the Crescent Moon members were only selectively taking on Romanticism and its ideological inclination to nature and the free expression of their young passionate self” (McDougall 1971: 147).

The core of the Crescent Moon Society’s literary beliefs, that literature should
be ‘apolitical’ and writers should enjoy the freedom to express their opinions, are well reflected in two essays published in the inaugural issue of the literary magazine *Crescent Moon Monthly* in 1928. The first essay is Xu Zhimo’s “The Crescent Moon’s Attitude” 新月的態度 [*Xinyue de taidu*] which is generally perceived as the manifesto of the Crescent Moon Society and the Bookstore. In this eight-page essay, Xu Zhimo presented a list of thirteen categories of ‘bacteria’ noted in the literary arena; some of these items include utilitarianism 功利派 [*gongli pai*], radicalism 熱狂派 [*rekuang pai*], extremism 偏激派 [*pianji pai*] and more. Xu then continued the discussion by describing the role of the Crescent Moon members, that it was their paramount goal to restore “the order and form” of the “chaotic market” of the Chinese literary field in the 1930s (Xu 1928: 3-10). The second essay is Liang Shiqiu’s “The Discipline of Literature” 文學的紀律 [*Wenxue de jilu*]. It is usually read as a follow-up essay to elaborate on what could be done to rectify the “chaotic market”. Liang explained that the only solution to resolve the current problem was the advocacy of a pure art form with rationality. In the essay, Liang stated that it was crucial for writers to have passion and imagination in order to create literature; yet it was equally important for writers to possess rationality in order to create “healthy literature” (Liang 1928: 11-28).

These two essays thus set forth the guiding principles of the Crescent Moon Society and the Bookstore: ‘health’ and ‘dignity’ (Lee 1986: 430). By highlighting the ‘bacteria’ of the literary arena, the Crescent Moon members were also calling for the attention and effort of all Chinese writers and intellectuals to rectify these problems by upholding the importance of ‘healthy literature and rationality’ and
denouncing extreme radicalism. The leftists took such proclamations as a challenge and immediately rose to the occasion by calling the Xu Zhimo “a clown”, Hu Shi “a compromising idealist” and the Crescent Moon Society “a group of hypocritical bunch of compradorial gentlemen in the service of the capitalist class” (ibid.: 430).

Thus the year 1928 did not only mark the inauguration of the Crescent Moon Society and its magazine, but also the beginning of the rivalry in writing between the Society and the leftists. The antagonistic debate lasted for approximately eight years which started from the late 1920s since the publication of the two essays mentioned above, and went on until the early 1930s. Although Xu Zhimo’s “The Attitude of the Crescent Moon” played a key role in sparking the debate and that the title of the essay also suggested a collective movement of the Crescent Moon members, the debate in writing was mostly between Lu Xun and Liang Shiqiu. As Liang Shiqiu later described it in his memoir, this experience was a solitary battle because his Crescent Moon friends did not assist him at all (Liang 1989a: 109). During the debate, Liang Shiqiu and Lu Xu presented their literary views and beliefs through a series of written rebuttals. Their arguments covered various topics, from the advocacy of Romanticism or Humanism, to the education of women, translation and the function of literature. During the years over which the debate took place, Liang Shiqiu was in his early thirties and was only a young graduate who had just returned to China while Lu Xun was already in his fifties and had established himself as a prominent literary figure in China. It was uncommon to see two scholars from two generations engaged in such an acrimonious debate. The antagonism got so intense that Lu Xun started calling Liang Shiqiu nasty names such as “Capitalist’s running
dog”.

One possible explanation for Lu Xun’s irrational behaviour was the rising challenge this Chinese literary doyen felt from Liang, especially his harsh comments on Lu Xun’s “stiff translation” of Russian literary works and Marxist criticism (Lee 1986: 432). Whatever the reason for Lu Xun’s aggravation, the negative impact remained with Liang Shiqiu for decades, especially with Mao Zedong’s open criticism against Liang in his famous “Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art” (1942) in which the Chairman condemned the writer’s attempt to uphold bourgeois literature and art for art’s sake as serving the imperialists (Mao 1967: 11).

As for their translational activities, the Crescent Moon members were drawn to the introduction of Western literature, especially English literature, to promote literary and artistic appreciation for the sake of pure aesthetics. Their blended literary and ideological preoccupation is reflected in the Society’s translational activities evidenced in two intertwined veins: the journal Crescent Moon Monthly and the translated books published by the Crescent Moon Bookstore. Modelled on the Victorian Yellow Book, the Crescent Moon was a monthly magazine which served as a platform for the publication of literature and art related works in line with the ideological orientations of the Crescent Moon Society. Leafing through the magazine, there are translations of literary works by William Shakespeare, William Hazlitt (1778-1830), Gordon Craig (1872-1966), Katherine Mansfield (1888-1923), André Maurois (1885-1967), as well as philosophical works by Aristotle (384-322 BC) and Robert Flint (1838-1910). The magazine also published scholarly articles to

25 “Capitalist’s Running Dog” 資本家的走狗 [Zibenjia de zouguo] is actually the title of an essay Lu Xun wrote in response to an essay written by Liang Shiqiu. Lu Xun was referring to Liang Shiqiu in the essay. It was first published in Sprout 萌芽月刊 [Mengya yuekan], vol. 1, issue 5 on 1st May, 1930.
supplement these literary and philosophical works in order to provide Chinese
readers with the explanation of historical and cultural contexts foreign to them.
Examples of these articles include “England and London in the Age of Shakespeare” 莎士比亞時代之英國與倫敦 [Shashibiya shidai zhi Yingguo yu Lundun] and “Ritual Ceremonies of the Greeks” 希臘祭神典禮 [Xila jishen dianli].

Some of the works published in the magazine, totaling 24 publications, were later edited and republished in book form by the Crescent Moon Bookstore (Appendix 2). From the appended list, it is not difficult to conclude that the translation priorities adopted by the Bookstore correspond with those of the Crescent Moon Society. The 24 published translations can be classified in four major areas: literary works by canonical writers especially in drama and novels, politics, history, and sociology. The titles of the translated literary works published by the Crescent Moon Bookstore include works by Shakespeare, Eliot, Goldsmith and the like. They present a true reflection the Society’s literary orientations in Xu Zhimo’s manifesto that only aesthetic literature should be introduced to Chinese readers for the rectification of the chaotic scene in the Chinese literary arena.

The four translations selected for in depth examination were mostly published during the years when the debate between Lu Xun and Liang Shiqiu took place. These novels, as literature of aesthetic and classical values, when contextualized against the historical backdrop of the well-known debate of the two intellectuals, will serve as an important key to understanding how the publication of such literature would be used to present the arguments that the functions of literature are to “rectify
chaos” and “restore order and form” in the literary arena. As for the non-human agent of this translation network, the Crescent Moon Society provides ideological influence over the three translating agents Liang Shiqiu, Wu Gu Guangjian, and Dong Zhongchi under the humanist spectrum for the translation of British canonical female writers’ novels. In the case of Liang Shiqiu’s *Silas Marner*, the Crescent Moon Society’s patronage is further extended to the actual publication of the translation. The following sections will focus on the analysis of the ideological influence the Crescent Moon Society had exercised on the networked translating agents and their translational artefacts selected for examination.

6.3 LIANG SHIQIU’S CULTURAL CAPITAL

This section presents the analysis of the translating agent Liang Shiqiu’s ideological orientation constructed under the influence from Tsinghua School and Irving Babbitt. The core of Liang Shiqiu’s literary and translation tenets is probably best encapsulated by the Chinese term the ‘Golden Mean’ 中庸 [Zhongyong]. The term ‘Golden Mean’ literally means the perfect harmony of the cosmos while James Legge (1815-1897) translates it, with his own interpretation, as “the fixed principle regulating all under heaven ... without inclination or deflection, which neither exceeds nor comes short” (1983: 382). For the present thesis, the ‘Golden Mean’, I argue, is an ideological hybrid of the influence from Liang Shiqiu’s Tsinghua years and Irving Babbitt formulated during the 1920s. The ‘Golden Mean’ serves as the guiding principle for many of Liang Shiqiu’s literary outputs since he completed his ideological transition in the early 1920s.
Born in 1903, Liang Shiqiu spent his childhood years studying in private schools in Beijing until 1915 when he enrolled in an eight-year preparatory programme of Tsinghua School for students to further their studies in the United States (Chen 2006: x). Liang then went to the United States for further academic pursuits between 1923 and 1926. He first attended Colorado Collage and then started his Harvard years in 1924. It was at Harvard where George Lyman Kittredge inspired Liang’s interests in Shakespeare and Irving Babbitt converted him to New Humanism (ibid.: xii). As he returned to China, he began teaching at different universities including Beijing University, Shanghai Jinan University and Guangzhou Zhongshan University. He also served as editor of literary magazines including *Crescent Moon Monthly*, of which he was also a co-founder (ibid.: xii). Liang’s writing began to appear regularly in these literary journals and supplements such as *Literature Weekly* 文學週刊, *Arts and Literature* 文藝, and *Creation Quarterly* 創造季刊, just to name a few.

After the Sino-Japanese War and the Civil War, Liang finally moved to Taiwan in 1949 and continued his contributions in literature and education by working as the Acting Head of the National Translation and Compilation Centre of Taipei and teaching in universities. As he retired in 1966, he focused on writing and translating literary works, making tremendous contributions to Chinese literature before died in 1987. Liang Shiqiu’s most notable literary contributions include three monumental projects: the 40-volume Chinese translation of *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, a translation project which Liang single-handedly finished in a span of 30 years; *The
Far East English-Chinese Dictionary which Liang edited and published in 1975 (the dictionary contains more than 160,000 entries and served as an important reference work especially for English learners in Taiwan during the 1970s and 1980s); and the writing of a three-volume comprehensive history of English literature in Chinese. Liang’s translational contribution is especially comprehensive; he translated many classical literary works from the West, including The Love Letters of Abelard and Heloise (1928), Silas Marner (1932), Peter Pan (1935), Wuthering Heights (1942), Mr. Gilfil’s Love Story (1944), among others.

6.3.1 AGENTIVE INFLUENCE: TSINGHUA SCHOOL

In any discussion on Liang Shiqiu’s ideological orientation, it is inevitable to bring up his association with Irving Babbitt. Liang’s conversion from May Fourth’s Romanticism to Babbitt’s New Humanism is a case extensively studied (Bai 2004; Gao 2007; Yan 2008); however, these studies mostly focus on the description of his ideological transition that took place during his Harvard years after taking Babbitt’s classes. This stage of the transition represents the more conspicuous element contributing to the overall construction of Liang’s ideological orientation while another lesser studied yet equally important element needs to be incorporated into the analysis in order to develop a more complete picture.

In order to prepare students for their overseas education, many academic courses at Tsinghua School were taught by foreign professors. Students had generally adopted the attitude of depreciating Confucianism and conventional Chinese values
(Kojima 1988: 46). These were also the May Fourth years when Liang and many of the Chinese intellectuals were witnessing the importation of various Western political and literary ideas into China posing challenges to Confucianism. As Leo Ou-fan Lee argued in *The Romantic Generation of Modern Chinese Writers* (1973), Romanticism was a spirit that enlightened and characterized many Chinese intellectuals, writers and scholars of the May Fourth generation. Liang Shiqiu, just like many of his peers, was one of the young intellectuals who grew up in China during the May Fourth years and was inspired by Romanticism. Before he went to the United States, Liang was a firm believer of Romanticism and he was particularly interested in Oscar Wilde and his works (Liang 1978:491). During this period, he frequently offered literary contributions to the Creation Society 創造社 [*Chuangzao she*], a literary society founded in 1921 by Chinese students recently returned from Japan such as Guo Moru 郭沫若 (1892-1978), Yu Dafu 郁達夫 (1896-1945), and Zhang Ziping 張資平 (1893-1959). The early years of the Society advocated Romantic ideals such as anti-feudalism and self-expression.

However, Liang was not a blind follower of Romanticism and Western ideals. Different from the commonly-adopted attitude held by many of the Chinese intelligentsia of this era, that ancient Confucian ideals were the cause of China’s backwardness, Liang detested his peers’ depreciative views on conventional Chinese ideals. He began taking part in activities organized by the Confucian Association 孔教會 [*Kong jiao hui*] in order to defend Confucianism (Kojima 1988: 46) as he became more interested in Chinese literature. This is documented in two essays, both written by Liang Shiqiu. The first one is “Eight Years in Tsinghua” 清華八年.
[Tsinghua banian], in which Liang recalls how his passion for Chinese literature was roused after attending a talk by Liang Qichao (1989d: 216). The second essay “My Chinese Teacher” 我的一位国文老师 [Wode yiwei guowen laoshi] (1989) is an anecdotal narrative of the mentorship Liang had received from his Chinese teacher Xu Jingcheng 徐鏡澄 (n. d.). In this essay, Liang explicitly asserts that the teacher’s knowledge in Chinese literature and his writing style would impress him for the decades to come (1989d: 323). This inclination to Chinese Classicism would be an important ideological foundation for his conservative literary tenets to be developed later in Harvard. Hence, it was during the Tsinghua years when Liang Shiqiu had a taste of the clash of the two ideological polemics – Romanticism and Chinese Confucianism – which would later blend to formulate the ‘Golden Mean’ with the inspiration of Babbitt’s Humanism.

6.3.2 AGENTIVE INFLUENCE: IRVING BABBITT

When Liang Shiqiu started his graduate studies in Harvard in 1923, his initial intention of taking Babbitt’s course was to challenge his perspectives on Humanism, which were totally different from the romantic disciplines to which he subscribed. Instead of challenging the professor, Liang discovered that he was the one who became influenced after taking Babbitt’s classes and reading his books (Bai 2004: 49). Liang was so impressed by the mentor that he described Babbitt’s Rousseau and Romanticism (1919) as a major source of ideological influence and that it was after reading this particular book that his views on Romanticism began to change (1985: 117-136). With Babbitt’s influence, Liang abandoned his May Fourth ties with
Rousseau’s Romanticism and aligned himself with Matthew Arnold’s disciplines and reasons. This ideological conversion is later described by Liang Shiqiu himself as a transition from “radical Romanticism to something closer to Classicism” (Liang 1978: 492).

Referring once again to Babbitt’s first book *Literature and the American College: Essays in Defense of the Humanities*, the writer identified three antagonistic chains of thought in the American curriculum. Babbitt termed the first two as scientific and sentimental humanitarianism, respectively typified by Sir Francis Bacon and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Scientific humanitarianism, according to Babbitt, could only be attained through research and investigation while such “progress” would ultimately be hindered because there was always the need for more data (*ibid.*: 92-94); while sentimental humanitarianism allowed individuals to run their natural desires unfettered (*ibid.*: 97-99). Babbitt saw these two schools of advocacies as oppositional extremes and that they encouraged continuous expansion of individual desires and inclinations (*ibid.*: 74). Genuine humanism, however, was the mediation of these two forces of extremes as it was founded upon restraint and control (*ibid.*: 83). Human life, as described by Babbitt, is constantly exposed to struggles between expansion and control; therefore the supremacy in the law of life is “the law of measure” as it “bounds and includes all other laws” (*ibid.*: 83). Humanistic thinkers and writers, such as Plato, Cicero, Castiglione, Goethe, Matthew Arnold, and Babbitt himself, who noted the significance of the mediation of extremes, led lives of restraint and discipline (*ibid.*: 108).
Inspired by his mentor, Liang Shiqiu identified the shared essence of Humanism and the ‘Golden Mean’, i.e. the mediation of extreme rationality and radicalism. This, in other words, means the restraint from rebellious individualism in order to achieve the harmony in oneself. The ‘Golden Mean’ is especially important for literary translation as it symbolizes the inspiration for incipient literary movements. This is a perspective detailed in the essay “The Romantic Tendency of Modern Chinese Literature” 现代中国文学之浪漫趋势 [Xiandai Zhongguo wenxue zhi langman qushi] (1926) in which Liang described the literature and the literary arena of China in the 1920s as problematic and chaotic, and in need of discipline. Seeing the “undisciplined” and excessive importation of foreign literature to China and creating negative impact on the country’s literary creations, Liang defined such literature as “romantic” (Liang 1987: 3). Romantic advocates only opted for literary creations that are “novel” 新颖 [xinying] and “bizarre” 奇异 [qiyi] to readers; however, Liang only viewed these as shallow works characterized by unrestrained emotionalism and humanitarianism. Such romantic literature, in C. T. Hsia’s words, is “completely secular, philosophically unambitious, and psychologically crude … [in] its failure to explore the deeper reaches of the mind and give allegiance to a higher transcendental or immanent reality” (1999: 18).

The ‘Golden Mean’, therefore, can be adopted as the guiding principle for the importing of foreign literature into China. Instead of the “undisciplined”, “romantic” influx of third and fourth rate literary creations into the country for Chinese writers to model on, Liang stressed translators’ social responsibilities (1987: 10). According to Liang, translators should take translations ‘seriously’ and they were not merely
“introducers” who were tasked with the presentation of a mere short biographical note of any author together with a list of the author’s works or the synopsis of the author’s major works without presenting the actual translations to the readers (ibid.: 11).

To Liang, the value of literature lies in its own intrinsic values regardless of time, class or environment. He saw it as his responsibility to defend the “catholic tastes” or “high standards” in literature in China (ibid.: 431). Such advocacy is frequently discussed in various articles published during his Crescent Moon years, such as “The Disciplines of Literature” 文學的紀律 [Wenxue de jilu] (1928), “The Morals of Literati” 文人有行 [Wenren you xing] (1928), “Literature and Revolution” 文學與革命 [Geming yu wenxue] (1928) and “Sinclair’s ‘Mammonart’” 辛克萊爾的《拜金藝術》 [Xinkelaier de 《baijin yishu》] (1933).26 Liang Shiqiu’s humanistic views on literature, that human nature is the only proper subject for literature, remained consistent until his death as he remarks in the preface of his literary memoir, “since 1924 until now, my perspective [toward literature] has not changed” (Liang 1989a: 13).

Going back to the ‘Golden Mean’, Liang took it as the guiding principle for the translation strategy adopted in his translations as well. From the context of the heavily-debated topic on translation in the 1920s and 1930s which revolved around literalism and liberalism, Liang criticized cases of extreme literalism and described them as ‘stiff translation’ and ‘dead translation’, as exemplified by Lu Xun and his

26 These essays are collected in Liang Shiqiu’s A Cottager’s Essays 雅舍散文 [Yashe sanwen] (Taipei: Jiuge chubanshe, 1985).
translation of Russian and Marxist works (Liang 1929). However, it would be equally wrong for a translator to intentionally edit a translation and render it in a way easier for readers to understand simply due to the source text’s complex syntactical structures and metaphorical references; if so, translation would be an easy task (Liang 1967: 75). The ‘Golden Mean’ in translation, therefore, lies in the translator’s ‘faithfulness’ to the source text while presenting a translation that is of high readability and fluency (1967: 75-76).

Babbitt had not only converted Liang Shiqiu’s literary ideals from Romanticism to Humanism, he had also changed Liang’s reading habits and the nature of his literary creation (Bai 2004: 50). During his Tsinghua years, he used to write poems and short stories to demonstrate his romantic attachment; however, after his return from the United States, he stopped writing poems and short stories and began to produce other genres of literature to advocate Humanism (ibid.: 50). These views on literature and views “contrary to then-popular ideas of egalitarian democracy and posed a challenge to the dogma of proletarian literature” (ibid.: 50) were especially thorny for Lu Xun. It was this that sparked off the arguments between Liang Shiqiu and Lu Xun in ink which would last for years.

6.4 TRANSLATOR’S MOTIVATION: SILAS MARNER

It is important to note that Liang Shiqiu’s Silas Marner was timely published by the Crescent Moon Bookstore in 1932, when the pen war between Liang Shiqiu and Lu Xun reached its climax. During the debate, the two scholars did not only present
their literary views and beliefs through the essays they published, they were also using their translation works as supports to illustrate their respective advocacies. With the direct correlation established between the written debate and Liang’s literary and translational activities conducted during these particular years, this section focuses on the examination of the translating agent’s motivated use of *Silas Marner* as a response to the leftists’ “undisciplined” and excess importation of foreign literature; specific attention will be directed to Liang’s views on literature and women’s education embossed in the artefact.

6.4.1 FUNCTIONS OF LITERATURE

Believing that it was his literary responsibility to guide and educate Chinese readers with the reading of foreign literature of eternal and universal human nature in a disciplined manner of importation, Liang Shiqiu was using *Silas Marner* to exemplify such advocacy. This supposition can be evidenced with two important extratextual material, both written by the translator himself. The first one is the “Preface” to the 1932 translation and the second is the new “Preface” to the 1993 reprint published in Taiwan.

