

Creative Translation and Creativity via Translation:  
The Transformation of Emotional Expression in Early Modern Chinese  
Fiction (1900-1925)

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## Abstract

This thesis makes an inquiry into the literary translation and creation in the early twentieth-century China, particularly between the years 1900 and 1925. I combine the theoretical approaches of both translation studies and intertextuality studies to form the overall methodological framework that informs the discussions in the thesis. Although the modern transformation of Chinese literature has long been discussed and debated in various scholarly works, which often attribute the transformation to foreign influences and reconstruction of indigenous literary tradition, a theoretical language is urgently required to articulate the exact process of literary adaptation and appropriation. Rather than taking the concept of “influence” at face value, I probe the intricate process of influence by examining the way Chinese writers and translators creatively translated and intertextualized foreign literary works to construct new literary texts. The two modalities of literary production – translation and intertextuality – call for the approaches of translation studies and intertextuality studies, and only when both approaches are taken into account can a fuller understanding of the literary scene in the early years of twentieth-century China be obtained.

I apply my methodology to the study of the transformation of emotional expressions which are most frequently found in love fiction. By combining translation and intertextuality, some Chinese writer-translators such as Bao Tianxiao and Zhou Shoujuan creatively translated foreign fiction, conveying emotions different from those intended by the original texts while at the same time introducing new modes of emotional expression to Chinese literature. Others, such as Su Manshu and Yu Dafu, borrowed foreign literary texts to construct their own literary creations, appropriating the emotions conveyed by the foreign texts. As a result of the vigorous adaptation and appropriation of Chinese writer-translators, new modes of emotional expression emerged in modern Chinese literature.

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## Table of Contents

|                                                                                                                                                                |     |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| <b>Chapter 1 Introduction: Translation and Intertextualization of Foreign Literatures in Early Twentieth-Century Chinese Love Fiction</b> .....                | 1   |
| 1. 1 Methodological Framework .....                                                                                                                            | 6   |
| 1.1.1 Translation Studies: From the Linguistics Approach to Manipulation Theory .....                                                                          | 6   |
| 1.1.2 Intertextuality Studies: From Saussure to Riffaterre.....                                                                                                | 13  |
| 1.1.3 The Combination of Translation Studies with Intertextuality Studies: A New Theoretical Approach .....                                                    | 23  |
| 1.2 Contextualization: the Scene of Early Twentieth-Century Chinese Fiction (1900-1925) 30                                                                     |     |
| 1.2.1 Translation of Foreign Literatures in Early Twentieth-Century China .....                                                                                | 31  |
| 1.2.2 Literary Creation in Early Twentieth-Century China .....                                                                                                 | 39  |
| 1.2.3 Applying the Methodology to Early Twentieth-Century Love Fiction: a New Perspective .....                                                                | 44  |
| 1.2.4 A Note on Terminology .....                                                                                                                              | 47  |
| 1.3 Why Love Fiction? .....                                                                                                                                    | 51  |
| 1.3.1 Scholarly Neglect of Early Twentieth-Century Chinese Love Fiction and its Cause .....                                                                    | 52  |
| 1.3.2 The Transformation of Emotional Expression in Modern Chinese Literature.....                                                                             | 54  |
| 1.4 Choice of Writers .....                                                                                                                                    | 59  |
| 1.5 Chapter Layout .....                                                                                                                                       | 62  |
| <b>Chapter 2 Pseudo-Writing and Creating Channels for the Expression of Emotion</b> .....                                                                      | 67  |
| 2.1 Introduction: Pseudo-Writing and the Creation of a Layered Ambivalence .....                                                                               | 67  |
| 2.2 Two Miniature Textual Analyses to Illustrate the Methodology .....                                                                                         | 74  |
| 2.2.1 Pseudocreation: <i>Xin'er Goes to School</i> .....                                                                                                       | 74  |
| 2.2.2 Pseudotranslation: <i>Free Marriage</i> .....                                                                                                            | 76  |
| 2.3 Pseudocreation and Pseudotranslation: Theoretical Background.....                                                                                          | 77  |
| 2.4 The Butterfly School Writers' Mastery of Foreign Languages .....                                                                                           | 81  |
| 2.5 Textual Analysis: .....                                                                                                                                    | 83  |
| 2.5.1 Creative Translation .....                                                                                                                               | 83  |
| 2.5.2 Translated Creation .....                                                                                                                                | 95  |
| 2.6 Conclusion .....                                                                                                                                           | 111 |
| <b>Chapter 3 The Creation of Melodramatic Emotional Effects: Omission and Addition in Zhou Shoujuan's Creative Translations of Short Stories on Love</b> ..... | 114 |
| 3.1 Introduction .....                                                                                                                                         | 114 |
| 3.2 Zhou Shoujuan as Popular Novelist and Translator.....                                                                                                      | 116 |
| 3.3 Melodrama: West and East.....                                                                                                                              | 120 |
| 3.3.1 Melodrama: Definition and Characteristics.....                                                                                                           | 120 |
| 3.3.2 The Critique of Melodrama in China .....                                                                                                                 | 126 |
| 3.3.3 How the Framework of Melodrama Fits the Study of Zhou Shoujuan's Creative Translation .....                                                              | 130 |
| 3.3.4 Selection Criteria in Zhou Shoujuan's Creative Translations of Foreign Melodramatic Short Stories .....                                                  | 134 |