The major reason for Liang Shiqiu to translate the novel was the noted humanistic qualities in the novel. This was a point elaborately discussed in the “Preface” of the 1932 translation. In the six-page preface, the translator offered a detailed biographical account of George Eliot, explained that while *Silas Marner* may not be Eliot’s best literary creation in comparison with her other works such as
Mill on the Floss (1860), Felix Holt, the Radical (1866) and the epic (and probably most well-known) Middlemarch (1871-1872), he decided to introduce Silas Marner instead to China because it was “a human book” in which “Eliot described human nature in the novel” (Liang 1932: 5). It is important to note how Liang Shiqiu highlighted this particular point in the preface; he even inserted small circles next to the Chinese characters of the entire sentence. This was a common punctuation practice adopted by Republican Chinese writers when they intended to highlight an important idea. The description of human nature in the novel was the major reason for Liang to translate Silas Marner as it satisfies the criteria of being a good novel (Liang 1969:131).

The association of Silas Marner and Humanism then leads to the most paramount humanistic element Liang noted in the novel. In line with Irving Babbitt, Liang agreed with his mentor’s conceptual classification of human into naturalistic, humanistic, and religious levels. Of the three levels, Liang Shiqiu concluded that it was the religious level that was the most important because it was at this state where people led a spiritual life that was solemn, serious and sublime (Liang 1978: 491-493). Extending this idea to the translation of Silas Marner, I propose that it was the religious content Liang noted in the novel that prompted his engagement in this particular translational activity.

It is, therefore, important to concretize the presence of religious elements in

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A similar argument has also been discussed by scholar Bai Liping, who suggested that the presence of Humanism, or human nature in Silas Marner was a major reason why Liang Shiqiu decided to translate this particular novel. See “Babbitt’s Impact in China: The Case of Liang Shiqiu,” Humanities 17 (2004): 64.
*Silas Marner* at this point. In fact, religion was a recurring theme in not only *Silas Marner* but in all of George Eliot’s novels (Hodgson 2001: ix) and that the writer frequently expressed her religious ideas through writing (*ibid.*: 28). This observation could be justified with a letter Eliot wrote to Clifford Albutt in 1868:

> I must tell you that I am always a little uneasy about my share in the talk when it has turned on religion … My books are a form of utterance that dissatisfies me less, because they are deliberately, carefully constructed on a basis which even in my doubting mind is never shaken by a doubt … The basis I mean is my conviction as to the relative goodness and nobleness of human dispositions and motives. And the inspiring principle which alone gives me courage to write is, that of so presenting our human life as to help my readers in getting a clearer conception and a more active admiration of those vital elements which bind men together and give a higher worthiness to their existence; and also to help them in gradually dissociating these elements from the more transient forms on which an outworn teaching tends to make them dependent (Eliot 1954: 472).

*Silas Marner* is a novel that describes how good people are rewarded while sinners are punished. One of its central themes is the protagonist’s rediscovery of his religious faith, from being banished and deserted by his loved ones to becoming a respected member of the village and a happy father to his loving child. The novel discusses extensively religious ideas and values through various characters, for example, Silas Marner, Nancy Cass and especially Dolly Winthrop, Silas’s neighbour. The religious content in George Eliot’s *Silas Marner* is an extensively-discussed case by Western literary scholars of different times. For example, E. S. Dallas noted the rich religious content of the novel by drawing out the similarities between Silas with Job as both are rewarded after going through much hardships and betrayal (1861: 12). J. H. Mazaheri illustrated and supported this point with similar arguments drawn
from other critics and scholars who shared the common belief that the presence of religious qualities in *Silas Marner* was abundant and apparent (2012: 1-3). Hodgson added a further insight to readers’ understanding of *Silas Marner* by underscoring the point that it is a tale that:

> shows how a little child brings about a redemptive transformation in human affairs. The realistic treatment shows that the redemption is accomplished through pure and natural human relations, not by a miraculous intervention of God – but this is not to say that God is not present and active in the story. (2001: 74-75)

Having explained the active presence of religious elements in *Silas Marner* and that Liang Shiqiu saw religion as the most important quality of the three humanistic levels in life, I will now discuss how Liang Shiqiu drew his readers’ attention to the presence of religion by highlighting such elements in the translation. Throughout the Chinese version of *Silas Marner*, Liang Shiqiu intentionally added footnotes and annotations to amplify the novel’s religious content. In Liang Shiqiu’s translation, out of the total number of 29 footnotes and annotations, 14 are inserted to provide details explaining Eliot’s religious allusions while the rest are to clarify other complicated notions such as English laws, culture and language (see Appendix 3).28 The added footnotes and annotations in Liang Shiqiu’s *Silas Marner* may not in themselves qualify as a case of thick translation by the definition of Kwame Anthony Appiah (1993: 808-819); however, the provision of footnotes and annotations in translated texts was not a widely-adopted translation practice in China during the 1930s. Therefore, the appended footnotes and annotations in Liang Shiqiu’s *Silas Marner*

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28 Appendix 3 is a reproduction of the 29 footnotes in Liang Shiqiu’s translation. The 14 footnotes with religious and biblical allusions are highlighted with asterisks.
reflects the translating agent’s overt attempt to draw readers’ attention to the novel’s religious content. Since Chinese readers of the 1930s were mostly unfamiliar with Western Christian concepts, these 14 footnotes provided by Liang Shiqiu are mostly references made to the *Bible*, including biblical allusions or quotations from the Book of Genesis or the Gospel of Luke, while some others explain the roles and responsibilities of clergymen. To reassess the list of footnotes provided by Liang Shiqiu from the analytical perspective of modern readers, these appended notes may not contain the in-depth cultural and historical information that Republican Chinese readers may need to fully comprehend the long and complicated history of Christianity and the significance of the Biblical stories, but they do perform the functions of highlighting the Biblical and religious overture in Eliot’s *Silas Marner*.

In order to substantiate the above argument regarding Liang Shiqiu’s conscious intention to highlight the religious elements present in the novel, a macro comparative analysis of the two Chinese translations by Liang and Shi could be incorporated into this narrative. With Liang Shiqiu’s 14 asterisked footnotes and annotations presented in Appendix 3 as the premise to identify the religious relevance noted in the source text, the corresponding segments from both translated texts are extracted for textual scrutiny. Appendix 4 is a juxtaposed presentation of these excerpts selected from the source text and the two translations. If Liang Shiqiu’s appended footnotes and annotations is a translation strategy used to overtly highlight the presence of religion in the novel, Shi Ying’s translation suggests the opposite. In Shi Ying’s translation, the translator provides no explanation for any of these biblical allusions, quotations or religious terms even though the lack of
explanation may linguistically impair readers’ reception. The following two examples are extracted for discussion.

In Chapter 7, when Silas tells the Raveloe villagers the loss of his gold and money, the landlord conducts an ecclesiastical ceremony called *nolo episcopari* before he agrees to investigate the case (p. 79), Shi Ying simply rendered the religious term ‘nolo episcopari’ as 謙讓禮節 [*qianrang lijie*] (p. 46), which literally means ceremonial observances or etiquette to modestly decline an offer before taking up an important task or responsibility. The religious significance or procedures of this ceremony is not explained by Shi Ying as it is in the appended footnote provided by Liang Shiqiu (see Appendix 4, point 5). Another example is taken from Chapter 10, when Silas nods to confirm his understanding of the abbreviation I. H. S. (p. 112), Shi Ying simply retained the three English initials in his translation without any explanation or translation (p. 65) while Liang Shiqiu briefly explained in footnote 18 that these three alphabets are a Christogram that forms the abbreviation for the name of Jesus Christ (see Appendix 4, point 8).

From these two examples as well as the other textual instances compiled in Appendix 4, the divergent strategic treatment adopted by Liang Shiqiu and Shi Ying especially for the translation and rendition of religious contents in the novel can be verified. Shi Ying’s decision to not provide textual explanation or footnotes is a consistent strategy applied in his rendition while Liang Shiqiu carefully appends footnotes and annotations for such religious contents and biblical allusions. The inclusion of footnotes and annotations, to Liang Shiqiu, can also be perceived as the
reflection of the translator’s ‘serious’ attitude adopted for translation. In the essay “Romantic Tendency in Modern Chinese Literature” 現代中國文學之浪漫趨勢 [Xiandai de wenxue zhi langman qushi] (1927), Liang not only discussed at length the responsibilities of Chinese scholars, including translators, he also described how translators should treat their translations (1987: 1-35). In the essay, Liang explained that the task of translators was to dutifully and faithfully render foreign literature into the Chinese language. Therefore, translators should adopt a very serious attitude toward the foreign literature selected for translation and the detailed content of such works should be carefully annotated in the translation (Liang 1987: 11). These translation strategies are all adopted in Silas Marner. The translator’s serious attitude can be noted in the detailed account of the author as well as her literary creations; he explained that it was a complicated novel and that he had tried his very best to finish the translation (Liang 1932: 5).

In addition to the advocacy of Babbitt’s Humanism, Liang also defended Classicism through the translation of Silas Marner. Lamenting the leftists’ excessive importation of foreign works to propagandize their literary and political doctrines to the Chinese reading masses in general, Liang believed that it his responsibility to selectively import quality foreign literature to the country to counteract their influence. In “On Literary Criticism” 文學批評辯 [Wenxue pipingbian] (1927), Liang defined Classicism as the only universally-accepted criteria for great literature. Examples of such great literature were Shakespeare’s plays or Greek drama. Liang Shiqiu once expressed sorrow and regret for the lack of guidance when he was a young reader. He recollected the days when he was still a Tsinghua student, he read
basically anything that he came across without much selection; be they good or bad literature, translations or original works (Liang 1989: 3-4). The situation recounted in this anecdote would play a contributive role in the translating agent’s decision to render the novel into Chinese. In the 1993 preface, Liang wrote in recollection of the translation of *Silas Marner*. He finished the translation in 1932 when he was teaching his first year students majoring in English at the National Qingdao University (now Shandong University) (*ibid.*: 1). It was out of a teacher’s instinct for him to translate the novel as he thought it would be an inspiring literary work for students and he hoped that the students would enjoy it as much as he did (*ibid.*: 1). The translation is an overt reflection of Liang Shiqiu’s intention to introduce the appropriate literature to the Chinese readers, especially university students.

It was this regard for his students that reminded Liang Shiqiu of his moral responsibility as an intelligentsia. Instead of the undisciplined arbitrary importation of foreign works, which may have a negative impact on the readers as he had experienced when he was young, Liang repeatedly asserted the importance to defend the standards of literature. Therefore, in the 1932 Preface of the novel, not only did Liang Shiqiu describe *Silas Marner* as “a human book” and highlight the presence of humanistic qualities in Eliot’s literary creations, he described the novel as the author’s phenomenal work which was in line with canonical works written by other well-received Victorian novelists such as Thackeray (Liang 1932: 5).

In order to help his readers differentiate Eliot’s writing from other writers’, Liang compared the different writing styles of Eliot and Dickens in the Preface. He
elaborately described Eliot’s style which was descriptive and complicated, and which must not be compared with Dickens’s “coarse writing style as it is in the form of newspaper reports” (Liang 1932: 5). Liang’s dislike of newspaper writing style had been consistent as he had already expressed this belief in a previously-published essay entitled “The Discipline of Literature” in which he argued that newspaper writing was an inferior style of writing; it could never be considered as classics or literature (Liang 1923: 22). This particular literary tenet can be examined in relation to the other foreign works of literature translated by Liang Shiqiu. Liang translated many literary works but he never rendered any works by Dickens. Moreover, the translator’s elaborative comparison of the two writers’ different writing styles could be understood as a rebuttal toward the leftists’ advocacy of the propagandist function of literature. In the 1930s, works of Dickens had already been widely translated and read in China but the writer was generally known as a social critic whose writing revealed social ills (Hung 1996: 35). By underscoring literary works that concentrated on the exposure of social ills in non-socialist societies in a realistic fashion, Liang Shiqiu was equating Dickens’ writing to leftist literature. In contrast, Eliot’s works were better in the sense that they were classical literature written purely for the sake of art. The juxtaposition of Dickens and Eliot marks the translator’s overt intention to enlighten his readers regarding his views on literature and these two writers: it may be true that Dickens was a well-established writer in China but his writing style was secondary while Eliot demonstrated humanistic and classical qualities in her literary creations and these were considered literature of true art form that could endure the passage of time. This is a point reiterated in the 1993 preface, with Liang Shiqiu concluding the introductory remarks by describing the novel as
“universal and enduring” and stating that the novel would never go out of fashion even though “it was a reprint of a translation published fifty years ago” (Liang 1993: 8).

6.4.2 WOMEN’S EDUCATION AND SOCIAL ROLES

Another thematic subject of the ideological divide between Liang Shiqiu and Lu Xun was their perspectives on the education of women in China. Liang’s adopted stance in this particular instance is a likely cause for his alleged sympathy for the GMD government and its policies. In the essay “On Rousseau and Women’s Education” 論盧梭論女子教育 [Lusuo lun nuzijiaoyu] (1927), instead of denouncing Rousseau as his mentor Irving Babbitt did, Liang concurred with Rousseau’s conservative views on women’s education. By proclaiming the natural and psychological difference between men and women, Liang was in line with Rousseau’s proposal regarding the call for gendered education for men and women (1979: 15). He believed that it was important to realize and accept such differences and inequalities as a consequence of nature (ibid.: 15). Therefore, it would be unnatural for education to place too much emphasis on the “movement for equality between men and women” (ibid.: 15-16).

On the surface, Liang’s views on women’s education corresponded with the women’s policies and campaigns under the New Life Movement of the GMD government (see 2.2.2); however, they were actually different in their principles. What the GMD called for was the restoration of the divided spheres for men and
women inherited from Confucian traditions whereas Liang’s essay questioned the benefits of the ‘ungendered’ education advocated by the leftists. Needless to argue, Liang was opposed to the extreme legal and social inequalities between men and women such as polygamy and the practice of foot-binding, which were beginning to disappear for good during the Republican years; simultaneously he was opposed to the advocacy of radical training or education for women as they would lose their ‘femininity’. Therefore, the core of Liang’s argument of this essay is the call for “differentiated education systems for students with different aptitudes” so that women could receive “proper education” in order to make them “ideal women” (ibid.: 15-16). Such education for women would nurture their meek character and turn them into a virtuous wife and good mother which would bring a fine balance in the society (K. Liang 2005: 9).

The significance of women’s domestic contribution is exemplified in Silas Marner by the late wife of the Squire. Without her wise supervision, as a wife and mother, the Squire’s household, and also the upbringing of the two sons, is doomed:

For the Squire’s wife had died long ago, and the Red House was without that presence of the wife and mother which is the fountain of wholesome love and fear in parlour and kitchen; and this helped to account not only for there being more profusion than finished excellence in the holiday provisions, but also for the frequency with which the proud Squire condescended to preside in the parlour of the Rainbow rather than under the shadow of his own dark wainscot; perhaps, also, for the fact that his sons had turned out rather ill. (Ch. 3, p. 32-33)

The traditional Chinese female virtues are underscored in Liang Shiqiu’s Chinese rendition:
Because the Squire’s wife had passed away early, the Red House was not attended by a virtuous wife and good mother. Therefore, the entire family, from the living room to the kitchen, had lost the fountain of love and fear. It was due to this reason that the cooking was chaotic on holidays. It was also due to the same reason the proud Squire had to lower himself to the Rainbow Guesthouse as a guest instead of entertaining guests in his paneled chamber. It was probably due to this very reason the two sons were not looking promising.29 (Liang 1932: 32; highlight added)

The adjectives virtuous 贤 [xian] and good 良 [liang] are inserted in the translated version to emphasize that the late wife should not be passed without discussion. With Liang’s “serious attitude” adopted toward translation, in the sense of text selection as well as ‘faithfulness’ in translation, the two adjectives intentionally added to the text should be examined in relation to the translator’s ideological orientation. To some, such feminine qualities could suggest negative connotations because they are mostly related to Chinese women’s subservient roles as they were confined to the domestic sphere (Taylor 2003: 78). To Liang Shiqiu however, he saw such female virtues as women’s nature; if this perspective could become socially accepted, it would bring balance to the family. The above analysis leads to the consonance of the Confucian yin and yang philosophy, which is yet another extent where the ‘Golden Mean’ can be applied. Instead of a radical reform on women’s education, traditional female virtues should be cultivated in a way that naturally suited them. In essence, Liang did not see any problem associating women with the

29 Liang’s translation reads: 因為紳士太太早已去世，紅房裏沒有賢妻良母的照顧，所以一家由客廳至廚房都失了慈愛與恐懼的泉源。假日菜飯之所以凌亂不精，正是這個原故；驕傲的紳士常常屈尊到彩虹客棧作上賓而不自己木璧客廳宴客，也正是這個原故；他的兒子都變做不出息，或者也正是這個原故。 (Ch 3, p. 32)
feminine and domestic roles as prescribed in the traditional Chinese conventions as long as their nature would allow it.

From the above discussion, it can be concluded that the written debate between Lu Xun and Liang Shiqiu played a contributive role in prompting Liang Shiqiu to translate *Silas Marner*. The translation of *Silas Marner*, as a networked artefact, reflects the translating agent’s literary and political orientations, which is an ideological hybrid of the networked agents. Through the Chinese translation of *Silas Marner*, the translator defended his perspectives on the ‘Golden Mean’ as it encapsulates the balanced values from the East and West and also rationality and radicalism. Hence, *Silas Marner* is a reflection of Liang’s attempt to bring about “disciplined literature” to “rectify chaos” in China during the 1930s. Such an effort was celebrated by other translating agents from the same network, as in the case of Wu Guangjian.

6.5 WU GUANGJIAN’S CULTURAL CAPITAL

As a productive translator whose engagement in the translation arena of China can be traced to years prior to the 1911 revolution, Wu Guangjian’s list of translational creations is no less exhaustive than his contemporaries such as Lin Shu and Yan Fu. It was the publication of *The Three Musketeers* (1907) and its sequel *Twenty Years After* (1907) by Alexandre Dumas that marked Wu’s success in the translation arena. When he passed away in Shanghai in 1943 at the age of 77, the

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translator left more than 130 titles of published translations from various genres including philosophy, history and literature; some of these translations include *Vanity Fair* (1931), *Hard Times* (1933), *Gulliver’s Travels* (1934), and *Jane Eyre* (1935) (Deng 2010: 157). Many of Wu’s later translations remained unpublished and were only discovered in the 1950s. These manuscripts were later published in a compiled book entitled *Unpublished Translations of Wu Guangjian* 伍光建翻譯遺稿 [Wu Guangjian fanyi yigao] (1980).

Such extensive translational contributions are validated with the presence of bibliographical data, yet they do not evoke much scholarly attention or acknowledgement. This is especially the case in China with the following putative explanations. First, his translations are extensively edited and they are sometimes considered as abridged versions; some of these noted examples include *The Three Musketeers*, *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1934) and *Wilhelm Meister’s Apprentice* (1936). Second, he was generally known as an associate of the nationalists and the Crescent Moon Society after he moved to Shanghai in 1928 due to his friendship with Hu Shi and his appointment as consultant of the Ministry of Administration 行政院 [Xingshengyuan] as well as commissioner of Foreign Affairs Treaty Commission 外交部條約委員會 [Waijiaobu tiaoyue wenyuanhui] of the GMD government from the late 1920s until the early 1930s. However, it is precisely this attachment with Hu Shi and the Crescent Moon Society that provides a crucial clue for the inclusion of Wu as a translating agent into the network for further

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31 In the “Prefatory Note” of *Wu Guangjian’s Unpublished Translations* 伍光建翻譯遺稿 [Wu Guangjian fanyi yigao], written by Wu Guangjian’s son Wu Lifu 伍蠡甫 (1900-) in memory of his father, Wu Lifu expressed feelings of regret because his father’s reputation had been affected due to his association with Hu Shi and the Crescent Moon Society (1980: 3).
Wu was already in his sixties when he moved to Shanghai. While I agree with Gamsa’s assertion that Wu Guangjian was not politically conscious enough to engage himself in the political and literary conflicts during the late 1920s (Gamsa 2008: 125), the postulation that there is a correlation between the noted ideological changes in Wu’s translations and his attachment with the Crescent Moon members such as Hu Shi and Xu Zhimo can be examined for verification. Such changes can be evidenced from a contrastive examination of *Cranford* and *Jane Eyre* to analyse the translational activities undertaken by Wu before and during his Shanghai years. These stylistic changes, I argue, represent the direct result of the ideological influence from the networked agents.

6.6 TRANSLATOR’S VISIBILITY: BEFORE 1928

Wu Guangjian went to a private school during his early years. He was admitted to Tianjin Navy School 天津水師學堂 *Tianjin shuishi xuetang* in the 1880s and studied under the supervision of the principal teacher Yan Fu (Wu 1980: 1). Wu studied Chinese, English, and Natural Sciences. Upon graduation, he was delegated to further his studies in physics at the Old Royal Navy College, Greenwich (*ibid.*: 1). During the five years abroad, he developed an interest in English literature and history (*ibid.*: 1). Soon after Wu’s return to China to embark on his teaching career at Tianjin Navy School, the first Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1895 and he was selected to go to Japan to administer foreign matters on behalf of the Qing
government (Deng 2010: 154). When he returned to China after 1900, he began teaching at Shanghai Nanyang Public School 上海南洋公學 [Shanghai nanyang gongxue].^32 As he noticed the lack of comprehensive education materials for students, he started editing and compiling a new volume of physics textbooks for students (ibid.: 154). These textbooks were later extended to the publication of English reading materials, such as Imperial English Translation 帝国英語譯本 [Duguo yingyu yiben] (1900) and Translation of Selected English Classics 英譯名著精選 [Yingyi mingzhe jingxuan] (1900).

In 1909, the Qing Government awarded Wu the title “Imperial Arts Scholar” 文科進士 [wenke jinshi] due to his achievements in literature and education; his mentor Yan Fu was also awarded in the same year (ibid.: 155). When the China Education Association 中國教育會 [Zhongguo jiaoyu hui] was established in 1911, Wu was elected as Vice Chairman of the association and he focused on the compilation of education materials and literary translation (ibid.: 155). It was also around these years that Wu became more engaged in the translation of English and French literary works published under his penname Jun Shuo 君朔. Wu’s background in education would play a significant role in his perspective on his role as a translator, which I will discuss shortly in 6.6.2.

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^32 Shanghai Nanyang Public School was founded by an imperial edict approved by Emperor Guangxu 光緒 (1871-1908) in 1896. It is now the Shanghai Jiaotong University 上海交通大學.
6.6.1 AGENTIVE INFLUENCE: YAN FU

Yan Fu’s ideological influence over Wu Guangjian could be dated back to the years when Wu was a student of the Tianjin Navy School. Following the teacher’s path, Wu started teaching at his alma mater and later took up translation as his occupation when he returned to China after his graduation from the Old Royal Navy College. He did not devote himself to physics and engineering, which were the major of his academic studies.

Although generally regarded as one of the pioneering translators of foreign literature into baihua, Wu Guangjian’s late-Qing-early-Republican style of baihua is different from the more modern and evolved baihua written by authors from later generations. Wu’s unique style of baihua had been praised by Hu Shi years before their literary attachment in Shanghai. In a speech Hu made in 1918 at Beijing University, he complimented Wu’s translations and judged that they were superior to Lin Shu’s. His baihua was different from old fiction as he had developed his own distinctive style of baihua which could represent the essence of the source texts.\(^3^3\) This, blended with Wu’s extensively deleted and altered translations, a widely-accepted ‘norm’ for translations produced before the May Fourth years, generated distinctive translations demonstrating a unique linguistic idiosyncrasy that is termed by Wu as ‘faithful translations’. Wu’s conceptual understanding of ‘faithful translations’ is derived from the ideological influence of the translating agent’s

\(^{33}\) The speech is later edited and published as a written article entitled “On Short Fiction” 論短篇小說[Lùn duǎnpiān xiǎoshuò] and compiled in The Complete Works of Hu Shu 胡適全集[Hu Shì quánjí], vol. 1, 135-136.
teacher Yan Fu.

In the Preface of the Chinese translation of Huxley’s *Evolution and Ethics* 天演論 [*Tianyanlun*], first published in 1901, Yan Fu identified three major difficulties in translation: ‘faithfulness’ and ‘fidelity’ 信 [*xin*], ‘fluency’ and ‘comprehensibility’ 達 [*da*] and ‘elegance’ and ‘polish’ 雅 [*ya*]. Described by Nida as the “triple principle of translation” (2001: 1), this short yet prominent, statement on translation had sparked off repeated debates by scholars in the past century (Lee 2004: 67). In the Preface, Yan only mentioned the three terms without much elaboration, nor did he provide any explanation regarding the correlation of the three principles or their priority when applied in translation (Yan 2009: 202-204). The repeated debates on translation, in theory and practice, may not lead to any conclusive results but the three principles were generally received by the early 20th century Chinese intellectuals as the fundamental guidelines for the evaluation of translations, especially in the aspect of linguistic aesthetics.

It is inconceivable that Wu Guangjian be unaware of the three principles prescribed by his teacher; in fact, he knew them so well that he even discovered they were not originated by Yan Fu. 34 The student further developed his own distinctive interpretations of the three principles and suggested that while the triad played a significant role in translation production, especially in literary translation, they could not possibly bear equal significance (Wu 1980: 5). To Wu, ‘faithfulness’ was the

34 It has been suggested that the three translation principles advocated by Yan Fu were modeled on Western concepts developed by Alexander Tytler in his *Essays on the Principles of Translation*. However, it has also been conversely argued that Yan’s ideas were originally Chinese as the origin of the principles could be traced back to a Buddhist monk from third-century China. See Tak-hung Leo Chan’s *Twentieth-century Chinese Translation Theory: Modes, Issues and Debates* (2004: 67-68).
paramount element of the three and it meant the translator’s ‘faithful’ attitude toward the content and style of source texts (ibid.: 5). The achievement of the other two principles, ‘fluency’ and ‘elegance’, depended largely on the source texts and their writers because translators could not possibly create ‘fluent’ and ‘elegant’ translations if the source texts did not possess such qualities (ibid.: 5). Wu further elaborated this point by providing examples of good writers such as Thomas Henry Huxley and John Stuart Mill whose writing was logical and clear while writers like George Saintsbury, the historian and literary critic, wrote redundant and repetitive narratives. In order to translate such works, translators had to first understand what the writers meant and then rewrite the entire piece with much revision. By doing so, the translators could still achieve ‘faithfulness’ (ibid.: 5). As for fictional characters who had conversations and dialogues in vulgar language and slang, Wu argued that it was pointless to sanitize such translated dialogues in order to achieve ‘elegance’; besides, doing so would render the translation not ‘faithful’ (ibid.: 5).

What Wu implied from the above explanation on the translation of literary texts, was that ‘faithfulness’ would be the prioritized element of the three principles. To Wu, a ‘faithful’ translation could be achieved through the representation of the source text’s thematic content and the writer’s style, while changes such as deletion, elaboration and explanation would be allowed. Hence, abridgements and alterations became common translational features in Wu’s translational products, which were favoured and openly praised by intellectuals and writers such as Mao Dun, whose positive remarks about Wu’s intentional deletions in *The Three Musketeers* and *Twenty Years After* are still referred to today:
First of all, it is true that Wu has substantially deleted [the translated texts] but his choice of deletion is very sensible. He only deletes when he thinks the act would not affect the plot of the story. Therefore, the personalities of the three musketeers are still very distinctive while the characters speak in a tone that could reflect their personalities. These could all be read from the translations although they are abridged. (Mao 1981: 416-417)

It is not the intention of this thesis to debate the definition of ‘faithfulness’. The point of emphasis here is that it was Wu’s deliberate decision to alter and abridge his translated texts for the purpose of achieving translations that he believed were ‘faithful’ in style and content. This perspective may not meet the translation ‘norm’ in China in the 1930s but Wu’s translations have earned him the reputation and respect as a translator of competence and professionalism by readers of not only the New Literature circles but generations to follow (Gamsa 2008: 122). A notable example of readers inspired by Wu is the renowned martial arts novelist Louis Cha, who writes under the penname Jin Yong 金庸 (b. 1924). The author once recollected his youthful days reading Wu Guangjian’s *The Three Musketeers* and praised the “force and vitality” retained in the translation and that it had impacted him so much that it was this book that inspired him to write martial arts novels (Jin and Ikeda 2013: 112-113).

6.6.2 TRANSLATOR’S MOTIVATION: EARLY TRANSLATIONS AND *CRANFORD*

Prior to the years when Wu fully committed himself to literary translation, he
was a devoted teacher who occupied himself with teaching and with the publication of teaching materials for Chinese students. Education, therefore, was an overture to Wu’s motivation to translation. Unlike the other translating agents discussed in this thesis who were motivated to translate a specific novel at a specific time, Wu’s translation motivation could be analysed from a more general perspective which is closely related to his teaching career that started at the Old Royal Navy College.

A good departure point for this discussion is Wu Guangjian’s general view on his social responsibility as a translator. When Wu embarked on the career as a translator at the beginning of the 20th century, Chinese writers and intellectuals, including Wu, generally saw translation as a tool to educate the reading masses and thus enlighten the country (see 2.1). In the essay written by Deng Shihai, Wu Guangjian’s granddaughter, the author expounded Wu’s translation motivation in comparison with his mentor Yan Fu’s:

Yan Fu translated Western works of politics, economics, philosophy and culture with the motivation to inspire Chinese people. As for Wu, he wanted to introduce classical works from Western capitalist countries; examples of these works were Western history, doctrines of famous people, life stories of heroes and the like. His intention was to inspire Chinese people to model on these Western examples to strive for a stronger nation … Both Yan Fu and Wu Guangjian were very careful with the selection of translation materials. They produced translated works extensively in the areas of philosophy, economy, history, biography and canonical literature. Through the translation of these finest works from the West, the translators’ objective was to enlighten China and its people. (Deng 2010: 153)

The above quotation, when cross-examined with the Republican intellectuals’ view on the educational use of literature and translation inherited from Liang Qichao,
produce a consonant interpretation on Wu Guangjian’s ideological perspective regarding the educational functions of translation formulated before 1928.

Taking the translation of *Cranford* to exemplify Wu’s early translation, the predominant reason for Wu to translate the novel is presented in the short prefatory note. The translator explained to his readers that the author Mrs. Gaskell was “a great novelist” (Wu 1927: 1). He then remarked that Mrs. Gaskell’s writing was “appreciated by many great authors such as Charles Dickens, T. Carlyle and W. S. Landor … due to the writer’s great style of narrative” and that Mrs. Gaskell’s narrative was “natural without elaborative descriptions” which had attained “the perfection of easy, natural and unaffected English narratives” (*ibid.*: 1). Despite these brief complimentary remarks, it was not difficult to ascertain Wu’s conspicuous attempts to draw his readers’ attention to the point that *Cranford* was an influential novel in the source text culture and that the author’s canonicity was immanent in her narrative. Moreover, in order to illustrate the canonical status of Mrs. Gaskell to his readers, Wu related *Cranford* with the celebrated Qing novel *The Scholars* [儒林外史 *Rulin waishi*] (*ibid.*: 1). Although the translator did not explain in the brief 2-page prefatory note the similarities he noted in the two novels, the juxtaposition of *Cranford* and *The Scholars* can be understood as the translator’s attempt to align his readers’ expectations for *Cranford* because *The Scholars* was generally received in China as a novel representing a new, sophisticated narrative (Doleželová-Velingerová and Wang 2001: 3).

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35 *In Wu’s words: 夫人之文。善敍事。條暢自然。不假雕飾。泃臻至善之或。（Attain to the perfection of easy natural and unaffected English narrative）*
A notable translational feature in Wu’s early translations, including Cranford, is the extensive insertion of in-text and marginal remarks and comments. The functions of these annotated comments, I argue, need to be examined in relation to the translator’s background as an educator. These annotated comments are mostly explanations as well as the translator’s own interpretations and elaborations of certain ideas and terms in the novel. To Wu Guangjian, these heavily annotated translations reflected his intention to help readers better understand the translated texts; as he explained in the Preface to Cranford, his reason to supplement the translation with brief comments was to call for readers’ attention to the writer’s “easy, natural and unaffected English narrative” (ibid.: 1). Although Wu wrote explicitly that these inserted remarks and comments would be brief, some turned out to be rather long and elaborate. These comments could be divided into two types: end of chapter remarks and marginal remarks. In order to analyse how readers would benefit from these annotated comments, I will examine selected examples of both types of remarks.

The end of chapter remarks, as the name suggests, appear at the end of a chapter. There are altogether four of them and they could be found at the end of chapters 3, 4, 5 and 13. The functions of these remarks, in general, are to offer readers explanations regarding the plot of the novel and to compliment the writer’s style. The end of chapter remarks of Chapter 3 reads:

This chapter describes the personalities of Miss Matty and Debora. This is a very difficult task but the writer’s narrative is very natural.\(^{36}\) (ibid.: 51)

\(^{36}\) In Wu’s words: 總批 此回專寫麻提小姐賀巴洛兩人性情極難下筆而作者行所無事
Another example, from Chapter 13:

This chapter describes Miss Matty’s character. She is loyal, forgiving, humble and honest. The writer’s narrative is effortless.\(^{37}\) \((ibid.): 208\)

The two examples reflect the translator’s comment on Gaskell’s writing style in an echoing fashion. Wu described the writer’s narrative as “natural” and “effortless”. The main purpose of these remarks was to underscore the author’s acclaimed writing style for the readers so that they could be more aware of Gaskell’s “perfection of easy, natural and unaffected English narrative.”

The second type of comments are the marginal remarks provided by the translator, inserted in the top margin of the translated text. There are more than 200 marginal comments added to the translated text. They can be found on almost every page of the translation. Some pages are annotated with several remarks ranging in length from a few words to short paragraphs. To “benefit the readers”, some of these brief remarks provide comments on the characters and their thoughts while others summarize the incidents or highlight the significance of the narrative. The more elaborate marginal remarks are inserted to elucidate the writer’s connotative meaning or messages. This point will be exemplified with two examples extracted from Chapter 11.

Next to the paragraph that describes the aristocrat Mrs. Forrester, this marginal

\(^{37}\) In Wu’s words: 總批 此回描寫麻提小姐忠恕廉介光明磊落用筆毫不費力
remark is inserted:

This paragraph presents supposedly compliments for Mrs. Forrester from the Cranford inhabitants yet the aristocrats are also slandered. The paragraph is highly descriptive.  

Another example is from Chapter 11. When the Cranford inhabitants are engaged in conversation about how a poor Indian woman sacrifices herself for her children, the following marginal remark is inserted:

This paragraph describes a mother’s love for her children. The description is so detailed and touching that it cannot be taken light-heartedly. The intensity of this description can only be achieved by a female writer because she could totally relate her feelings to a mother’s. While such descriptions cannot be achieved by male writers, male readers are suggested to read women writers’ works in order to understand women better.

Building on the discussion of the translator’s intentional addition of the end of chapter comments, these marginal remarks can be analysed along the same vein. Highlighted in these marginal comments are Wu Guangjian’s repeated emphasis of Mrs. Gaskell’s virtuosity as a writer who could “attain to the perfection of easy, natural and unaffected English narrative” as well as her description of feelings from the perspective of a female writer.

The translator’s attempt to directly address his readers meant overt help offered by the translator, marking the translator’s presence in the translation. It was a form of

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38 In Wu’s words: 這段原是恭維茀拉斯夫人同時痛詆貴族可謂淋漓盡致
39 In Wu’s words:  此段描寫母親愛子之情可謂深微俱達不忍卒讀作者是女人故能發揮如此深切非男人作者所能達到是以男人尤宜讀女人著作然後能知女人性情
introduction, analysis and instructive appeal the translator made to his readers. The translator’s (in)visibility is a topic of debate introduced by Venuti in his book *The Translator’s Invisibility* (1995) in which the author discusses the politics and aesthetics of English-language translation in the context of Anglo-America. According to Venuti, in most cases, the more fluent the translation, the less visible is the translator to the reader (1995: 166). With this theoretical concept applied to analyse Wu Guangjian’s translations published before 1928 where most are inundated with annotated comments and remarks, the translator’s visibility in the sense of an in-text commentator can be established. Written from the translator’s point of view to provide remarks or reflections on the novel for the benefit of the readers, these annotations amplified Wu Guangjian’s role not only as a translator but also a commentator whose visible presence in these translated texts is made manifest.40

The marginal comments and end of chapter remarks provided by Wu can also be interpreted as an influence he may have received from the reading of earlier Chinese novels such as *The Water Margin* 水滸傳 [Shuihuzhuan] and *The Dream of Red Chamber* 紅樓夢 [Hongloumeng].41 In-text or marginal comments 評點 [pingdian] or sequel-writing 續書 [xushu] are very common features in books and novels published in late imperial era. The editor and commentator generally saw it as his ‘duty’ to alter a text or insert comments and remarks to a text in order to “ensure that the final products’ artistry and moral import came to the forefront” (Hill 2013: 36).

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40 See also Lai Ciyun’s 賴慈芸 discussion on Wu Guangjian’s role as a commentator in some of his translated works (2012: 1-29).
41 The commentator of *The Water Margin* was Jin Shengtan 金聖歎 while *The Dream of Red Chamber* was commented by Zhiyanzhai 脂硯齋.
Therefore, the discussion on Wu’s intervention with *Cranford*, including the massive alterations made to the source text as well as the insertion of annotated comments, should not be tilted to the argument of ‘fidelity’. Instead, such textual changes should be perceived as the translator exercising his ‘duty’ as an editor or commentator to provide his readers the supplementary information he deemed appropriate.

The abridged translation of *Cranford*, amalgamated with the end of chapter remarks and the extensive marginal remarks, are idiosyncratic elements commonly noted in Wu Guangjian’s ‘faithful’ translations published prior to this attachment with the Crescent Moon Society. This literary affiliation, contextualized with the notable changes observed in Wu’s translational products published after 1928, can be used to substantiate the hypothetical ideological influence that the Crescent Moon Society and its associates had on the translating agent. This can be examined from the following two perspectives: the selection of materials for translation and a change of translation strategy.

6.7 TRANSLATOR’S (IN)VISIBILITY: AFTER 1928

Picking up from the observation that the year 1928 marked a significant change in Wu Guangjian’s ideology due to his affiliation with the Crescent Moon Society and its associates, the ideological changes noted from a contrastive analysis of Wu Guangjian’s translational activities published before and during his Shanghai years will provide important evidence to validate this hypothesis. The most significant change noted in Wu’s translations published after his arrival in Shanghai was the
withdrawning of the translator’s deliberate insertions of comments and remarks which pervaded Wu’s previous translations. If these edited and commented translations represent the translator’s presence and visibility in the translations, their absence can be conversely viewed. This, I argue, is a significant change related to the translator’s ideological perspective on his role as a translator resulting from his new literary affiliation.

This change can be interpreted as Wu’s response to the 1930s translation ‘norm’ generally observed for ‘faithful translations’. While Wu’s presence in the translated texts as a commentator providing direct comments and remarks “for the benefit of the readers” was intrusive, Wu’s presence in the translations published after 1928 became less overt as he refrained from making direct addresses to his readers in the translated texts. In these translations, free from comments and remarks, the only direct address the translator made to the readers remained in the prefatory notes which were mostly used as preludes to the translations. The more subtle or (in)visible presence of the translator in the texts took the form of textual alterations and abridgements made to the translations. This form of presence, on the textual level, was also noted by Gamsa as he described Wu’s translation of Mikhail Artsbashev’s *Sanin* published in 1930 (2008: 121-123).

This, to Wu, was a major change in his translational idiosyncrasy which can be perceived as the translator’s response not only to his contemporaries’ recurring criticisms about his ‘unfaithful’ translations but also an attempt to produce translations in a ‘serious’ manner, a point resonating with Liang Shiqiu’s advocacy in
the article “The Seriousness of Literature” 文學的嚴重性 [Wenxue de yanzhongxing] (1930). In the article, written during the war of words with Lu Xun, Liang Shiqiu assertively defined the nature of literature, that it was never for fun; and since literature was created from the inner heart of the writers, readers should adopt a serious attitude when they were reading these works in order to understand life’s true meaning (Liang 1969: 47-50). Liang Shiqiu adopted the same ‘serious’ attitude in translation as well (see 6.4.1) and this became an important translation principle of the humanists.

Although Wu Guangjian did not engage in the heated debate, his views on translation were, in principle, in line with the humanists, i.e. translation, like literature, was an important art form that should remain ‘apolitical’. An important evidence of this was Wu’s translations of Russian literature such as Mikhail Artsybashev’s Sanin (1930) and Fyodor Dostoevsky’s Crime and Punishment (1936) during the 1930s, despite the possibility of being branded a leftist. While his theorized interpretation of ‘faithful translations’, previously derived from the three principles suggested by his mentor Yan Fu, would still remained valid, Wu believed that ‘faithful translations’ can only be achieved with textual revisions at times (Wu 1980: 5). These revisions became a common feature noted in Wu’s translations before and after 1928. An obvious example is Wu’s translation of Thackeray’s Vanity Fair (1931) in which Wu reduced this 900-page novel to a Chinese rendition of only

Writing about his father, Wu Lifu recalls his father’s interpretation of ‘faithfulness’ as a point that the elder Wu repeatedly asserted when they discussed translation (Wu 1980: 5).