|                                                                                                                                                                 |            |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| 3.4 Textual Analysis .....                                                                                                                                      | 138        |
| 3.4.1 The Omission of Details about Cause-and-Effect Relationships.....                                                                                         | 138        |
| 3.4.2 The Omission of Psychological Complexity .....                                                                                                            | 143        |
| 3.4.3 Heavy-Handed Depiction of Beauty .....                                                                                                                    | 146        |
| 3.4.4 The Insertion of Depictions of Strong Emotions .....                                                                                                      | 152        |
| 3.5 Conclusion .....                                                                                                                                            | 159        |
| <b>Chapter 4 The Merging of Traditional Lyricism with Foreign Literary Texts in Su Manshu's Fictional Writing: The Formation of Transcultural Lyricism.....</b> | <b>161</b> |
| 4.1 Introduction .....                                                                                                                                          | 161        |
| 4.2 Dynamic Intertextuality: Pushing the Limits of Influence Studies.....                                                                                       | 163        |
| 4.2.1 The Limits of Traditional Influence Studies .....                                                                                                         | 163        |
| 4.2.2 Dynamic Intertextuality .....                                                                                                                             | 166        |
| 4.2.3 The Source of Intertextuality: Japan or the West.....                                                                                                     | 168        |
| 4.3 Su Manshu: between Butterfly and May Fourth.....                                                                                                            | 171        |
| 4.3.1 The Legend of Su Manshu .....                                                                                                                             | 171        |
| 4.3.2 Su Manshu's Activities as a Translator .....                                                                                                              | 175        |
| 4.3.3 Lyricism that Crosses Boundaries.....                                                                                                                     | 179        |
| 4.4 Intertextuality in Su Manshu's Translated Creations .....                                                                                                   | 184        |
| 4.4.1 Poetry.....                                                                                                                                               | 185        |
| 4.4.2 Pseudotranslation .....                                                                                                                                   | 189        |
| 4.4.3 Su Manshu's Fictional Writing.....                                                                                                                        | 201        |
| 4.5 Conclusion .....                                                                                                                                            | 217        |
| <b>Chapter 5 Finding the Right Medium for Emotional Expression: Intertextualizing Western Literary Texts in Yu Dafu's Early Short Stories .....</b>             | <b>221</b> |
| 5.1 Introduction .....                                                                                                                                          | 221        |
| 5.1.1 Yu Dafu and Lyrical Fiction in Modern Chinese Literature .....                                                                                            | 221        |
| 5.1.2 Yu Dafu and Foreign Literatures: an Overview .....                                                                                                        | 227        |
| 5.2 The Chinese Literary Tradition of Quotation and its Modern Transformation.....                                                                              | 231        |
| 5.2.1 The Tradition of Quotation in Classical Chinese Literature .....                                                                                          | 231        |
| 5.2.2 Language Reform and the Search for New Ways of Emotional Expression .....                                                                                 | 237        |
| 5.2.3 Influence of Japanese Practices.....                                                                                                                      | 239        |
| 5.2.4 The Modern Transformation of Emotional Expression .....                                                                                                   | 241        |
| 5.3 Textual Analysis .....                                                                                                                                      | 243        |
| 5.3.1 The Random Use of Western Languages for Emotional Expression .....                                                                                        | 243        |
| 5.3.2 Quoting Western and Classical Chinese Poems for Emotional Expression .....                                                                                | 244        |
| 5.3.3 The Transplanting of Emotional Ambiance through Free Translation .....                                                                                    | 252        |
| 5.4 The Anxiety of Language: to Translate or not to Translate, that is the Question.....                                                                        | 264        |
| 5.5 Conclusion .....                                                                                                                                            | 269        |
| <b>Chapter 6 Conclusion: Writing about Emotion with Another's Pen .....</b>                                                                                     | <b>272</b> |
| 6.1 Summary of Methodological Approach .....                                                                                                                    | 273        |
| 6.2 Two Modalities of Textual Production .....                                                                                                                  | 276        |
| 6.3 Two Categories of Literary Texts .....                                                                                                                      | 277        |
| 6.4 Creating New Modes of Emotional Expression.....                                                                                                             | 279        |
| <b>Bibliography .....</b>                                                                                                                                       | <b>282</b> |