This change in the translator’s style, had not been noticed by his contemporary critics who had mostly concluded Wu’s translations as ‘unfaithful’ based on the extensive textual abridgements made to the translations. Wu’s edited translations continued to draw negative comments from the 1930s critics. Some of these examples include Ye Wei who repeatedly defined Wu’s translations of Henry Fielding’s *Joseph Andrews* (1928) and Charlotte Brontë’s *Villette* (1932) as ‘unfaithful translations’ (Ye 1934: 11-26) since too many deletions had been made from the source texts (Ye 1933: 39-53); similar comments also came from his Crescent Moon associate Liang Shiqiu who, under his penname Liang Xiuqin panned Wu’s Chinese translation of *Villette* for its extensive deletions and the Preface to the translation for being too brief (Liang 1933: 83). While the core of these critiques focused on the translations’ textual abridgements, which to them was an act of ‘unfaithfulness,’ their comments failed to acknowledge the more important ideological change in these translations.

6.7.1 AGENTIVE INFLUENCE: HU SHI AND CRESCENT MOON SOCIETY

The induction of Wu Guangjian into the humanist network should be credited to

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44 Wu Lifu (1900-1992) followed his father’s path and became a prolific writer, translator and painter. Examples of his translations include Shelley’s *A Defense of Poetry* (1937) and *Short Stories of Thomas Hardy* (1956).

45 *Joseph Andrews* was published by the Commercial Press in Shanghai in 1928, after Wu moved to the city.
Hu Shi. As one of the pioneering promoters of baihua, Hu’s appreciation for Wu Guangjian’s baihua translations can be traced to as early as 1918 (see 6.6.1). After Wu’s arrival in Shanghai in the late 1920s, the written correspondence and personal meetings between Hu Shi and the translator became more frequent. This is reflected in Hu Shi’s diary entries and letters. The translating agent’s personal friendship with Hu Shi was further extended to the Crescent Moon Society founded by Hu. Standing on the side of the literary divide opposite the leftists, it was the humanists’ literary principle to publish literature of pure art form in order to “rectify the chaotic market” which can be achieved through the importation of classical literature from the West, especially British literature.

This literary objective, implied by Hu Shi, can be attained with Wu Guangjian’s translational contribution as a networked agent of the humanists. As suggested by Hu:

The recent 30 years marked an increase in the number of people who could read English literature. However, Chinese translators dared not translate classical British works until Wu Guangjian’s publication of Cranford. Wu is a senior in the Chinese translation arena; for those of us who studied in the United Kingdom and the United States, we should be ashamed. (Hu 1987: 195-196)

Hu’s call for the importation of “classical British works” found response in the action of Wu Guangjian. The year 1929, one year after Wu’s arrival in Shanghai, witnessed the publication of two translations of classical British drama, namely Richard

46 See Complete Diary of Hu Shi 胡適日記全集 [Hu Shi riji quanjiti] and The Unpublished Manuscripts and Letters of Hu Shi 胡適遺稿及秘藏書信 [Hu Shi yigao ji bicang shuxing].
Brinsley Sheridan’s *The School for Scandal* and Oliver Goldsmith’s *She Stoops to Conquer*, both published by the Crescent Moon Bookstore. Wu translated the two plays on Xu Zhimo’s invitation (Wu 1980: 3). These were Wu’s first translational attempts in dramatic works. This can be perceived as a symbolic act of Wu’s inclusion into the humanist network, an initiation rite perhaps.

The supposition that there is a correlation between the ideological change of this newly-recruited translating agent and his literary affiliation with the Crescent Moon Society and its associates can be further substantiated from two perspectives: Wu’s translational activities during the late 1920s and early 1930s and the translating agent’s use of literature to advocate the free expression of feelings. The list of Wu’s published translations reads: Benedict de Spinoza’s *The Ethics* (1929), Francis Sydney Marvin’s *The Living Past: A Sketch of Western Progress* (1929), John Theodore Merz’s *A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century* (1929), David Hume’s *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (1930), Ralph Hale’s *A History of Financial Speculation* (1931), *A Diary of Napoleon’s Life in His Own Words* (1931) and Élie Faure’s *Napoleon* (1932). To the humanists, these translations represent a selection of influential works of history and philosophy from the West. They saw the introduction of Chinese readers to these key texts of cultural and historical significance as their paramount literary objective. The leftists, however, equated these works with the translator’s attempt to disseminate Western capitalist ideals. The consequence of this literary affiliation was, in Wu’s son’s understated words, “it cannot be helped that people of the translation arena once had comments

47 The Chinese title for Sheridan’s *The School for Scandal* is 造謠學校 [Zaoyao xuehao] and Oliver Goldsmith’s *She Stoops to Conquer* is 謊姻緣 [Guiyinyan].
about my late father” (Wu 1980: 3).48

Inspired by the Crescent Moon associates, Wu’s translational activities during this particular period, as reflected by the selection of literary works for translation, were conducted under the influence of their humanist ideology. Documented in memory of Wu Guangjian, his son Wu Lifu recounted the novels favoured by his late father for translation. The translating agent selected:

literary works that offer in-depth and ardent depictions of people’s lives, elaborate descriptions of characters’ feelings and sentiments. These novels do not necessary have to be crafted with twisted and entangled plots or a lot of suspense elements. It is also fine if novels do not involve the discussion of major incidents or problems; it is the writer’s refined style and vivid descriptions that really matter. (Wu 1980: 5-6)

The definition of “major incidents or problems” is not explained in the quotation; however the preference for “characters’ feelings and sentiments” over the description of “significant incidents or problems” represent an important clue to subtly reveal Wu’s ideological inclination to the humanists, i.e. the apolitical use of literature for the free expression of one’s self.

6.7.2 TRANSLATION AS A NETWORKED ARTEFACT: JANE EYRE

Taking *Jane Eyre* as Wu’s exemplary translational output to demonstrate the ideological influence of the human and nonhuman networked agents on the translating agent, which then prompted the publication of the novel as an artefact,

48 In Wu’s own words: 翻譯界對先父曾有些看法，這也是難免的。
such ideological presence in the translation will be analysed with the support of the relevant textual and paratextual materials. First, it is in the Preface to the translation that the translator pointed out two reasons for the translation of the novel. The first was the novel’s canonicity. Wu explained how the novel brought instant sensation to its Western readers after its first publication, followed by the writer’s immediate success (Wu 1935: 1-2). He then concluded the prefatory note by describing how people in the source text culture valued Charlotte Brontë’s writing:

> When the novel was published, scholars unanimously agreed that it was unparalleled. The author’s reputation grew rapidly while literati and intellectuals all crowned the novel as a masterpiece … When the writer died at the age of 39, people began to draft her biography and establish organizations in order to obtain her unpublished works. Every time they managed to discover something, be it a page or just a few words, they would take the manuscripts as treasures.49 (ibid.: 2)

The second reason that prompted Wu to translate the novel was the author’s vivid description of the protagonist’s feelings. These feelings, according to the translator, are “unique,” and “the author’s description of female sentiments, especially love, is intense” (ibid.: 1).50 The underscored significance of personal feelings in Jane Eyre, which finds overt resonance with the humanists’ literary tenets, was pointed out to the readers in a direct address in the Preface:

> The love described in this novel cannot be written by male writers. When male authors write about women’s love, their narrative may seem penetrating but their writing is actually superficial … This novel is not only about the description of

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49 In Wu’s words: 是故此書一出，識者皆為之得未曾有，不經而走，及知名之後，文人名士貴族，無不甘拜下風，爭欲一識共面。時年三十九歲，死後文人爭為之作傳又立會以搜輯其遺文，片紙隻字，皆視同至寶，其為世所敬仰，有如此者。

50 In Wu’s words: 此作稱••獨出心裁，描写女子性情，其寫女子之愛情，尤為深透
female love, but the depiction of the highest form of female humanism. It is a spirit that could not be altered by materialistic temptation, corrupted by wealth and subdued by force.\footnote{In Wu’s words: 婦女之愛情極為深透，非男著作家所可及。蓋男人寫女人愛情，雖淋漓盡致，似能鞭辟入裏，其實不過得其粗淺，往往為女著作家所竊笑，且其寫愛情仍不免落前人窠臼，此書於描寫女子愛情之中，同時並寫其實貴不能淫，貧賤不能移，威武不能屈氣概，為女子立最高人格。} (ibid. 1-2)

The objective of the Preface is to justify Wu’s importation of *Jane Eyre* based on the novel’s canonicity and the female writer’s unparalleled description of female sentiments.

The protagonist’s feelings and her “highest form of female humanism”, described in an introduction and instructive appeal in the Preface by Wu Guangjian, would be trumpeted in the translated text. Jane Eyre’s feelings are drawn to the readers’ attention through the translator’s insertion of chapter titles in the translation. All of these chapter titles, 38 of them in total, uniformly structured with two Chinese characters, encapsulate each chapter’s thematic subject. Some of these chapter titles represent character names of the novel, while others suggest the most important event that takes place in their respective chapters. Many of these chapter titles describe the major sentiments or mood created in that particular chapter. Chapter 7, for instance, is entitled “Aggrieved” as the chapter describes Jane being falsely accused and punished at school. Another example is Chapter 16 entitled “Enamored” as the narrative focuses on Jane’s tender feelings for Mr. Rochester.\footnote{See Appendix 5 for the chapter titles created for *Jane Eyre* by Wu Guangjian.} The insertion of chapter titles is absent in Li Jiye’s *Jane Eyre*. 
A point to highlight here is that, Jane Eyre’s “highest form of humanism” is highlighted on two levels. Unlike Li Jiye, the translating agent of the leftists who highlighted Jane Eyre’s rebellious spirit and the novel’s revolutionary ideals through the rhetorical repetition of Chinese terms such as *fankang*, *duikang*, *fanpan* and *douzheng* in the translation (see 5.5), Wu Guangjian, softened the novel’s antagonistic connotation by focusing more on Jane Eyre’s spiritual quest for a balanced self. Jane Eyre is described as a rebellious character throughout the novel, from early childhood when she is living with her aunt’s family to her years working as a governess when she discovers her radical passion for Mr. Rochester and restrains herself from becoming his mistress, until the end of the novel when she has a harmonious union with Mr. Rochester. One of the paramount thematic subjects of the novel is the spiritual transformation of the protagonist as she learns to achieve a balance between passion and reason. This is a notable observation by literary scholars (Lodge 1970; Senf 1988; Weele 2004). In Wu Guangjian’s translation, the narrative of the novel displays Jane Eyre’s psychological struggles to attain a balance. The pursuit of one’s balanced self corresponds with Babbitt’s advocacy that a true humanist “maintains a just balance between sympathy and selection” (1908: 12).

In the novel, such perfect balance is not only reflected through the protagonist’s individual self, it is also suggested in marriage. The perfect balance of a male and female union is best illustrated in the final chapter when Jane describes her married life with Mr. Rochester as one of “perfect concord”:

Literally, I was (what he often called me) the apple of his eye. He saw nature — he saw books through me; and never did I weary of gazing for his behalf, and of
putting into words the effect of field, tree, town, river, cloud, sunbeam — of the landscape before us; of the weather round us — and impressing by sound on his ear what light could no longer stamp on his eye. Never did I weary of reading to him; never did I weary of conducting him where he wished to go: of doing for him what he wished to be done. And there was a pleasure in my services, most full, most exquisite, even though sad — because he claimed these services without painful shame or damping humiliation. He loved me so truly, that he knew no reluctance in profiting by my attendance: he felt I loved him so fondly, that to yield that attendance was to indulge my sweetest wishes. (Chapter 38, p. 642)

The following is the back translation of Wu Guangjian’s rendition:

We were always intimate and inseparable because I was his eyes, I was his right hand. He used my eyes to see the natural scenery; he used my eyes to read. I told him what the colour of the sky was like, what the scenery was like and I never got tired doing these. I read to him. Wherever he wanted me to take him to, I would take him. Whatever he wanted me to do, I would do it. I was never tired. For all the things I did for him, I was content and never felt humiliated. His love for me was true and I did not feel that he should not ask me to do things for him. I knew I loved him dearly and I was willing to do anything for him. 53 (Wu 1935: 688; highlight added)

The “perfect concord” between Jane Eyre and Mr. Rochester, as described in the paragraph, suggests a reversal of conventional gender roles in the family. This is due to Mr. Rochester’s loss of vision after the fire and Jane Eyre’s pursuit of her balanced self. In the source text, Charlotte Brontë described Jane Eyre offering her husband “services” to intensify Mr. Rochester’s helplessness and his dependence on his wife.

53 Wu’s translation: 我們是終日都是很親近的，是形影不離的！因為我是他眼睛，我是他的右手。他是用我的眼睛，看天然的風景，用我的眼睛讀書。我告訴他天色怎樣樣，風景怎樣樣，是向來不會厭倦的。我讀書給他聽，他要我領他到什麼地方，我就領他到什麼地方。他要我替他作什麼，我就作什麼，我都是不厭倦的。我替他作這許多事，我反而覺得快樂，因為我替他作事，並無一點覺得屈辱。他愛我是真愛，並不覺得他不應該叫我替他作事，我曉得我是極愛他，我是甘心情願的替他作事。
In Wu Guangjian’s translation, however, the reversed gender roles between Jane Eyre and Mr. Rochester is less overt: Mr. Rochester is presented as less helpless while Jane Eyre is more submissive. It is Mr. Rochester who uses the wife’s eyes to see for him, asks her to do things for him or take him to where he wants to go. This point can be substantiated with the integrated examination of Li Jiye’s version in which the translator made no linguistic changes to the source text.\(^5^4\)

The more balanced gender roles exemplified in the target text reflects an ideological relevance with the humanists who denounced both the leftists’ advocacy of a ‘degendered’ social role for women and the GMD government’s New Life Movement where men and women were sent back to their divided spheres. The Confucius *yin* and *yang* philosophy is again modelled on the attainment of the “perfect concord” of Mr. Rochester and Jane Eyre, which is also resulted from the protagonist’s balanced self, defined as “the highest form of humanism”.

To conclude this section, I would once again like to refer to Mao Dun’s article entitled “Two Translations of *Jane Eyre*” written in 1937. Not only was this was one of the earliest contrastive examinations of the two translations of *Jane Eyre* published in Republican China, it was also the only one that did not focus its discussion on Wu Guangjian’s ‘unfaithfulness’ in the translated text from the

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\(^{54}\) Li Jiye’s translation: 照字面所說，我是他底（他常常這樣叫我）眼裏的侍人。他藉着我看見自然，看見書籍；為他凝視，將田野、樹，市鎮、江河、雲和日光——我們眼前的風景，四周的天氣所給的印象變為語言：將光不能印到他眼裏的東西用聲傳到他的耳裏：——這種事情我絕不會厭倦的，對他謹慎，引他到他所願去的地方，我都絕不厭倦；我也不願作他願我做的一切事。在我底服役中有一種頂光榮美妙的歡樂，雖然不免傷心——因為他要我這些服役並無苦痛的害羞，或無恥的屈辱。他這樣真實地愛我，受我的服侍所惠，他並沒有不甘心願意的地方：他覺得我是這樣憐愛他，聽憑我那樣侍候，就是滿足我的最甜蜜的願望了。(Chapter 38, 418)
perspective of criticism. Instead, Mao Dun made an attempt to provide an explanation for Wu’s deletions as they did not represent the thematic subjects discussed in the novel and that the translator seldom deleted any descriptions in relation to the protagonist’s feelings (Mao 1994: 1-12). This is what Mao saw as the essence of the novel. Wu Guangjian’s abridgements of *Jane Eyre*, therefore, should be perceived as a justifiable translational decision made by the translator.

6.8 DONG ZHONGCHI’S CULTURAL CAPITAL

One of the advantages of Latour’s ANT is its potential to help explore lesser-known translators whose bio-bibliographical information is insufficient or non-existent (3.2.2). The translator discussed in this section, Dong Zhongchi is one such case. Scholarly studies about the translator and *Pride and Prejudice*, very likely his only translation, is basically nonexistent. This poses a big challenge to the examination of the translator’s role as a social agent. However, with the conceptual methodology of translation networks, based on the three paratextual materials currently available, the translating agent is included in the humanist network due to the connections established under the network model. The paratextual materials directly related to Dong’s version of *Pride and Prejudice* include two pages of inscription or autograph by Hu Shi, a Preface written by Liang Shiqiu and another Preface written by the translator. They all serve as a prelude to Dong Zhongchi’s *Pride and Prejudice* published in 1935. The first two serve as important evidence to

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55 Dong’s year of birth is also an estimate based on the Preface he wrote for the translated text. He stated that he was 21 years old when he finished translating the novel in 1934 (Dong 1935: 2). His year of birth stated in this thesis, thus, is a calculation based on this statement.
confirm the translating agent’s affiliation with the Crescent Moon members while the translator’s Preface helps define Dong’s motivation of translation.

6.8.1 AFFILIATION WITH THE CRESCENT MOON SOCIETY

Dong Zhongchi’s association with Hu Shi is determined based on the first two pages of Hu Shi’s inscriptions. The first one displays the translated title of the novel in Chinese: 驕傲與偏見 [Jiaoao yu pianjian]. The page is horizontally autographed in Chinese calligraphy by Hu Shi. Hu’s name, together with the Chinese title of the novel, are centred in bold. The name of the author Miss Austen, in Chinese transliteration 奧斯丁女士, as well the translator’s name are displayed, in smaller fonts and in the same calligraphy, above the Chinese title. Near the bottom margin of the page reads “1935”, which is the translation’s year of publication. The second page of the translation, vertically formatted, presents only the Chinese title of the novel, written in the same calligraphic style by Hu Shi.

The inclusion of these two pages, unnumbered and repetitive in content, carries an important symbolic meaning. It has long been established in the traditions of Chinese culture that a calligrapher’s presence is symbolically represented through his calligraphy; examples of these symbolically significant calligraphic works include carved or inscribed words or messages in public steles, writings on arched gateways, shop signs autographed by celebrities and politicians, carved couplets above entrance gates or doorways (Chang 2007: 58-59). These autographed calligraphic displays
represent the calligrapher’s endorsement or acknowledgement of the recipient; hence the ties or affiliations between the two are implied in the display. Hu Shi’s calligraphed pages presented in Dong Zongchi’s translation affirms and advertises their association. It can also be interpreted through these two pages of inscription that it was Hu Shi’s intention to endorse and offer patronage to Dong’s translation. Such patronage is very important and helpful especially for a young translator who was trying to make his way into the world of Chinese intelligentsia.

The second article that could illuminate for us Dong Zongchi’s affiliation with Liang Shiqiu is the four-page Preface written by Liang, inserted after Hu’s autographed inscriptions. Liang’s Preface contains three thematic subjects: Jane Austen’s biography, the canonical status of the author in the West and Liang’s appreciation of the novel. In line with Liang’s ‘serious’ attitude towards literature and translation, Liang’s translations are all prefaced with introductory remarks for his readers. The same is applied to the Preface written for Dong’s *Pride and Prejudice*. First, the Preface begins with a detailed account of Jane Austen’s biography and the publication history of *Pride and Prejudice* in the source text culture (Liang 1935: 1-2). Liang then establishes Jane Austen’s canonical status in the West by equating her with Wordsworth (1770-1850) and including a quotation from Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) on *Pride and Prejudice* in a memoir compiled by Lockhart:

Also read again, and for the third time at least, Miss Austen’s very finely written novel of *Pride and Prejudice*. That young lady had a talent for describing the involvements, and feelings, and characters of ordinary life, which is to me the most wonderful I ever met with. [Austen’s] exquisite touch, which renders ordinary commonplace things and characters interesting, from the truth of the description and
sentiment, is denied to me. What a pity such a gifted creature died so early!

(Lockhart 2012: 264)\(^56\)

This quotation is worth reproducing here because it represents lavish praise from Scott; it is also frequently quoted in many of the scholarly studies about Jane Austen. The highlights of the quotation are Scott’s habitual reading of the novel and also Austen’s descriptive writing style on “ordinary commonplace things” and “characters’ sentiments”, essential elements of Austen’s writing that Liang wanted the readers to focus on.

Scott’s compliment for Austen was echoed by Liang Shiqiu who further described *Pride and Prejudice* as the author’s best novel (1935: 4). Building on Scott’s observation, Liang elaborated his views on Austen and her writing based on two aspects: her role as a female writer and her distinctive writing style. Such views, however, should be taken seriously and deciphered from the perspective of Liang’s ideology. First, Liang described Austen’s life as “plain and quiet” and that “she was not a knowledgeable person with much academic achievements and life experiences” (*ibid.*: 2). She only spent her entire life in small villages but she was aware of her limitations; therefore, she faithfully recorded the lives and delightful incidents of the people she knew and vividly described their human nature (*ibid.*: 2). This, to Liang Shiqiu, was Austen’s talent magnified as she managed to turn her blandness to

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\(^56\) This is a diary entry that originally appeared in *Quarterly Review* 14 (March 1816) and later included in *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, vol. 6, p. 264. Reference made here is from the latter source. In the Preface, this quotation is translated into Chinese by Liang Shiqiu: 又讀奧斯丁女士之優美作品傲與偏見，至少為第三次矣。此青年女子有描寫日常生活中人物情感的錯綜現之天才，實為余所僅見；雄偉狂吼之筆調，余固優為之，不遺於任何人；然此種輕靈之筆法，藉刻劃與抒情之逼真，使日常之平凡人物成為有趣，則迥非余所勝任，若是之天才作家如之早死，惜哉！
greatness (*ibid.*: 2). It is, therefore, important to note that when these complimentary remarks are interlaced with Liang’s views on Chinese women’s roles and education, they can be interpreted as his attempt to exemplify his advocacy when he was engaged in the heated debate with Lu Xun (6.4.2). What Liang was subtly putting forth here is that the nurturing of the distinctive nature of females did not necessarily mean a setback in the ‘women’s liberation’ cause and that women did not need to be ‘degendered’ in order to be the equals of men. Taking Austen as an example, Chinese women, though socially disadvantaged, could become great if they managed to “make good use of their abilities” (*ibid.*: 2).

Hence, this leads to the explanation for Liang’s conclusion that *Pride and Prejudice* was the author’s best work due to the presence of the following two elements. First Liang complimented Austen’s vivid and lively descriptions of her ordinary characters who led simple lives, which was not at all an easily-attainable task for writers (*ibid.*: 2-3). He then concluded the Preface by informing his readers that at the time of the Chinese translation, the novel was still widely read and that it would remain as a classic because of its elegant writing style which described universal human nature (*ibid.*: 4). The repeated mentioning of “the descriptions of ordinary characters and their human nature” needs to be read in reference with the literary tenet advocated by Liang Shiqiu in opposition to the leftists. Noting the growing popularization of the “oppressed people’s literature” in the late 1920s (see. 5.4.1), Liang spoke out against this literary trend as he assertively argued in his essay “Romantic Tendency in Modern Chinese Literature” that there was no point in empathizing or glorifying rickshaw pullers for their sweat and hard work because
human beings were equal, and that literature should not be focused on writing about and for the proletarian class, as represented by the rickshaw pullers (Liang 1987: 1-35). Classical literature, perceived by Liang as a pure form of art, should be promoted instead as it reflected “universal human nature” which was the very quality that allowed it to endure the passage of time (ibid.: 4). Such “universal human nature”, as Liang Shiqiu suggested in the Preface, is exemplified in *Pride and Prejudice*.

This Preface written by Liang Shiqiu, together with Hu Shi’s calligraphic inscriptions, serve as an important pretext to determine the translator’s affiliation with the two patrons. This network of affiliation can be broadened to the Crescent Moon Society as well. For one, Hu Shi and Liang Shiqiu were two iconic figures of the Society; for another, as mentioned in the Preface written by Dong, the translator extended his gratitude to Zhang Guruo 張穀若 (1903-1944) for editing several chapters of the translation (Dong 1935: 3). This piece of information should not be overlooked because Zhang and Xu Zhimo were acquainted and were frequently invited by Shao Xunmei 邵洵美 (1906-1968) to attend dinner parties and salon discussions about art and literature (Peng 2010: 42). After Xu Zhimo’s premature death in 1931, Zhang wrote an elegy to Xu and it was published in the *Crescent Moon Monthly*. 57 Zhang was mostly remembered for his translations of works by Thomas Hardy and he was usually referred to by the two similar pennames Zhang Ruogu 張若谷 or Zhang Guruo 張谷若 which he used interchangeably. He was in his twenties when he started the translation of *The Return of the Native* (1878). The

57 The poem, entitled “Xu Zhimo Rises to Heaven” 徐志摩升天 [Xu Zhimo shengtian] was published in the *Crescent Moon Monthly*, vol. 4.1.
manuscripts earned him recognition and publication patronage from Hu Shi; his Chinese renditions of *The Return of the Native* and *Tess of the D’Urbervilles* were published in 1935 and 1936 respectively (Meng 2015: A01).

The currently available sources, however scarce, contribute to the construction of Dong Zhongchi’s role as a translating agent and his enrollment into the humanist network. Moreover, these documents also enable us to interpret the translator’s humanistic inclination during the years when he was undertaking the translational task of *Pride and Prejudice*. Such ideological influence, to be reflected in the translation, was derived from Dong’s humanist associates.

6.8.2 TRANSLATION AS A NETWORKED ARTEFACT: *PRIDE AND PREJUDICE*

For the case of Dong Zhongchi, his Preface is unfortunately the only available paratextual document that can illuminate our understanding of the translator’s ideology when he was undertaking this translational activity. Dong began the Preface by referring to the three translation principles advocated by Yan Fu and explained that a translation was only sound if the translated text can convey the meaning of the source text and the rendition was fluent (Dong 1935: 1). This proclamation can be regarded as the translator’s positioning himself as an apostate of Lu Xun and his mentees who defended ‘stiff translation’ (see 2.2). Therefore, he had adopted “a very serious attitude” when he was translating the novel and his objective was to “faithfully present the author’s meaning and then embellish the translation” (*ibid.*: 1).
This proclamation reflected Dong’s interpretation of Yan Fu’s principles as well. To elucidate the three principles, Dong prioritized the three principles according to their importance: with ‘faithfulness’ placed first among the three while ‘elegance’ came last. Dong saw ‘faithfulness’ as his paramount objective because his responsibility was to ‘faithfully’ reproduce the author’s source text in the Chinese language for his readers. The language of the translation should be ‘fluent’ so that readers can read without feeling awkward. Finally, the translation had to be revised so that it would be “rhetorically embellished” (ibid.: 1). Such “rhetorical embellishments” were Dong’s attempt to produce an ‘elegant’ translation with reference to his interpretation of Yan Fu’s advocated principles.

Dong’s *Pride and Prejudice*, rendered with his “serious attitude” for the sake of a ‘faithful’ translation, was in line with the Crescent Moon members’ literary advocacy. They believed in the intrinsic value of literature and therefore, *Pride and Prejudice* was translated for its representation of aesthetic and classical qualities. This was confirmed by Dong in his Preface:

> The novel describes a wealthy, handsome young man who … surrenders his pride for love. He then marries her and they become life-long companions. The plot is plain and simple but the novel is interwoven with the verisimilitude descriptions of different characters and incidents of country life. Such descriptions are presented on paper through [the author’s] vivid and lovely narrative. 58 (ibid.: 2)

The translator’s description of Austen’s “simple plot” and “vivid and lovely narrative”

58 In Dong’s words: 本書・・・描寫一個富有資產・漂亮的青年・・・為了愛屈服得不驕傲了， 井與她結婚成為百世的良伴。事實雖平凡簡單，但書中穿插些各色樣的人物和鄉村綺麗曲折的風光，以及有趣的事物，都一一活躍在紙上，愈見栩栩生動，別緻可愛。
served as Dong’s justification for his decision to translate the novel.

The “serious” attitude adopted for the translation of classical literature reflected not only the literary tenets of the Crescent Moon associates but also their opposition to the leftists’ literary orientation. To the leftists, individual romantic pursuits had transformed into negative values because romantic traits would lead people to their “worst excesses” such as “self-aggrandizement, elitism, and total disregard for the masses” (Lee 1986: 478). Therefore, the depiction of love by the 1930s leftist writers was frequently coupled with revolution so that such literature could be appropriated to their cause (Liu 2003). Crescent Moon associates, however, sanctioned the free expression of oneself and this included the expression of love. To Dong Zongchi, therefore, a ‘faithful’ reflection of Austen’s writing meant the depiction of the romance of “a wealthy young man who surrenders his pride for love”. This thematic subject is rhetorically emphasized and strengthened in the translation. In the source text, the word “love” and love-related terms, such as, “like”, “fond of”, “passion”, “sentiments” and “affection” are uniformly translated into the Chinese terms ai 爱 or aijing 爱情, which literally mean love. This attempt to present a constructed discourse that highlights the presence of love in the novel, I suggest, is the translator’s intentional strategy to magnify the thematic subject of *Pride and Prejudice*. It is important to mention that the repeated use of discursive strategy to amplify love as the thematic subject in the translation is only noted in Dong’s translation. In Yang Bin’s translation, a variety of Chinese terms such as “like” or “fond of” 喜欢 [xihuan], “feelings” or “sentiments” 感情 [ganqing] or 情感 [qinggan], “true love” 真爱 [zhennai], “favour” 偏爱 [pianai], “affection” 恋
“love” [lian], “love” [lianai] are used to represent the different levels or intensity of love. The incorporation of such discursive variations can also be interpreted as the translating agent’s strategy to dilute the emphasis of this particular thematic subject in the translation.

Dong’s views on free expression resonated with the ideals of individualism primarily manifested by Hu Shi. The advocacy of individualism was to enhance individual’s mental ability so that they would have the desire to pursue truth, reform the society and stay strong (Guo 2014: 369). However, individualism, if radically indulged or pursued, could lead to extremes. Therefore, the humanists advocated a balanced self that can be mediated through self-discipline and harmony. The harmonizing of oneself is demonstrated by Mr. Darcy who, according to Dong, “surrenders his pride for love”. This attitude was highlighted in the translation when he proposes to Elizabeth the second time:

I cannot be so easily reconciled to myself. The recollection of what I then said, of my conduct, my manners, my expressions during the whole of it, is now, and has been many months, inexpressibly painful to me. (Ch. 58, p. 421)

This speech in Dong’s back translation reads:

I cannot not harmonize myself. I have told you what I recollected – my manners, my attitude, everything I expressed – now, it has been many months, my pain is beyond description. (Dong 1935: 335; highlight added)59

59 In Dong’s words: 不能我不融和自己，我已說過我回想的 – 我的行為，態度，我表示的一切 – 現在，已多月了，我的痛苦不可描述。
Mr. Darcy’s reconciled self is rendered into “harmonize” 融 [ronghe]. The dictionary definition of the Chinese term is “melt, blend and harmony” which literally means “blend and harmony”. Therefore, Dong’s translational decision here suggests an allegory with Humanism, which is in essence the perfect harmony of one’s disciplined self in between the extremes. In comparison with Yang Bin’s translation, the concept of harmony is not presented in this dialogue as she simply renders “reconcile” to “forgive” 原谅 [yuanliang].

The above examples, rhetorical in nature, need to be analysed in relevance with the paratextual documents in order to project the translating agent’s deliberate ideological imprints in the translated text. Such subtle traces, however subtle their presence, should not be missed because they represent the ideological influence under the paradigm of the humanist network.

6.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter presents the translation of canonical British female novels prompted under the ideological umbrella of the humanist network. Unlike the large-scale, well-organized League instigated by the CCP, Chinese humanist writers and translators did not group themselves into a single literary organization. The organization was so loose that even the members of the Crescent Moon Society had strongly denied their existence at some point in history (Wong 2008: 279). However,

60 In Yang’s words: 我並不能像你那麼容易的原諒自己，我一回想起那時侯我講的——我的行為，我的態度，我當時的詞意表現——幾個月來還使我有說不出的痛苦，現在還是。 (Ch. 58. p. 504-505)
this chapter’s findings have shown the collective attempt these humanist agents made in undertaking translational activities to defend the “ivory-towerish” translations during this period of political and literary turbulence in China. The foundation of the humanists’ association was their like-mindedness, their perception of literature as a pure art form. Within the network, some of these human and nonhuman agents are overtly linked; others are almost untraceable. However, with the concept of Latour’s network, these connections are now theorized for scrutiny, and have been shown to contribute to the understanding of the translational activities conducted in the 1920s and 1930s of China.

Entering the literary arena in opposition to the leftist, the humanists saw it as their social responsibility to rectify the “chaotic market in the 1930s” with the publication of literary works that reflected classical elements and aesthetics qualities. The translation of canonical British female writers’ novels, therefore, can be perceived as a translational activity, collectively conducted, to advocate their subscribed ideology. This collective attempt, however, was viewed differently by Liang Shiqiu as he described his debate with Lu Xun as a lonely battle with no assistance from any of his friends (Liang 1989a: 109). This was only half true. The humanists may have avoided direct confrontation with Lu Xun but they were not entirely silent on the subject. Though they did not consciously coordinate and strategize their opposition to the ideas of Lu Xun, the translations of the British female writers’ works covered in this section are evidence of their coherent literary stance. Just like Liang Shiqiu who used the translations published during the years of the debate to demonstrate his views on literature and translation (Bai 2009), the
translating agents as well as the other networked agents were also involved in the prompting of artefacts to illustrate their ideological orientations.

Unlike the League, a literary organization with a clear political agenda, the Crescent Moon was – to a certain extent – more apolitical in nature. Some of their members and associates actively discussed politics but their literary advocacy of ‘apolitical’ literature was never a digression. The associates’ motivated production of such literary works could be read as a political statement in these years when the country and its people were highly politicized (Link 2000: 321). The result was years of criticism the Crescent Moon had to suffer, from the Republican years to the Mao government; but today increasingly they have found acknowledgement and appreciation in China (Laurence 2003: 20). This chapter too is an instance of such recognition.
CHAPTER SEVEN THE INDEPENDENT NETWORK

7.1 INTRODUCTION: DEFINING THE INDEPENDENT NETWORK

This chapter focuses the discussion on Qiming Bookstore, the nonhuman agent, and its role in orchestrating the publication of Chinese translations of British female writers’ novels in the 1930s. Different from the leftist network (see Chapter 5) where agents coordinated translational activities to propagate their subscribed literary and political proclamations and the humanist network (see Chapter 6) with agents trumpeting their apolitical views, the independent agents demonstrated no views or specific inclinations on this subject. And yet, unlike the Crescent Moon associates whose silent attitude attracted speculations (Link 2000: 321), the independents’ silence did not suggest any implications. The result of their absolute divorce from the literary and political polemics is, unfortunately, their detachment from the scholarly spotlight.

This divergence marked by the translating agents, Zhu Manhua and Shi Ying, of the independent network locates a new perspective to analyse the two translated novels, namely Cranford (1937) and Silas Marner (1939), as they were translated for the readership of a younger audience. Both translations were catalogued in the “World Literature Classics Series” 世界文学名著 [Shijie wenxue mingzhe] published by Qiming Bookstore, the nonhuman agent that patronized the publication of the artefacts. The independent network offers a new angle to examine translational activities conducted in the 1930s as it was led by a nonhuman agent, i.e. Qiming.
Bookstore, while the translating agents were responsible for the mediation of languages. Translating under the publishing guidelines prescribed by Qiming Bookstore, the two translators were relatively more ‘invisible’ in comparison with most of the translators discussed in this thesis.

The two translating agents of this network, Shi Ying and Zhu Manhua, are exemplary translators who belong to “the great mass of translation [that] has left no records” (Steiner 1975: 274). These translators are only ‘visible’ in the form of entry items in archival or quantitative research that document their translation output; yet they continue to remain ‘invisible’ on the qualitative level where the reasons for them to perform these translational activities and the context where such activities were conducted remain under researched. Since it is one of the objectives of this thesis to synthesize a more comprehensive analysis on the conjugated literary dynamics of 1930s China, it is important to also include these lesser-studied translators and their translations, as they represent a significant fraction in the quantitative level. By mapping these translational activities against the sociocultural and sociopolitical backdrop of China in the late 1930s, the heart of this section lies in the scrutiny of a publisher-led network that orchestrated translating agents for the publication of novels by British female writers.

7.2 NONHUMAN AGENT: QIMING BOOKSTORE

Qiming Bookstore was founded in August 1936 by Shen Zhiming 沈志明 (b.
and his wife Ying Wenchan 應文蟬 (1912-1987) on 328 Fuzhou Road 福州路, Fourth Avenue 四馬路 in Shanghai (Li 2014: 40). It was a medium-sized publishing house. Overshadowed by the scholarly spotlight of its contemporary counterparts such as Commercial Press, Zhonghua Books 中華書局 [Zhonghua Shuju] and World Books 世界書局 [Shijie Shuju], which were generally known as the “three legs of the tripod” of the publication industry in China during the 1920s and 1930s (Reed 2004: 203), Qiming Bookstore was generally remembered as a publisher that specialized in the publication of reading and reference materials for teenagers. The bookstore published several hundred titles in total including the translations of foreign classics and calligraphy manuals (ibid.: 252).

The target readership of Qiming Bookstore needs elaborative analysis as it had a direct correlation with the translational process operating under the spectrum of the nonhuman agent. Here, the translational process includes the selection of materials for translation, the publication principles of the bookstore, the translating agents’ strategy and motivations; all of these were governed by the target readership spawned from a specific historical period in Republican Shanghai.

7.2.1 PUBLICATION INDUSTRY IN SHANGHAI AFTER 1932: QIMING’S PUBLISHING PRINCIPLES

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61 Shen Zhiming was the son of Shen Zhifang 沈知方 (1882-1939), founder of the famous Zhonghua Books 中華書局. Shen Zhifan was most noted for his intermittent attachment with the three largest publishing corporations in China in the 1920s and 1930s. The biographical details about Zhen Zhiming are scarce. The year of birth included here is an estimate concluded based on an article about his wife’s affiliation with the Chinese literary arena. In the article, it is briefly mentioned that in 1928, Zhen Zhiming was 20 years old (Mao 2012: 116). Shen’s year of birth, thus, is a rough calculation.
The CCP’s military setback in 1927 and the Japanese invasion in 1932 were crucial historical events that led to a major change in the publishing industry in Shanghai, which can be correlated to the founding of Qiming Bookstore and the adoption of its publishing principles. In 1928, with the GMD government’s censorship programme in full scale operation, the GMD authorities mandated the publication of new textbooks (*ibid.*: 224). In response to this, the Commercial Press created *New Era Textbooks* 新時代教科書 [Xin shidai jaokeshu] and *Basic Textbooks* 基本教科書 [Jiben jaokeshu] to comply with the censorship regulations (Chien 1970: 70). The publication of these textbooks by the Commercial Press, to many, was an implied statement declaring its inclination; although there was no evidence to suggest it was a collaborative act with the GMD government, the Commercial Press financially benefited from this (Reed 2004: 224).

As the GMD government’s implementation of the censorship programme was getting stricter for the sake of its political consolidation in Shanghai, there were increasing numbers of policed bookstores and clampdowns on publishing houses. Accompanied by these were the arrests of suspects breaking the censorship regulations (Pollard 2002: 152). The pivotal moment came when the “Five Martyrs” were arrested for execution in 1931. The result of the intellectual and political suppression of this “Five Martyrs incident” was the transformation of young Chinese writers and revolutionary masses into revolutionary literature (*ibid.*: 154).

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62 It was the British police in the International Settlement of Shanghai who turned over the “five martyrs” together with other unknown CCP members to the GMD government. To T. A. Hsia, the GMD authorities should be held responsible for their deaths. See is a detailed discussion on the execution of the five martyrs in Hsia’s book entitled *Enigma of the Five Martyrs. A Study of the Leftist Literary Movement in Modern China*, 1962.
Compounding the setbacks from the GMD’s censorship programme was the Japanese military aggression. It was at dawn on 30 January 1932 when the Japanese bombers suddenly disembarked at the Yangzi River to launch military attacks on the northern districts of Shanghai, with Chinese civilians as their major targets (Jordan 2001: 25-43). The Commercial Press became a major target of the Japanese army. The publishing house was raided six times, with conflagration in its full rage and the entire plant in flames, as reported in North China Daily News (quoted in Reed 2004: 128).

These were the years when Shanghai witnessed a major setback to its printing industry when it was at its peak in terms of maturity and profitability (ibid.: 135). With these as the backdrop, most publishing institutions relied heavily on the publication of modern textbooks and reference works for students and young readers in order to secure economic return or to avoid possible political consequences. As the number of students enrolled at schools rocketed to its peak in 1937, to approximately 13 million students studying at 230,000 schools scattered all over China (ibid.: 211), the Commercial Press, the largest producer of such educational products, was enjoying a period of enormous commercial success (Wang 1973: 693). The bombing of the Commercial Press meant an unprecedented commercial opportunity for its competitors. Almost all bookstores and publishers were involved with the publication of similar works while some of them published their materials with the objective of establishing themselves as the textbook providers for Chinese schools and universities for the sake of profit (Reed 2004: 207).
These textbooks and reference works for teenagers, however, covered a broad spectrum of publications from a variety of literary genres and academic disciplines. One important segment of these reference works was translations of foreign literature. The publication of translated works marked the popularity of foreign literature as it became a landmark success for the Commercial Press since the 1910s when the Chinese renditions by Yan Fu and Lin Shu were bought for republication in the imprint of the Commercial Press \( \textit{ibid.} : 215 \). Similar attempts to reprint earlier translations formed a major publication trend as publishers were frequently selling edited and compiled reprints in book form, packaged as a literary series or collection.