## **Chapter 1 Introduction: Translation and Intertextualization of Foreign**

### **Literatures in Early Twentieth-Century Chinese Love Fiction**

The advantage [of translating speeches of the great orators from Greece] was not only that, when rendering in Latin what I had read in Greek, I could use the finest words that were nevertheless common, but also that, by imitating Greek words, I could coin certain others that were new to our language – provided they were appropriate.

Cicero<sup>1</sup>

One of the surest tests [of the superiority or inferiority of a poet] is the way in which a poet borrows. Immature poets imitate; mature poets steal; bad poets deface what they take, and good poets make it into something better, or at least something different. The good poet welds his theft into a whole of feeling which is unique, utterly different than that from which it is torn; the bad poet throws it into something which has no cohesion. A good poet will usually borrow from authors remote in time, or alien in language, or diverse in interest.

T. S. Eliot<sup>2</sup>

Both Cicero's (106BC-43BC) and Eliot's (1888-1965) words address the way literary creativity grows out of borrowing from previous texts. While Cicero points out the way that translation can generate new modes of expression, Eliot discusses the importance of intertextuality in the formation of new literary texts. These two passages epitomize the phenomenon examined in this thesis: the transformation of emotional expression in early twentieth-century Chinese love fiction by translating and intertextualizing foreign literary texts. Eliot's assertion that "a good poet will usually borrow from authors remote in time, or alien in language, or diverse in interest" curiously matches the subject of this present thesis, because the foreign

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<sup>1</sup> Marcus Tullius Cicero. *De Oratore* (On the Ideal Orator). Trans. James M. May and Jakob Wisse. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001. p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> T. S. Eliot. *The Sacred Wood: Essays on Poetry and Criticism*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1921. p. 114.

literary texts absorbed by Chinese literature – by their very nature – were written in alien languages, at different times and places, yet they were eagerly sought after and appropriated by modern Chinese writers.

The scholarly interest in the enormous changes that took place in Chinese literature at the turn of the twentieth century, particularly the transformation, or “modernization,” caused by the translating and intertextualizing foreign literatures, as well as by the lingering legacy of the classical literary tradition, has always been a keen one. The seminal work by Chen Pingyuan 陳平原, *Transition of the Narrative Modes of Chinese Fiction* (*Zhongguo xiaoshuo xushi moshi de zhuanbian* 中國小說敘事模式的轉變, 1988), focuses on the separate roles Western literatures and traditional Chinese literature played in the transformation of the narrative modes of Chinese fiction, particularly political and detective fiction, drawing our attention to the development of diary-style writing, first-person narrative, and psychological interests that emerged from the encounter with foreign literatures.<sup>3</sup> C. T. Hsia and Leo Ou-fan Lee also explore the way modern Chinese writers borrowed from their Western counterparts, though not without a certain level of misunderstanding in their view.<sup>4</sup> Whereas some scholars consider the modernization of Chinese literature to be a direct result of foreign influence in the form of translation or textual borrowing,<sup>5</sup> others

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<sup>3</sup> Chen Pingyuan 陳平原. *The Transformation of Narrative Modes in Chinese Fiction* (*Zhongguo xiaoshuo xushi moshi de zhuanbian* 中國小說敘事模式的轉變). Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1988.

<sup>4</sup> C. T. Hsia. *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction, 1917-1957*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961; Leo Ou-fan Lee. *The Romantic Generation of Modern Chinese Writers*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1973.

<sup>5</sup> Yuan Jin 袁進. “On the Influence of Early Modern Translated Fictions on Chinese Love



consider it a natural development of traditional Chinese literature.<sup>6</sup> On the basis of these decades of scholarly inquiry, a general consensus has been reached that the modern transformation of Chinese literature has been a result of both internal and external forces. Lydia Liu pronounces that the “change is always already different from China’s own past and from the West, but has profound linkages with both,” which adds a new dimension to our perception of the complexity of literary influence and the role it plays in creativity.<sup>7</sup> As Harold Bloom rightly points out, all poets are burdened with the anxiety of influence, yet thrive on it.<sup>8</sup> However, it is not enough simply to assert that modern Chinese literature was influenced by foreign literatures, or that it reconstructed the traditional literary legacy in various ways. A more conceptual framework is needed to analyze, dissect and describe the very process in which influence took place. This thesis strives to find such a framework.

In this thesis, I continue the path of previous scholarship to probe the complex scene of early twentieth-century Chinese literature, but via a fresh methodological framework. I argue that through the combination of translation studies and intertextuality studies, we might shed more light on the intricate *process* of literary adaptation and appropriation that eventually brought about what was usually termed

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Stories” (*Shilun jindai fanyi xiaoshuo dui yanqing xiaoshuo de yingxiang* 試論近代翻譯小說對言情小說的影響). *Translation and Creation: On Early Modern Chinese Translation of Foreign Fiction* (*Fanyi yu chuangzuo: Zhongguo jindai fanyi xiaoshuo lun* 翻譯與創作：中國近代翻譯小說論). Ed. Wang Hongzhi 王宏志. Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000. pp. 206-233.

<sup>6</sup> Jaroslav Průšek. *The Lyrical and the Epic: Studies of Modern Chinese Literature*. Ed. Leo Ou-fan Lee. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980.

<sup>7</sup> Lydia He Liu. *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity--China, 1900-1937*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1995. p. 39.

<sup>8</sup> Harold Bloom. *The Anxiety of Influence: a Theory of Poetry*. London: Oxford University Press, 1975.

“the modern transformation of Chinese literature.”<sup>9</sup> This modern transformation comprises multiple aspects, of which this thesis focuses on the transformation of emotional expression. I posit that the way writers articulated emotions in their fictional narratives underwent a significant change in the early twentieth century, and this change can be best understood using the analytical categories of translation studies and intertextuality studies, which are closely combined to form a new methodological framework in this thesis.

Translation studies and intertextuality studies, although they at first appear to be two rather distinct fields of inquiry, have in fact much in common. As both of them have risen to prominence in academia over recent years, scholars have started to look more closely into these two fields for the potential they embody for deepening our understanding of literary creativity. In this thesis, I combine approaches of both fields and apply them to the study of early twentieth-century Chinese fiction. I specifically focus on its interaction with foreign literatures and its own literary tradition, probing the creativity inherent in the two modes of textual production: translation and intertextuality. I am pursuing a strict parallel between *translation*, which is clearly a form of textual production, and what might be called *intertextuality*, which throughout I describe as a parallel form of textual production. I use the term “intertextuality” to refer to the feature that every text is always created out of other texts, as will be

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<sup>9</sup> The term “the modern transformation of Chinese literature” (*Zhongguo wenxue de xiandai zhuanxing* 中國文學的現代轉型) has been frequently used in histories of modern Chinese literature. See for example Yang Lianfen 楊聯芬, *From Late Qing to May Fourth: the Advent of Chinese Literary Modernity* (*Wanqing zhi wusi: Zhongguo wenxue xiandaixing de fasheng* 晚清至五四：中國文學現代性的發生). Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2003.

further explained later.