Qiming Bookstore was established in Shanghai during these years and therefore its publishing policies were designed with consideration of the prospective patronage as regulated by the competitive market of the publishing industry and the national state of emergency. Aligned with the subject of the present thesis, specific attention will be drawn to the description of its translation policies. Qiming Bookstore was established with some help from Shen’s father, one of the most well-known, leading figures in the Shanghai publishing industry (Mao 2012: 117). The publishing directions adopted by Qiming Bookstore can be interpreted from two elements: its logo and its name. The logo of the bookstore was a small flickering lantern; whereas the name of the bookstore, Qiming in Chinese, is 啓明. The first character \textit{qi} means to enlighten or to inspire, while the second character \textit{ming} suggests brightness and understanding. The blended meanings from the two suggested the symbolic role of the bookstore, i.e. to enlighten its readers through its publications.
In addition, the bookstore’s target readership was well reflected from the products it produced. One product that enjoyed wide popularity among teenagers and secondary school students was a notebook called “Qiming diary” [Qiming riji]. Printed on each page of the blank journal was a different maxim by renowned or learned people (Mao 2012: 117). “Qiming diary” became an instant commercial success with young people because it was relatively affordable when compared with the other diaries or journals available in the market (ibid.: 117).

Other products were mostly reading materials, self-study and reference materials. Frequently included in Qiming’s advertisements were the “Self-study English Series” [Yingwen zixiu congshu] and the Chinese-English Dictionary for Writing and Translation [Hanying fanyi xiezuo liangyong zidian], packaged for quality and affordability. The key feature of the advertisement for the Chinese-English Dictionary for Writing and Translation were the four Chinese slogans: 6,000 English words, 20,000 idioms, latest edition, most affordable, which precisely captured the essence of the dictionary.63

To sum up, Qiming Bookstore’s objective was to publish affordable reading materials to inspire young readers and this was the core of the Bookstore’s guiding principles for most of its published works including translations.

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63 The four slogans in Chinese: 單字六千 / 成語二萬 / 編著最新 / 售價最廉. They were written in four-character structured phrases, highlighted in larger font size and the insertion of a black dot next to each of the Chinese character.
7.2.2 TRANSLATION MOTIVATIONS OF “WORLD LITERATURE CLASSICS SERIES”

Qiming Bookstore’s first commercial success came with the publication of its “50 World Literature Classics Series” 五十年代世界文學名著叢書 [Wushizhong shijie wenxue mingzhu congshu] (Mao 2012: 118). As its name suggests, the series included a collection of 50 literature classics from around the world, all translated into the Chinese language. This inspired a rival Kaiming Books 開明書局 to attempt a project of similar scale and nature, also a collection of translated literary classics entitled “Literature Classics Series”. The books included in the “World Literature Classics Series” were packaged in uniform size, format and style to create a sense of brand coherence. Printed on the covers of these books were pictures related to their respective novels. For Silas Marner and Cranford the sketches of the authors, George Eliot and Mrs. Gaskell, were included on their covers respectively. Inserted as the last two pages of these books, were advertisements for other books in the series that might be of interest to the target readers.

From 1936 to 1949 (the year when Qiming Bookstore moved from Shanghai to Taiwan), the nonhuman agent remained very consistent with its established publication principles and editorial policies for the “World Literature Classics Series” described above and they will contribute to the investigation of translation motives behind Silas Marner and Cranford. Unlike the translating agents from the leftists and

64 Published between by 1931 and 1949, Kaiming Bookstore’s “World Literature Classics Series” included Chinese translations of classical literary works from around the globe, together with the publication of a variety of textbooks, Kaiming Bookstore was branded as the provider of textbooks and reading materials for young readers (Lee 2001:120).
humanist networks, who would use their translations to disseminate their literary and political ideals, the publication objectives of the “World Literature Classics Series” of Qiming Bookstore were to introduce their target readership to these Western canonical works from a more general perspective. Therefore, the translation motives developed for this particular series was “simple and easy to understand, faithful to the source texts, suitable for young readers” (*ibid.*: 119). The same motives, in fact, were applicable to most of the translations published by Qiming Bookstore.

While the triad of principles, “simple and easy to understand, faithful to the source text, suitable for young readers” were only conceptualized without further elaboration in Mao’s article, I will attempt to define these terms based on an integrated observation of the broader translation ‘norm’ of 1930s China as well as Qiming Bookstore’s publication principles. The three conceptual suggestions, however general and ambiguous they seemed, were interrelated and they can be reduced to one essence that these target oriented translations produced for a specific readership. The first two suggestions, “simple and easy to understand, faithful to the source texts” were most probably derived from the longstanding debates on literal and liberal translations that had been going on in the late 1920s and 1930s (see 2.2). If Lu Xun’s extreme literalism and Lin Shu’s extreme liberalism were exemplary representations of the two polemics of translation generally noted by Chinese intellectuals in the 1930s, translations published by Qiming Bookstore would be positioned in the middle. Their translations should not contain extensive editing and alterations, especially in the sense of deletions and rewriting, yet they should not be literally translated in a way that would detract from readers’ comprehension and
interest in the process of reading.

The last suggestion was probably the most difficult to define. I can but try my best to describe the two key factors, “suitability” and “young readers”, as there were no strict definitions for them. The term “young readers” may be defined differently across different cultures. These readers, in the broad sense, were “young adults” or “later adolescent” readers (Knowles and Malmkjær 1996: 2) aged between 16 and early 20s. To Qiming Bookstore, there was a clear distinction between this particular group of target audience and younger children; however, these “young adult” readers are usually included into the discussion of children’s literature and translation (ibid.: 2). Therefore, the age bracket and its proximate years only suggest where Qiming Bookstore’s main target audience was likely to be located and it was inevitable that the translations were accessible by readers in general.

The definition of the term “suitable” is also fraught with ambiguity. The term “suitability”, in this context, can be understood from two aspects; it can suggest “suitability” in terms of language quality or content. The first, I argue, is a repetition of the two previously discussed suggestions about “simple and easy to understand, faithful to the source texts”; therefore, “suitability” is in this context, more of relevance to features or characteristics of the source texts. These can suggest the narrative plots, thematic subjects, philosophical or moral messages, identified in the novels. As explained by Golden:

65 This age group is borrowed from Michael Cart’s definition of young adult readers. See “From Insider to Outsider: The Evolution of Young Adult Literature.” Voices from Middle 9.2 (2001): 95-97.
Children’s literature does not generally reflect extensive use of stream-of-consciousness, complex time shifts, dense symbolism, themes of passion or a profusion of figurative language, among other features. (1990: 13)

Summarizing the above definitions and descriptions about Qiming Bookstore’s target readership, the translation principles and motives prescribed by the bookstore were well reflected in the titles included in the “World Literature Classics Series”. Some of these titles were stories infused with myth or magic such as *Alice in Wonderland* (1937), *Stories of King Arthur* (1937), and *Peter Pan* (1938); others contained moral messages such as *Little Women* (1936), *Adventures of Pinocchio* (1936), *Good Wives* (1936); and there were also literary classics *Gulliver’s Travels* (1936), *Silas Marner* and *Cranford.*

Operating under the independent network led by Qiming Bookstore, the translation strategies specific to younger readers’ literature will most likely generate a different set of translation ‘norms’ adopted by the translating agents. Shi Ying and Zhu Manhua were to take up a role to introduce the younger readers to and inspire them with “suitable” artefacts targeting at the enhancement of the readers’ understanding of the culturally and literarily unfamiliar. In their translations, the common ‘norm’ noted from the translations of Shi Ying and also Zhu Manhua was the use of cultural context adaptation as a strategy, i.e. the translator’s intentional modifications to a text in order to enable young readers to process or understand the foreign information in the source text (Klingberg 1986: 65). This has been a common practice widely used throughout the history of translation for children’s works in

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66 These titles are only categorized here for illustrative purposes in this thesis. The genres and nature of these literary works can be defined differently under different circumstances.
particular (Lathey 2010: 7). To a certain degree, cultural context adaptation overlaps Venuti’s domestication (1995), as both strategies are to produce translations that can enhance fluency and avoid alienation or foreignness especially for younger readers who are inexperienced in life (Lathey 2010: 118).

Göte Klinberg has developed a list of culture-specific terms that translators can decide whether to retain or adapt in the target texts (1986). The list of culture-specific items is categorized as follows:

- literary references
- foreign languages in the source text
- references to mythology and popular belief
- historical, religious and political background
- building and home furnishing, food
- customs, play and games
- flora and fauna
- personal names, titles, names of domestic animals, names of objects
- geographical names
- weights and measures (Klingberg 1986: 17-18)

With reference to the list drafted by Klingberg, these culture-specific terms will be identified in *Silas Marner* and *Cranford* in order to investigate how they were culturally adapted by the two translating agents for the benefit of the young audience.

7.3 SHI YING: *SILAS MARNER* AND TRANSLATION MOTIVATION

The translator had adopted Shi Ying as his penname since the 1930s. There were
two other pennames that the translator had previously used, i.e. Shi Luoying 施洛英 and He Junlian 何君莲. Despite the abundant literary contributions Shi Ying had made to Chinese literature and translation, he has not received any scholarly attention. The only available article written about him is found online, written by his son in memory of his father.67 According to this article, Shi Ying studied then taught at Jiaxing Xiuzou High School 嘉興秀州中學. Later he was enrolled in the University of Naking 金陵大學, but after one semester he was forced to withdraw from his studies due to financial difficulties (Yin: 2012). Fortunately, he was offered the position as an assistant editor at Shanghai Xiejie Bookstore where he began his career in writing and translation (ibid.)

This short biographic account of Shi Ying may not provide sufficient data to validate the translating agent’s cultural capital; however, the translator’s motives can still be established with the Preface examined in relation to the translated text. The only paratextual document currently available is a 2-page preface written by Shi Ying, inserted at the beginning of Silas Marner. This will be important to locate the basis of the translating agent’s motives. Prefaced by the translator himself, dated 1938, Shi Ying began with an explicit declaration which described his intention to translate the novel:

The motivation for me to translate this novel could be traced back to 8 to 9 years ago when I was still at university. I was reading Silas Marner. It was a textbook for my English class. I was totally impressed by the author’s artful and refined descriptions and the novel’s depth. The plot may be simple but it is through this

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67 The article presents a brief biographic account of Shi Ying and an exhaustive list of the translations and literary works by the translator. See Yin Hua 印華, “In Memory of my Father Shi Ying” 懷念父親施瑛 [Huainian fuqin Shi Ying], 2012.
simplicity that true human nature is revealed. The descriptions are true to life ...
*Silas Marner* was the author’s most popular work. Through this novel, readers could understand the author’s thoughts and appreciate her style. … Please read for yourself and understand how good this novel is. (Shi 1937: 1-2)

From this opening remark, Shi Ying’s motivation to translate this novel can be summarized in one major point: that it was the author’s most popular novel and it was a “good” novel “suitable” for young readers. Recollecting from the translating agent’s own experience, he was very much inspired and impressed by the novel when he was reading it at university; therefore, it was his attempt to share this precious experience with the readers through this translation. To reinforce the “suitability” of the translation for the younger audience, Shi Ying further described Gaskell, on a par with Eliot and Dickens, as “one of the best authors of the Victorian period” whose writing was even praised by none other than Carlyle (*ibid.*: 1).

Shi then explained to his young audience that the novel was “good” and “suitable” for them because of the “artful and refined descriptions and the novel’s depth” (*ibid.*: 1). It was precisely this unique writing style that impressed Shi Ying with the decision to translate the novel, hoping that his younger readers can be inspired by the novel as he was when he was at university.

7.3.1 TRANSLATION OF CULTURE-SPECIFIC TERMS: RELIGIOUS ELEMENTS

As elaborated in 6.4, religious terms and descriptions exist intermittently in Eliot’s *Silas Marner* because religion is one of the themes of the novel (Hodgson
The following two extracts contain religious terms and they illustrate examples of Shi Ying’s cultural context adaptation used in the translation.

First, in Chapter 1, Eliot describes the Raveloe gentlemen’s relaxed lifestyle as they celebrate various festivals:

but that there were several chiefs in Reveloe who could farm badly quite at their ease, drawing enough money from their bad farming, in those wartimes, to live in a rollicking fashion, and keep a jolly Christmas, Whitsun, and Eastertide. (Ch. 1, p. 10; highlight added)

The three festivals mentioned are all related to Christianity. In Shi’s translation, the three festivals were simply reduced to one term festival 佳節 [jiajie] (Shi 1939: 3). In Liang Shiqiu’s translation, however, the names of these festivals were rendered into Chinese as 聖誕節 [shengdanjie], 聖靈降臨節 [shengling jianglinjie], 復活節 [fuhuojie] (Liang 1932: 5).

The second example is extracted from Chapter 2 when Silas is thinking about Lantern Yard, the village where he used to reside:

the minister delivered unquestioned doctrine, and swayed to and fro, and handled the book in a long accustomed manner. (Ch. 2, p. 22; highlight added)

The “unquestioned doctrine” most likely contain references to the gospels and

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68 Shi Ying’s translation: 萊維羅的幾位鄉紳，逍遙自在，隨便種點田，若在戰爭時候，就是不用心耕田，收入也儘可揮霍，享受各種歡樂的佳節。
69 Liang Shiqiu’s translation: 但是拉維羅必有幾個紳士逍遙自在的隨便種點田，在那打戰的時代，就是不用心耕田，也儘可索取不少錢，足夠揮霍，歡樂的享受聖誕節，聖靈降臨節，復活節。
biblical messages, which are God’s words and are not to be questioned or challenged. In Shi’s translation, the term is rendered into “rules and regulations” which literally means “golden rules and jade regulations” 金科玉律 [jinkejulu] (Shi 1939: 9). This term in Chinese does not carry any religious connotation; instead it simply means old rules and conventions to be followed. However, in Liang’s translation, the “unquestioned doctrines” is rendered as “creed” 信條 [xintiao] which means “religious doctrines” in Chinese (Liang 1932: 19). The connotative allusion to the novel’s religious context is overtly embedded by the translating agent.

In all, instead of providing footnotes or inserted annotations to explain these religious terms, Shi Ying culturally adapted them into simple Chinese terms that are self-explanatory. This strategy, as described by Klingberg, is explanatory translation (1986: 18). This is a reflection of Shi’s translational decision made in consideration of the specific target readership of the “World Literature Classics Series”.

7.3.2 RELIGION AS A SENSITIVE SUBJECT

A macro consideration of Shi Ying’s Silas Marner will identify another important textual discovery: that three passages of considerable length have been omitted. It is important to note that Shi Ying’s rendition is not an adaptation or an abridged translation and that Qiming Bookstore had been very consistent with its publishing principles and translation policies with its translated books; therefore,

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70 Shi Ying’s translation: 講台上的牧師，宣講著那些金科玉律，身體搖盪，永遠是老樣子的舉著書本。

71 Liang Shiqiu’s translation: 講臺上牧師宣講那不可懷疑的信條，左搖右擺的，永遠是那個老樣子舉著書本。
such extensive textual deletions deserve further investigation. Upon close examination, all three deleted passages revolve around the discussion of religion. Appended in this thesis, passages 1 and 3 represent the personal reflections of two major characters, Godfrey and Nancy, in regard to their views on religion and faith; passage 2 draws a comparison on the church-going habits of the Raveloe inhabitants and their religious faith (see Appendix 6). Although these passages should not be simply interpreted as Eliot’s religious perspectives projected in the novel, the extensive omissions will, to a certain extent, weaken the novel’s religious content.

The underscored argument here is that these deleted passages do not represent a mere coincidence or the translator’s oversight. In fact, a close inspection of these three passages will shed light on the analysis of Shi Ying’s translation ‘norm’ adopted in the process of translation under the network. The reason for such deletion, I argue, is strongly related to the political climate of China in the 1930s.

Christianity can be a sensitive subject in China when the country was politically divided. Christian writing, as Chloë Starr suggests, can unfold as two extreme interpretations. Some Chinese intellectuals associated their classical Confucius learning with biblical writing; to them, Christianity and Confucian doctrines were similar in the sense that they both promoted the idea of a “morally perfected person”, a refined self that embodied the “highest moral values” (Starr 2008: 4). This interpretation of Christian writing was in consonance with the GMD’s conventional and classical advocacy. There were other intellectuals who perceived Christian reading conversely. These intellectuals emphasized “daily reflection,
self-examination and reflective self-improvements – and to political engagement”
(ibid.: 5). To intellectuals of this persuasion, the Bible can be used to inspire
individual citizens to arm and revolt for national salvation (ibid.: 5). The leftists and
communists would incline to this interpretation of Christian writing. From the two
extreme interpretations described above, Shi Ying’s intentional deletion of the three
passages, therefore, is an important act to reflect Qiming Bookstore’s apolitical
stance.

To conclude, *Silas Marner* was an artefact prompted by a publisher-led network.
Since the translating agent was patronized by Qiming Bookstore, it was only natural
that the novel was translated by the agent operating under the publication and
translation principles prescribed by the nonhuman agent. Arrayed into this network is
Zhu Manhua, another translating agent to advance translational activities with the
same objectives under the patronage of Qiming Bookstore.

7.4 ZHU MANHUA: *CRANFORD* AND TRANSLATION MOTIVATION

Zhu Manhua is probably the most ‘invisible’ of the seven translators included in
this thesis. The translator’s ‘invisibility’ exists on both archival and textual levels. On
the archival level, no biographic details or records of any sort about the translator can
be located. There exist only a few archival traces to confirm Zhu Manhua’s identity
as a translator during the Republican years. First, Zhu translated extracts of Chinese
literary works by Su E 蘇鶚 and Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 into English in the
mid-1920s. Second, a scholarly article entitled *The Dream Palaces of Shanghai: American Films in China’s Largest Metropolis Prior to 1949*, in which Zhu Manhua is documented as a male film translator for the Grand Theatre in Shanghai in the 1930s (Cambon 1995: 38). However, Cambon did not provide an account of the films or theatrical productions translated by Zhu. In addition, there are a few essays and articles written by Zhu Manhua; but most of them are not of direct relevance to this thesis as they radomly discuss foreign writers such as Austrian writer Arthur Schnitzler (1862-1931) or English writer John Drinkwater (1882-1937). Other loose writings include Zhu’s regular contribution to the periodical *Travel Journal* [Luxing zazhi] from 1935 to 1939.

On the textual level, unlike all of the other translators included in the present study who prefaced their own paratexual materials for their translated texts, Zhu’s *Cranford* was prefaced by Wang Tiran 汪倜然 (1906-1988) who was the editor-in-chief of *The Evening News* 大晚報 [Dawanbao] of Shanghai and editor of Qiming Bookstore during the late 1930s. As *Cranford*, the novel failed to generate sufficient paratextual and extratextual materials for further research opportunities as a standalone translated text. Hence, Zhu’s ‘invisibility’ exemplifies the situation of many translators from earlier years who were lacking in status and recognition,

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72 These translations can be found in *The English Journal* 英文雜誌 [Yingwen zazhi], vol. 10.9 (1924): 665-667 and vol. 11.4 (1925): 264-267 and 267-268.
73 The two articles on Schnitzler and Drinkwater were respectively published in *Chinese Years* 華年 [Huanian], vol. 5.14 (1936): 15-16 and vol. 5.24 (1936): 13-14.
74 Examples of these articles by Zhu Manhua include “Good Destinations for Summer” 消夏勝地 [Xiaoxia shengdi] and “Places I have Explored” 舊遊之地 [Jiuyou zhi di] respectively published in *Travel Journal* 旅行雜誌 [Luxing zazhi] vol. 10.8 (1936): 8-10 and vol. 13.1 (1939): 29-30.
The inclusion of Zhu Manhua and his version of *Cranford* as a translational activity within the independent network opens the way for the study of Zhu’s *Cranford* in the context of other parallel translational activities led by the same publishing agent. In this case, in line with Shi Ying’s *Silas Marner*, Zhu Manhua’s *Cranford* was also published for the same target audience, constrained by the same publication and translation principles of the “World Literature Classics Series”.