This opening chapter begins with a discussion of the methodological framework of the thesis. First of all, I discuss separate aspects of these two general fields, i.e., translation studies and intertextuality studies, before moving on to explore their inherent commonalities which make it possible to combine them into a new theoretical framework. I then argue that the combination of these two fields creates a theoretical language that enables us to describe and analyze literary influence. Next, I provide an overview of current scholarship that deals with the transformation of modern Chinese literature, using either approaches of translation studies or intertextuality studies. While there are insightful findings made by other scholars using one of these two approaches – particularly that of translation studies – this thesis makes a contribution to the field by adopting the new methodology of the combination of translation studies and intertextuality studies, and by applying it to the study of the transformation of emotional expression in early twentieth-century China. In the following part, I demonstrate the significance of my chosen object of study, i.e., love fiction, which is a carrier of emotional expressions, as well as my criteria for writer selection, which is informed by the fluidity between popular literature and the so-called May Fourth literature. This chapter ends with a brief outline of the core chapters of the thesis.

## **1. 1 Methodological Framework**

### **1.1.1 Translation Studies: From the Linguistics Approach to Manipulation Theory**

#### **1.1.1.1 The Deconstruction of Equivalence**

For a long time in the history of translation criticism, it was believed that the aim of translation was to find the equivalent version of the original work in a different language, in other words, the transportation of the exact meaning from one language to another. The embryonic stage of translation studies saw the advent and development of the “linguistics approach,” represented by scholars such as J. C. Catford and Eugene Nida, who posit that any theory of translation should draw upon a general linguistic theory.<sup>10</sup> A central concern for scholars adopting the linguistic approach is the issue of equivalence, which naturally led to the dominance of the original work over the translation, with scholars preoccupied with the evaluation of the “faithfulness” or “loyalty” of the translation to its original. The root of this preoccupation is believed to be the respect for creativity, authorship and literary property in the West.<sup>11</sup> As a result, translators became “invisible,” their agency and creativity largely neglected and repressed.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> See J. C. Catford, *A Linguistic Theory of Translation*. London: Oxford University Press, 1965; Eugene A. Nida and Charles R. Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969.

<sup>11</sup> Jean Boase-Beier and Michael Holman, eds. *The Practices of Literary Translation: Constraints and Creativity*. Manchester: St. Jerome, 1998. p. 19.

<sup>12</sup> Lawrence Venuti. *The Translator's Invisibility: a History of Translation*. London: Routledge, 2008.

In the 1960s, poststructuralist thinkers such as Jacques Derrida and Paul de Man questioned the opposition between “original” and “translation,” thus undermining the significance of the issue of equivalence. Derrida notes that any so-called original writing or idea was “always already” the translation of something else. While Derrida uses the term “translation” in its broad sense, scholars in translation studies began to consider translation in its narrower sense, i.e., interlingual translation, in a similar vein. As Venuti points out, “neither the foreign text nor the translation is an original semantic unity; both are derivative and heterogeneous, consisting of diverse linguistic and cultural materials which destabilize the work of signification, making meaning plural and differential, exceeding and possibly conflicting with the intentions of the foreign writer and the translator.”<sup>13</sup> Now that there are no “original” works to be loyal to, it makes less sense to study the “faithfulness” of translations. In his widely acclaimed essay “The Task of the Translator,” which was also the introduction to his translation of Charles Baudelaire’s (1821-1867) *Tableaux Parisiens* (Parisian Scenes, 1857), Walter Benjamin points out that there is more to look for in a translation than reproduction of meaning. Questioning the usefulness of the criterion of “fidelity,” he asks: “What can fidelity really do for the rendering of meaning? Fidelity in the translation of individual words can almost never fully reproduce the meaning they have in the original. For sense in its poetic significance is not limited to meaning, but derives from the connotations conveyed by the word chosen to express it.”<sup>14</sup> To Benjamin, not only is the reproduction of meaning unattainable through literal

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<sup>13</sup> ---. *Rethinking Translation: Discourse, Subjectivity, Ideology*. London: Routledge, 1992. p. 7.