Wang Tiran began the prefatory note by describing the author, Mrs. Gaskell, as a great author on a par with the other male novelists, Thackeray and Dickens, and female ones, Eliot and Austen (Wang 1937: 1). The reasons behind this translation were explicitly stated in the prefatory comment: the writer Mrs. Gaskell was a great author and the novel *Cranford* was a classic (*ibid.*: 1). These were all clear attempts to establish Gaskell’s canonicity to justify the translator’s decision to render the text into Chinese. He then compared Mrs. Gaskell with two female writers, Eliot and Austen, and positioned Gaskell in between the two:

Austen was a refined lady and her writing style was gentle and witty. As for Eliot, she possessed the personality of a poet and therefore her works were blended with ‘smiles and blinking tears’. It was only Mrs. Gaskell who was neither melancholic nor light-hearted, neither humorous nor sarcastic. (*ibid.*: 1)

Wang further emphasized that the novel was written in the style of realism. Again he described “Mrs. Gaskell’s writing as somewhere in between Austen, who obtained her inspiration from daily activities, and Eliot, who modeled her descriptions on careful observation” (*ibid.*: 1).
In addition, Wang reminded the young readers to associate Cranford with Austen’s Pride and Prejudice as well as the humorous characters and plot similar to the Dickensian style of writing (ibid.: 1). Wang’s elaborative and overt comparison of Mrs. Gaskell and Cranford with the other contemporary canonical Victorian writers and their novels could be seen as an overt strategy to align the author and the novel with the more established writers and their novels. The novel’s status as a literary canon was the paramount reason why it was selected for translation.

The second part of the preface plays an important role in instructing the young readers on the literary values of Cranford. Not only was it a classic, Wang told the readers, “it was frequently used as a textbook in British and American schools” (ibid.: 2). He further compared it with The Dream of Red Chamber. Wang explained:

Cranford is a novel that describes daily events. In terms of content and form, it is a little similar to The Dream of Red Chamber. The only difference is that the novel does not describe people like Jia Baoyu 賈寶玉 and Lin Daiyu 林黛玉, and it does not illustrate romance in the style of the Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies school. (ibid.: 2)

The common characteristic that Wang saw in The Dream of Red Chamber and Cranford was the realistic description of daily life. This is a crucial point of similarity between the two novels. Wang was not only preparing his readers for such elements in the translation but also directing the readers’ attention to these

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75 The Dream of Red Chamber, also called The Story of the Stone 石頭記 [Shitou ji] is one of the four great classical novels of China. Written by Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹, the novel is best known for its elaborative and episodic details and records of the aristocratic life of two families. Jia Baoyu and Lin Daiyu are the two male and female protagonists of the novel. Their tragic romance forms a core branch of the complicated plot.
descriptions. He then highly recommended Zhu’s translation to his young readers, especially those who have already had their first taste of Western literature. The translation was to be read slowly in order to feel the romance, tragedy and comedy in the novel, Zhu recommends (*ibid.*: 2).

To sum up, Wang Tiran, as the writer of the preface of Zhu Manhua’s *Cranford*, saw two major reasons why the novel should be translated for the benefit of the young adults in China. First, it was a literary classic. The novel was as influential as many other canonical works which justified its inclusion into the “World Literature Classics Series.” Second, it was a textbook used in the West and therefore, in line with the Western counterparts, Chinese young readers should also read this novel so that they too could learn from this distinctive novel.

7.4.1 TRANSLATION OF CULTURE-SPECIFIC TERMS: FOOD ITEMS AND CHARACTER NAMES

In the prefatory note, Wang drew his readers’ attention to Gaskell’s realistic descriptions of the everyday life of the Cranford inhabitants. Descriptive details include scenes that provide elaborate descriptions of characters having afternoon tea and meals. The food items that appear in these scenes are categorized as culture-specific terms (see 7.2.2). According to Klingberg, culture-specific terms represented by food elements should not be deleted or replaced in the target text as they can convey a “better understanding” of the source text culture (1986: 36). In Zhu Manhua’s rendition, these terms were substituted with their rough equivalents.
(ibid.: 23) and they are presented in the table below. The same terms, rendered by Shi Ying, are also provided for juxtaposed comparison.

Table 5: Examples of tea snacks in Cranford

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Zhu Manhua’s Cranford</th>
<th>Shi Ying’s Cranford</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ST</strong></td>
<td><strong>TT</strong></td>
<td><strong>Back translation</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tea bread</strong></td>
<td>點心 [dianxin]</td>
<td>Delicacy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wafer bread</strong></td>
<td>油鬆麵包 [yousongmianbao]</td>
<td>Butter crust bread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sponge cake</strong></td>
<td>鬆酥餅 [songsubing]</td>
<td>Puff cake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Savoy biscuits</strong></td>
<td>冬菜餅 [dongcaibing]</td>
<td>Pickled cake</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The tea snacks that appeared in Cranford were basically non-existent in the target text culture. Therefore, in compliance with Qiming Bookstore’s publishing policies, Zhu Manhua culturally adapted these food items into commonly-known Chinese snacks as their rough equivalents so that the target text would not sound too literal and retard readers’ comprehension. Such substitutions, however, will not impair readers’ understanding of the translation since such culturally-specific terms were translated but not deleted. The case in point is especially salient when Shi Ying’s translated terms are included for contrastive analysis. In Shi Ying’ version of
*Cranford*, these tea snacks are transliterated or generalized as bread and cakes in western style.

In addition to the snacks, the characters’ personal names are also culture-specific terms and should be carefully handled in translations. The characters’ names in *Cranford* are categorized as ‘personal names belonging to everyday language’ and they can be changed into their equivalent standard forms in the target language (*ibid.*: 44). In Zhu Manhua’s *Cranford*, the names of the major characters were only transliterated into Chinese in full at their first appearance. They were referred to with a shorter version of their names in their subsequent appearances in the novel. For example, Mrs. Forrester was translated as Mrs. Fu 福夫人, Mrs. Jamieson as Mrs. Jie 傑夫人, Miss Jenkyns as Miss Qin 琴姑娘 and Miss Matty as Miss Mei 梅小姐. The shortened version of these names, a one-word surname accompanied by the character’s relevant appellation, were adapted in a way that was equivalent to the naming and addressing system of the target text culture. In Shi Ying’s version, however, the above western names are all retained as transliterated renditions such as Mrs. Fulasi 萊拉斯太太, Mrs. Chameixun 查美遜夫人, Mrs. Feiadang 費阿當太太, Miss Mati 麻提小姐, in their respective order.

With Zhu Manhua’s strategies to culturally adapt the English names of characters and food into the translation, this translational behavior could be explained from two interrelated perspectives. First, it is the translator’s ‘norm’ formulated under the prescribed publication and translation principles of Qiming Bookstore. That the artefact was for a younger readership, these culture-specific
terms were rendered with the objective to produce a translation for their “better understanding.” Second, these translation strategies adopted by Zhu Manhua can also be used as evidence to highlight the translator’s ‘invisibility’ especially on the textual level. An important piece of extratextual material written by the translator himself can be cited here to justify this point. In an article published in 1931, Zhu explained very briefly his views on translation by describing Yan Fu’s principles as “empty standards” that were too general to be used as translation guidelines (1931: 12). He then further explained that a good translation should not read like a translated text (ibid.: 13). Therefore, the translation strategies applied in Cranford represent very important textual evidence to illustrate Zhu’s conceptual belief regarding translators’ ‘invisibilility’ in the translated text.

7.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter covered the translation of British female novels prompted by two independent translating agents, Shi Ying and Zhu Manhua, operating under the patronage of the publishing agent Qiming Bookstore. With the intensifying military onslaught of the Japanese and the irreconcilable ideological divide between the CCP and GMD, there appeared a growing demand in the production of textbooks and reading materials for young readers. Such reading materials included the translation of foreign literature for the target readership of young adults. These are, in Wolf’s words, “social forces that drive the translation process” (2006: 10).

Zhu Manhua and Shi Ying, along with many other independent translators in
Republican China, are seldom studied. However, when the two retranslations are examined in a collective fashion, they present themselves as a cluster of translations that emerged as a phenomenon during Republican China. As a translation phenomenon, these independent translators and their translations deserve more attention because their translations would, as Anthony Pym says, “yield insights into the nature and workings of translation itself” (1998: 83).

It is, however, not always easy to yield such insights because many Republican translators remain ‘invisible’ even until today for a variety of reasons. For these ‘invisible’ translators, ANT is especially helpful because it connects the dotted lines, linking the individual agents to form a translation network. In this chapter, the case of Zhu Manhua is a good example of this approach. The study of Zhu Manhua and his translation is only possible when he is aligned with the other networked agents as they all shared a common ideology for their networked translation activities.

Reviewing the “yielded insights” derived from this chapter’s examination of *Silas Marner* and *Cranford*, what emerges is a more ‘domesticated profile’ as many of the culture-specific terms in the novels had been culturally adapted in the manner suggested by strategies latterly formulated by Klingberg (1986). Such traces of ‘domestication’ in the two translations, when mapped against the predominant translation ‘norm’ of China in the 1930s, presented two oppositional trends because there was a growing awareness among Chinese intellectuals that translations should be more ‘faithful’ rather than ‘literal’, as were works published before 1920s.
Therefore, the independent translators and their translations, if examined from the perspective of products of political or literary advocacy, will only yield unappealing results to adherents of opposing camps who tend to filter their analyses through the lens of their respective politics. Instead, more networks can be constructed in order to bring about the independents’ translational activities that took place in Republican China.
CHAPTER EIGHT CONCLUSION

8.1 OVERVIEW

Returning to the beginning of this thesis, the fundamental research question lies in the peripheral position of these novels by British writers in the polisystem. The conceptual idea of this thesis is developed from two general descriptions frequently included in a majority of the orthodox publications about the literature and translation arena of China in the 1920s and 1930s. First, the leftist translated mostly revolutionary-themed literature and literary works from Russia and second, nothing of literary or scholarly value and significance came out of the years of Japanese repression around 1937. A careful archaeological research on the quantitative data seems to confirm that these two descriptions are not entirely true. The leftists also translated novels from Britain where they criticized as ‘capitalists’ works and the translations of teenagers’ literature was very popular especially during the warring years. The significance of this thesis, therefore, is the discussion of the translational activities that have not been included in many of these orthodox publications (Ding 1955; Liu 1979).

In chapters 5, 6 and 7, the human and nonhuman agents have been theoretically categorized into three distinctive translation networks for investigation. Such analysis, mapped against the historical, sociocultural and sociopolitical context of Republican China, strengthens ‘the social’ within translation. In this section, the findings of the analysis from each network will be presented in order to verify how translation can be a “deliberate and conscious act of selection, assemblage,
structuration, and fabrication” under different social circumstances (Gentzler and Tymoczko 2002: xxi).

8.2 A SYNTHESIS OF ACHIEVEMENTS

Latour’s ANT has proven helpful in this thesis. With the construction of the three translation networks, the translated texts are defined as artefacts, which become the common objective of the networked human and nonhuman agents. The concept of network finds its effectiveness in the construction of ‘the social’ especially in Republican China because it was the time when the literary arena was pervaded with different literary associations or institutions that claimed the affiliation of most of the intellectuals in one way or another. These networked connections enable the discovery of lost links that associate the lesser-known human agents such as translators and intellectuals with their respective ‘social’.

This section will attempt to answer the four research questions with specifics in relation to the three distinctive networks theorized in this thesis.

8.2.1 LEFTIST NETWORK FINDINGS

Under the leftist network, there are two sub-networks led by the translating agents, Yang Bin and Li Jiye. Both translating agents were attached with the leftist circle and they were ideologically influenced.
For Yang Bin, her translation of the novel *Pride and Prejudice* reflected a blended ideological influence from the leftist and Christianity nurtured by Yanjing University and Grace Boyton. Inspired by the spread of Christianity in China, Yang used *Pride and Prejudice*, as well as her other translations published at around the same years, to advocate her leftist ideals. What Yang saw as the subject of the novel was its realistic descriptions of ordinary people and peasants. Moreover, in her rendition, the distinction of social classes was eliminated. These were Yang’s translation strategies to magnify ideas that have leftist inclinations in *Pride and Prejudice*.

As an ardent protégée of Lu Xun, Li Jiye’s translation of *Jane Eyre* was dotted with traces of not only leftist ideology but also hints of Lu Xun’s ‘hard translation’. To Li, the protagonist Jane Eyre exemplified the oppressed people and the thematic subject of the novel was her rebellious spirit rather than her romance with Mr. Rochester. Her rebellious spirit, was highlighted with the translator’s repeatedly discursive use of the Chinese terms *fan kāng* 反抗, *dui kāng* 對抗, and *fan pān* 反叛, as well as *dōu zhēng* 鬥爭 in the translated text. These Chinese terms, frequently seen in revolutionary literature produced in China during the 1930s, were used to align Jane Eyre’s personal desire to “resist” and “revolt” with the leftist political agenda of revolution.

Although Yang Bin and Li Jiye were not translating in collaboration under the same ideological umbrella, they were translating with the similar objective that literature was to be used as a tool to propagate their leftist ideals. Such ideals were
highlighted in the translated texts with similar translation strategies that they had adopted. This, I argue, can still be understood as the agents’ networked effort in prompting artefacts.

8.2.2 HUMANIST NETWORK FINDINGS

The humanist network was composed of human agents whose ideological orientation was similar to Babbitt’s humanism. They saw humanism as an important force to balance extremes. Humanism was the key to balancing extremes found in humans, in society and also in the Chinese literary arena. Within this network, an important nonhuman agent was the Crescent Moon Society where members believed that literature was a pure art form, apolitical in nature. This nonhuman agent served as a platform to reach out to Chinese intellectuals sharing similar view on literature and translation.

One of the translating agents of the network was Liang Shiqiu. Inspired by his Chinese teacher Xu Jingcheng’s passion in Chinese classics and his Harvard mentor Irving Babbitt’s advocacy for humanism, Liang developed the ‘Golden Mean’ philosophy which he would apply in many aspects of his literary creations and translations. During the years when he was engaged in the written altercation with Lu Xun, he used *Silas Marner* and other translations to illustrate his arguments that literature was serious and disciplined. To Liang, literature was not meant to be for the general masses. Through the translation of *Silas Marner*, Liang demonstrated some of the core arguments he made during the written debate. First, women’s liberation
was not about achieving equality of abilities in the two genders; rather, it was about providing women with opportunities to do what they were good at, even if this happened to be domestic duties. Second, literature of classical values can be used to rectify the chaos in the literary arena in China; and finally, the translation of literary works should be a mediated representation of both literalism and liberalism.

The second translating agent of the network was Wu Guangjian. Wu was enrolled into the network by Hu Shi. During the years when Wu was affiliated with the Crescent Moon Society, his translations reflected a change in style. Wu’s previous translations were usually heavily edited and abridged in a style similar to Lin Shu’s. Moreover, he inserted himself into his translations as a commentator by adding in-text, marginal and end-of-chapter comments to directly address his readers. Wu abandoned this long established role as a commentator in his later translations after his association with the Crescent Moon Society whose members believed in adopting a serious attitude in translation where extensive textual changes were not ideal. This significant stylistic change can be interpreted as a reflection of the ideological influence he had received from his new literary affiliation in Shanghai. Moreover, in Wu’s translation of *Jane Eyre*, he highlighted the protagonist’s pursuit of balance in herself and in marriage. The concept of mediation between extremes was an important clue that revealed the translator’s ideological inclination towards the humanists during the time when he was attached with the Crescent Moon Society.

The last translating agent included in this network is Dong Zhongchi. His *Pride and Prejudice* was endorsed by Hu Shi and Liang Shiqiu. This was an important
piece of evidence to justify his attachment with the humanists even without sufficient support of extratextual materials. In the translation the idea of harmony, which was the core of humanism, was highlighted.

With the use of ANT, the translators, the Crescent Moon Society and the humanist writers can all be connected for a more theoretical analysis of their collective translational efforts. With their common ideology and translation motivation, the networked agents produced artefacts to advance their literary beliefs.

8.2.3 INDEPENDENT NETWORK FINDINGS

The independent network was led by the Qiming Bookstore. It was the only nonhuman agent-led network examined in this thesis. The two translating agents, Zhu Manhua and Shi Ying, were commissioned to translate for the nonhuman agent. Specializing in the publication of textbooks, reference works and reading materials for a younger readership, the network aimed at producing ‘suitable’ translations for these target readers. The two novels, *Silas Marner* and *Pride and Prejudice*, were both ‘suitable’ literary texts for teenage readers in terms of content and the novels’ canonicity. Both translators used the cultural context adaptation strategy to translate the culture-specific items in the source texts. Some of these items were characters’ names, food items, and religious elements. By adapting these culture-specific terms into Chinese, the young readers can develop a better understanding of Western classics.
8.3 LIMITATIONS

It has been shown that the findings of the thesis can answer most of the research questions posed; however, the research is not without limitations. In general, there are three types of limitations.

8.3.1 ON PARATEXTUAL AND EXTRATEXTUAL MATERIALS

First of all, the amount of paratextual and extratextual materials that can be generated in relevance with all of the three translation networks is not the same. As demonstrated in the thesis, biographical information of the two translating agents Dong Zhongchi and Zhu Manhua is almost non-existent. This must negatively impact the analysis of the translating agents’ cultural capital and ideology. Moreover, this can create an imbalance in the structure of the thesis as well as an impairment to the analysis of the translators and their translations.

In addition, archival materials and records of the publishing institutions included in thesis are insufficient. The Commercial Press was the only publisher that has been researched (Chien, 1970; Wang 1973); the rest are only faintly mentioned while records for University Press, the publisher of Dong Zhongchi’s *Pride and Prejudice*, remain undiscovered. If the publishers, their publication policies and archival documents of written correspondence with translators and editors can also be included into all of the three networks, a more comprehensive analysis on these translational activities can be constructed.
8.3.2 ON METHODOLOGY AND TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

Given that there are only two translated versions for each of the source texts, the design of the research methodology faces a limitation that cannot be overcome. There is an imbalance in the allocation of the target texts, which impairs the comprehensiveness of the research especially in the sense of contrastive analysis of the target texts. The more ideal case study, if it exists at all, is to have three translated texts of the same source text allocated to the three translation networks for the analysis. With this methodological design, the same fraction of the three translated texts can be brought under the analytical lens for a detailed contrastive examination.

Another limitation of this research is related to textual analysis. Since the major focus of this thesis is not on the translated texts, and a fairly large amount of texts is involved in this study, without any computer-aided tools, manual examinations conducted on an individual or contrastive basis on the lexical and semantic issues of the entire translated texts is almost impossible. Therefore, only certain significant terms and extracts suggesting thematic subjects of the novels have been selected for textual analysis in this thesis. Human errors are inevitable and this poses an important limitation to the study.

8.4 IMPLICATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

With the array of information presented in this thesis and the versatility of this
study, I would like to conclude this thesis by suggesting further research pathways that can be explored in future efforts to extend the present field of knowledge.

8.4.1 ON NETWORKS AND PATRONAGE

The conceptual methodology of Latour’s ANT is effective in Translation Studies when the research is about translational activities that involve multiple agents and lesser studied literature (Kung 2009, 2015). It can also benefit studies about lesser known translators in a social environment where intellectuals are intertwined or conflicted in a variety of ways, as exemplified in this thesis. The concept of networks is also closely associated with Lefevere’s patronage (1992b). With the conceptual methodology of network broadened to investigate human and nonhuman agents undertaking translational activities in the Republican years, further studies can be conducted to analyse how patrons formed translation networks to prompt translations. Such studies can surely draw attention to translators and their translations that are so often unintentionally marginalized.

8.4.2 ON STYLISTICS AND TRANSLATION

The construction of one translation network or the juxtaposition of two or more networks invites further research to examine issues from the perspective of stylistic analysis. Since there are no restrictions regarding the number of networks translators can be affiliated with, this can open up further research opportunities on one single translator and his/her translations when the translator is engaged within a particular
network; or a contrastive stylistic analysis of the translator’s works when he/she is enrolled into different networks. The same idea is applicable to studies grounded on more than one translator belonging to the same network; or the translators enrolled in different networks.

8.4.4 ON GENDER AND TRANSLATION

The present thesis can also inspire further research in the area of gender and translation. Since the corpus is built up with novels by female writers, this in itself already suggests possibilities to analyse these translations from the perspective of gender and translation. Of the eight translated texts, only one was translated by a female. Situating these translations in the historical context of Republican China, the year 1935 was called ‘The Year of Nora’ because Ibsen’s play “A Doll’s House” was performed all over the big cities of China (Eide 1987: 88). The importing of these novels by female writers after 1935 may suggest a correlation with the increasing discussions about Chinese women in social and political contexts inspired by the play’s protagonist Nora.

With this thesis opening up research opportunities mentioned but not limited to those discussed above, I hope to see the under-researched translational activities in Republican China further explored.
APPENDIX

Appendix 1: Chinese literary works (novels, drama, prose, poetry) and translated novels published in China from 1911 to 1949.76

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Titles (Literature)</th>
<th>No. of Titles (Translation)</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Titles (Literature)</th>
<th>No. of Titles (Translation)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>150</td>
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<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>145</td>
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<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>462</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>66</td>
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<td>39</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1939</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1942</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>1943</td>
<td>354</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1944</td>
<td>396</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>1946</td>
<td>554</td>
<td>199</td>
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<td>1927</td>
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<td>133</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>498</td>
<td>206</td>
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<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>9,152</td>
<td>2,426</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

76 This table is extracted from The Publishing Platforms of Modern Chinese Literature 中國現代文學出版平台 [Zhongguo xiandai wenxue chuban pingtai], 367-618. Literature here suggests literary creations and works written and produced by Chinese writers in the Chinese language while translation refers to literary works written by foreign writers that are translated into the Chinese language. The highlighted segment represents the years of publication of the selected novels by canonical British female writers. These statistics, collected as preliminary data, provide an overall view regarding the publication of Chinese literary works and translated works during the Republican years.
Appendix 2: Translated books published by the Crescent Moon Society.\textsuperscript{77}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Titles</th>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Year of Publication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td><em>The Charwoman's Daughter</em></td>
<td>James Stephens</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td><em>On the Authenticity and the Nature of the Taochuan</em></td>
<td>Bernhard Karlgren</td>
<td>1927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td><em>Meipeou la Delivrance. le premier cercle de Meipe, ou le creator</em></td>
<td>André Maurois</td>
<td>1927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td><em>History of the Philosophy of History</em></td>
<td>Robert Flint</td>
<td>1928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td><em>Love Letters of Abelard and Heloise</em></td>
<td>Abelard and Heloise</td>
<td>1928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td><em>Romeo and Juliet</em></td>
<td>William Shakespeare</td>
<td>1928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td><em>The School for Scandal</em></td>
<td>R. B. Sheridan</td>
<td>1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td><em>She Stoops to Conquer</em></td>
<td>Oliver Goldsmith</td>
<td>1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td><em>La Poudre aux yuex (Illusion)</em></td>
<td>Eugène Labiche</td>
<td>1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td><em>Song Story of Aucassin and Nicolette</em></td>
<td>Author unknown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td><em>Peter Pan and Wendy</em></td>
<td>Sir J. M. Barrie</td>
<td>1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td><em>Babbitt and Humanism</em></td>
<td>Irving Babbitt</td>
<td>1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td><em>The Character of Races</em></td>
<td>Ells Huntington</td>
<td>1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td><em>The Admirable Crichton</em></td>
<td>Sir J. M. Barrie</td>
<td>1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td><em>The Merchant of Venice</em></td>
<td>William Shakespeare</td>
<td>1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td><em>Communism</em></td>
<td>H. J. Laski</td>
<td>1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td><em>Essays on Nationalism</em></td>
<td>C. J. Hayes</td>
<td>1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td><em>Seijigaku Gairon (Principles of Politics)</em></td>
<td>Seigo Takahashi</td>
<td>1932</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{77} The list is compiled based on the same quantitative sources discussed in 4.3.1.
Appendix 3: Footnotes and annotations in Liang Shiqiu’s *Silas Marner*.

| 註一 | 此時所指係十九世紀初葉，拿破侖戰爭結局之前。 |
| 註二 | 參看彼得後書第一章第十節“Wherefore the rather, brethren, give diligence to make your calling and election sure.” 2 Peter i. 10. |
| 註三 | 喬治第三享年甚高，一八二零年卒，年八十二年歲。 |
| 註四 | 英國執行人(Baliff)之普通姓氏。 |
| 註五 | 給一先令之遺產而斷父子關係。當時英國流行的誤解以為凡遺囑至少均須規定先令授給後嗣，否則無效，故云。 |
| 註六 | 參看路加傳第六章第三節“I cannot dig; to beg I am ashamed.” Luke, xvi, 3. |
| 註八 | 轉串器(Jack)是舊式烤肉時的用器，能旋轉插肉之鐵叉，使肉不致烤焦，其法有二，一是依效鐘錶的原理繞緊絃索，便能自動旋轉；一是置放於爐火上利用煙囪中熱氣上昇的作用，便如風車般轉動。 |
| 註九 | 從前英國鄉村的啼鐵匠兼理獸醫。 |
| 註十 | 引自聖書詩篇(Psalms) Tate and Brady: “New Version” 1696, Psalms cvi, 3，原文如下； “Who know what’s right, nor only so, But always practice what they know.” 與此處所引者字句上稍有出入。 |
| 註十一 | 英文 Practise 可作實行及練習兩種解釋。 |
| 註十二 | 註“Red Rover”之誤，Charles Dibdin (1745-1814)作之流行歌。 |
| 註十三 | 主教候補人於就職禮時例自謂“Nolo Episcopali”意謂“余不欲為主教”，謙謝後始允就職。 |
| 註十四 | 參看 Psalms cxxx, 6 “My soul waiteth for the Load, more than they that watch for the morning.” |
| 註十五 | 此處原文為 Price ‘ud run down like a jack。稍費解。可有兩種解釋：(一) 即做為「註八」中之「轉串器」解，言物價漲時如絃索緊繃，跌時如絃索之鬆弛；(二) jack 做 cheap-jack 解，言此時之物價低落有如沿街叫賣之小販自詡削價賒售。二說未知孰是。 |
| 註十六 | 此處原文是 the seed brings forth a crop after its kind 參看 Genesis,
第一章第十二節。

註十七 原文 skimming-dish 係一種淺盤，用做撇取乳皮之用。

※ 註十八 I. H. S. 係希臘又耶穌一字前三個字母。後誤解為拉丁文 Jesu Hominum Salvator 三字之代表。

※ 註十九 原文 Chapel 係 disenters（不從國教者）對禮拜堂之稱。

※ 註二十 Goliath 參看 1 Samuel, xvii

註廿一 這指的典故係引自 Charles Perault 之童話集“Contes des Fees 之一“Le Prince Cheri”一篇。

(1697)

註廿二 參看 Wordsworth: “she was a phantom of delight”第二節

※ 註廿三 參看聖經 Proverbs, xvi 33; Joshna, vii 10-18; Leviticus, xvi 8; 1 Samuel, xiv 41-42.


※ 註廿五 拿破倫戰後是英國感到衰落的時代。救濟貧民稅非常苛重，有許多地主甯願把地賣脫而不願納稅。同時糧價也不穩定。

※ 註廿六 Richard Mant (1776-1848) Bisnop of Down in Ireland. 有註釋聖經之作。

註廿七 原文 hissing urn 係一種熱水壺，壺心有空筒，內置熾鐵一塊，筒外為水處，水常沸滾嘶嘶做響，故云。

註廿八 典見 Wordsworth 詩“Three Years She Grew”第五節，原詩如下：

“The stars of midnight shall be dear
To her; and she shall lean her ear
In many a secret place
Where rivulets dance their wayward round,
And beauty born of murmuring sound
Shall pass into her face.”

※ 註廿九 參看聖經 2 Samuel xii, 3.
Appendix 4: Juxtaposed presentation of excerpts from *Silas Marner* (source text and two target texts)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ST</th>
<th>Liang Shiqiu’ translation</th>
<th>Shi Ying’s translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>One of the most frequent topics of conversation between the two friends was Assurance of salvation: Silas confessed that he could never arrive at anything higher than hope mingled with fear, and listened with longing wonder when William declared that he had possessed unshaken assurance ever since, in the period of his conversion, he had dreamed that he saw the words “calling and election sure” standing by themselves on a white page in the open Bible. (ch.1, 15)</td>
<td>兩人最喜歡談論的題目之一，即是「死後靈魂必可獲救」：馬南自承說他對這問題的態度頂多也不過是在希望當中混上恐懼，而威廉卻直言說，在他皈依宗教的時候，曾夢見打開的一本聖經裏有一張白紙，上面單單的寫著「死後必可召上天」，[註二]于是他就堅決的信仰了。（ch.1, 11）</td>
<td>這兩位朋友常討論這樣的題目：「死後靈魂必可得救」馬南自己承認，他對這個問題的態度，頂多也只是在希望當中，混上恐懼，威廉堂皇的說，他在皈依宗教的時候，曾夢見打開的一本聖經裏，有着一張白紙，上面寫著幾個字：「死後必可召上天」，於是他信仰突然堅定。（ch.1, 5）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>The disinherited son of a small squire, equally disinclined to dig and to beg, was almost as helpless as an uprooted tree, which, by the favour of earth and sky, has grown to a handsome bulk on the spot where it first shot upward. (ch. 3, 38)</td>
<td>一個小紳士家裡趕出來的兒子，做工是幹不了，行乞又怕羞，[註六]其難看差不多是像一顆拔根的樹，當初是靠了天時地利在那拔根的地方長成了粗大的樹幹。（ch. 3, 39-40）</td>
<td>試想一個小紳士家裏趕出來的兒子，做工沒力氣，討飯難為情，其難堪差不多像一株拔根的樹，當初是靠了天時地利在那拔根的地方，長成了粗大的樹幹。（ch. 3, 19-20）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>and the good-humoured, affectionate-hearted Godfrey Cass was fast becoming a bitter man, visited by cruel hearted and the good-humoured, affectionate-hearted Godfrey Cass was fast becoming a bitter man, visited by cruel hearted and the good-humoured, affectionate-hearted Godfrey Cass was fast becoming a bitter man, visited by cruel hearted</td>
<td>心地和平的高佛來凱司已經很快的變成一個冷酷的人了，常常起殘酷的念頭，如同惡魔在他身上築了巢穴一般，惡念不</td>
<td>素來溫文的高佛來凱司已經很快的變成一個冷酷的人了，常常引起殘酷的念頭，好像他被惡魔附在身上，</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **wishes, that seemed to enter, and depart, and enter again, like demons who had found in him a ready-garnished home. (ch. 3, 44)** | **時的在他心上湧現消滅。[注七] (ch. 3, 47)** | **兇狠的念頭不斷的在心中時起時滅。 (ch. 3, 23)**
|   | **【注七】參看 Luke, xi, 2-45.** |   |
| **4. As the psalm says — “I know what's right, nor only so, But also practise what I know.” (ch. 6, 63)** | **讚美詩說的好：** | **讚美詩說的好：**
|   | 「我知道什麼是對的，不僅如此，我還能實行我所知道的事。」 [註十] (ch. 6, 71) | 「我知道什麼是對的，不但這樣，我還能實行我所知道的事情。」 (ch. 6, 35) |
|   | [註十] 引自聖書詩篇 (Psalms) Tate and Brady: “New Version” 1696, Psalms cvi, 3, 原文如下： “Who know what’s right, nor only so, But always practice what they know.” 與此處所引者字句上稍有出入。 |   |
| **5. The landlord agreed with this view, and after taking the sense of the company, and duly rehearsing a small ceremony known in high ecclesiastical life as the nolo episcopari, he consented to take on himself the chill dignity of going to Kench’s. (ch. 7, 79)** | **地主也表同意，徵求大家意見之後，又演習了一段小小的禮節，在教會裏所謂的 "Nolo Episcopari" [註十三]，然後他應允擔任到坎赤家去的職務。 (ch. 7, 93)** | **地主也表同意，徵求大家意見之後，又演習了一段小小的謙諒禮節，然後地主答應擔任到加赤家去的職務。 (ch. 7, 46)**
|   | [註十三] 主教候補人於就職禮時例自謂“Nolo Episcopali” 意謂「余不欲為主教」，謙謝後始允就職。 |   |
| **6. By the landlord's intervention, however, the dispute was accommodated. Mr. Dowlas consented to go as a second** | **地主出來阻止，辯論纔終結。道拉斯醫生也答應去了，算是第二個，非正式的：於是塞拉斯被披上些舊衣裳，隨著兩個地主遊錦了他們的辯論。道拉斯醫生也答應去了，算** | **地主出來阻止，辯論纔終結。道拉斯醫生也答應去了，算是第二個，非正式的：於是塞拉斯被披上些舊衣裳，跟**
<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>人冒雨去，心裏盤算著未來的漫漫長夜，他的心境是多麼的痛苦呀！ (ch. 7, 47)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>The evil principle deprecated in that religion is the orderly sequence by which the seed brings forth a crop after its kind. (ch. 9, 100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>這種宗教所最反對的一條原則便是「種瓜得瓜種豆得豆」 [註十六] 的因果律。 (ch. 9, 119)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[註十六] 此處原文是 the seed brings forth a crop after its kind 參看 Genesis，第一章第十二節。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>“It’s I. H. S.,” said Silas, at which proof of learning Aaron peeped round the chair again. (ch. 10, 110)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>「這是 I.H.S.三個字」，[註十八] 塞拉斯說：阿倫聽見他示範著他的答案便從椅子後面偷看他一眼。 (ch. 10, 132)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[註十八] I. H. S. 係希臘又耶穌一字前三個字母，後誤解為拉丁文 Jesu Hominum Salvator 三字之代表。</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>“There was churches — a many — it was a big town. But I knew nothing of ’em — I went to chapel.” (ch. 10, 112)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>但是我一點也不熟悉， — 我是到「小禮拜堂」。 [註十九] (ch. 10. 135-136)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>但是我不太明白詳情， — 我是到「小禮拜堂。」 (ch. 10. 67)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Let even an affectionate Goliath get himself tied to a small tender thing, dreading to hurt it by pulling, and dreading still more to snap the cord, and which of the two, pray, will be master? (ch. 14, 172)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>“Yes,” said Silas, “every bit the same; and there’s drawing o’ lots in the Bible, mind you,” he added in a lower tone. (ch. 16, 191)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>For I’ve often a deal inside me as’ll never come out; and for what you talk o’ your folks in your old country niver saying prayers by heart nor saying ’em out of a book, they must be wonderful cliver; for if I didn’t know “Our Father”, and little bits o’ good words as I can carry out o’ church wi’ me, I might down o’ my knees every night, but nothing could I say. (ch. 16, 192)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>So, when Priscilla was not with her, she usually sat with Mant’s Bible before her, and after following the text with her eyes for a little while, she would gradually permit them to wander as her thoughts had already insisted on wandering. (ch. 17, 205)</td>
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<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>“Just the same?” said Marner, more bitterly than ever. “How’ll she feel just the same for me as she does now, when we eat o’ the same bit, and drink o’ the same cup, and think o’ the same things from one day’s end to another? Just the same? That’s idle talk. You’d cut us I’ two.” (ch. 19, 227)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|  | heaven ……”参看 Mathew, vi 9-13; Luke xi 2-4. |
|  | 所以普利西拉不陪着她的時候，她就常常拿起一本曼特註的聖經 [註廿六]，眼光向經文望了一刻之後，便漸漸把眼光移動，因為她的思想已經堅持著要思索旁的事去了。 (ch. 17, 260-261) |
|  | 所以普利西拉不陪着她的時候，她就常常拿起一本曼特註的聖經，眼光向經文望了一刻之後，便漸漸把眼光斜開去，因為她的思想已經移動到別的事上了。 (ch. 17, 126) |
|  | [註廿六] Richard Mant (1776-1848) Bisnop of Down in Ireland. 有註釋聖經之作。 |
|  | 「照舊？」馬南更慘痛的說：「我們現在吃一樣的東西，喝著同樣的盃，一天一天的思索著同樣的事。[註廿九] 將來怎見得能照舊呢？照舊？那是空談。你要是把我們截成兩塊。」 (ch. 19, 291) |
|  | 馬南更慘痛的說：「誰說照舊？現在我們吃一樣的東西，喝著同樣的盃，差不多每天的思想也是同樣的。如果分離了，將來怎見得能照舊呢？那是空談，你是硬要叫我們分開。」 (ch. 19, 140) |
|  | [註廿九] 參看聖經 2 Samuel xii, 3. |
Appendix 5: Added chapter titles in Wu Guangjian’s *Jane Eyre* and chapter titles’ back translation into English

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ch.</th>
<th>Wu’s titles in Chinese</th>
<th>Back translation of titles into English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>約翰</td>
<td>John</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>鎖禁</td>
<td>Grounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>病榻</td>
<td>Fell sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>洩恨</td>
<td>Give vent to anger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>義學</td>
<td>Free schooling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>海林</td>
<td>Helen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>受屈</td>
<td>Aggrieved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>辯誣</td>
<td>Accusations and defense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>死別</td>
<td>Eternal farewell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>思遷</td>
<td>Want of change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>保姆</td>
<td>Governess</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>路遇</td>
<td>A brief encounter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>初見</td>
<td>First encounter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>談心</td>
<td>Heart-to-heart talk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>救火</td>
<td>Fight fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>動情</td>
<td>Enamored</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>炎涼</td>
<td>Snobbishness</td>
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<td>18.</td>
<td>戲謎</td>
<td>Charades</td>
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<td>19.</td>
<td>算命</td>
<td>Fortune telling</td>
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<td>20.</td>
<td>米申</td>
<td>Mason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>姊妹</td>
<td>Sisters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>回家</td>
<td>Return home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>訂婚</td>
<td>Engagement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>駕馭</td>
<td>Control</td>
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<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>凶兆</td>
<td>Ill omen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>變卦</td>
<td>Changes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>生離</td>
<td>Separated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>漂流</td>
<td>Drifting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>收留</td>
<td>Sheltered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>棲身</td>
<td>Stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>村塾</td>
<td>Village school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>探密</td>
<td>Dig secrets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>分財</td>
<td>Fortune divided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>拒婚</td>
<td>Marriage proposal refused</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>同感</td>
<td>Same feelings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>橫禍</td>
<td>Accident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>感應</td>
<td>Intuition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>團圓</td>
<td>Conclusion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 6: Extensive textual omissions in Shi Ying’s *Silas Marner*.

Passage 1:
In this point of trusting to some throw of fortune’s dice, Godfrey can hardly be called specially old-fashioned. Favourable Chance, I fancy, is the god of all men who follow their own devices instead of obeying a law they believe in. Let even a polished man of these days get into a position he is ashamed to avow, and his mind will be bent on all the possible issues that may deliver him from the calculable results of that position. Let him live outside his income, or shirk the resolute honest work that brings wages, and he will presently find himself dreaming of a possible benefactor, a possible simpleton who may be cajoled into using his interest, a possible state of mind in some possible person not yet forthcoming. Let him neglect the responsibilities of his office, and he will inevitably anchor himself on the chance that the thing left undone may turn out not to be of the supposed importance. Let him betray his friend’s confidence, and he will adore that same cunning complexity called Chance, which gives him the hope that his friend will never know. Let him forsake a decent craft that he may pursue the gentilities of a profession to which nature never called him, and his religion will infallibly be the worship of blessed Chance, which he will believe in as the mighty creator of success. The evil principle deprecated in that religion is the orderly sequence by which the seed brings forth a crop after its kind. (ch. 9, 99-100)

Passage 2:
The inhabitants of Raveloe were not severely regular in their church-going, and perhaps there was hardly a person in the parish who would not have held that to go to church every Sunday in the calendar would have shown a greedy desire to stand well with Heaven, and get an undue advantage over their neighbours — a wish to be better than the “common run”, that would have implied a reflection on those who had had godfathers and godmothers as well as themselves, and had an equal right to the burying-service. At the same time, it was understood to be requisite for all who were not household servants, or young men, to take the sacrament at one of the great festivals: Squire Cass himself took it on Christmas-day; while those who were held to be “good livers” went to church with greater, though still with moderate, frequency. (ch. 10, 107-108)

Passage 3:
But Nancy’s Sunday thoughts were rarely quite out of keeping with the devout and reverential intention implied by the book spread open before her. She was not theologically instructed enough to discern very clearly the relation between the sacred
documents of the past which she opened without method, and her own obscure, simple life; but the spirit of rectitude, and the sense of responsibility for the effect of her conduct on others, which were strong elements in Nancy’s character, had made it a habit with her to scrutinize her past feelings and actions with self-questioning solicitude. Her mind not being courted by a great variety of subjects, she filled the vacant moments by living inwardly, again and again, through all her remembered experience, especially through the fifteen years of her married time, in which her life and its significance had been doubled. She recalled the small details, the words, tones, and looks, in the critical scenes which had opened a new epoch for her by giving her a deeper insight into the relations and trials of life, or which had called on her for some little effort of forbearance, or of painful adherence to an imagined or real duty—asking herself continually whether she had been in any respect blamable. This excessive rumination and self-questioning is perhaps a morbid habit inevitable to a mind of much moral sensibility when shut out from its due share of outward activity and of practical claims on its affections—inevitable to a noble-hearted, childless woman, when her lot is narrow. “I can do so little—have I done it all well?” is the perpetually recurring thought; and there are no voices calling her away from that soliloquy, no peremptory demands to divert energy from vain regret or superfluous scruple. (ch. 17, 205-206)
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