<sup>14</sup> Walter Benjamin. “The Task of the Translator.” *Illuminations*. Trans. Harry Zorn. Ed. Hannah Arendt. London: Pimlico, 1999. p. 78.

rendering of the syntax of the original work, but meaning itself is never the ultimate pursuit of translation. “Instead of resembling the meaning of the original,” he writes, “[a translation] must lovingly and in detail incorporate the original’s mode of signification, thus making both the original and the translation recognizable as fragments of a greater language, just as fragments are part of a vessel.”<sup>15</sup> In the context of this study, the “greater language” to be recognized – the “mode of signification” focused upon – is, as will be explained later in this chapter, the language of emotional expression.

André Lefevere puts the old categories further in doubt by pointing out that so-called faithful translation is in fact only one of many translational strategies:

“Faithfulness” is just one translational strategy that can be inspired by the collocation of a certain ideology with a certain poetics. To exalt it as the only strategy possible, or even allowable, is as utopian as it is futile. Translated texts as such can teach us much about the interaction of cultures and the manipulation of texts. These topics, in turn, may be of more interest to the world at large than our opinion as to whether a certain word has been “properly” translated or not. In fact, far from being “objective” or “value-free,” as their advocates would have us believe, “faithful translations” are often inspired by a conservative ideology.<sup>16</sup>

With the concept of faithful “equivalence” called into question, the linguistic approach to translation studies has been largely superseded by a hermeneutic approach. The most representative of the hermeneutic school is perhaps George Steiner, who posits that translation means “interpretation,” and the translator is “the

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 79.

<sup>16</sup> André Lefevere . *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame*. London: Routledge, 1992. p. 51.

mediator between two texts, no longer the finder of equivalences.”<sup>17</sup>

In the wake of the conflict between these two major schools, recent decades have seen the emergence of new approaches to translation studies. Among them, Itamar Even-Zohar, having adopted some of his ideas from Russian structuralists, has exerted significant influence on translation studies with his polysystem theory. He uses the term “polysystem” to refer to a “‘conglomerate of systems’ characterized by internal oppositions and continual shifts.”<sup>18</sup> The polysystem of literature is one element making up the larger socio-cultural polysystem.<sup>19</sup> As a result, the production of literary texts is governed by various factors of the socio-cultural polysystem. Translation functions as a subsystem in a given national literature and is therefore subject to various constraints which shape the translation process. Inspired by this idea, Theo Hermans posits that all translations embody a degree of manipulation of the source text for a certain purpose.<sup>20</sup> Influenced both by the polysystem theory and the idea of translation as manipulation, André Lefevere argues that it would be much more fruitful to study the powers that manipulate the translation process, i.e., the powers that determine the choices of translators. He believes that “two factors basically determine the image of a work of literature as projected by a translation. These two factors are, in order of importance, the dominant ideology (whether the

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<sup>17</sup> --. *Translating Literature: Practice and Theory in a Comparative Literature Context*. New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1992. pp. 10-11.

<sup>18</sup> Theo Hermans. *The Manipulation of Literature: Studies in Literary Translation*. London: Croom Helm, 1985. p. 11.

<sup>19</sup> Mark Shuttleworth. “Polysystem Theory.” *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*. Ed. Mona Baker. London and New York: Routledge, 1998. pp. 176-177.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

translator willingly embraces it, or whether it is imposed on him/her as a constraint by some form of patronage) and the poetics dominant in the receiving literature at the time the translation is made.”<sup>21</sup> As a kind of rewriting, translation is not a free expression of the translator’s ideas, but is constantly under the constraints of various powers. This is why André Lefevere parallels translation with other forms of compilation, labeling them as various forms of rewriting, insisting that “whether they produce translation, literary histories or their more compact spin-offs, reference works, anthologies, criticism, or editions, rewriters adapt, manipulate the originals they work with to some extent, usually to make them fit in with the dominant, or one of the dominant ideological and poetological currents of their time. Again, this may be most obvious in totalitarian societies, but different ‘interpretive communities’ that exist in more open societies will influence the production of rewritings in similar ways.”<sup>22</sup> Many well-known examples in the history of translation can demonstrate this point.<sup>23</sup> They illustrate the remarkable influence ideology can exert on literary translation. Besides ideology and poetics, “patronage,” i.e. persons and institutions that can promote or hinder the reading, writing and rewriting of literature, is another crucial factor that largely decides the products of literary translation.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame*, 41.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>23</sup> For instance, Cormac Ó Cuilleánáin points out that the English translators of Boccaccio tried their best to veil “immoral” scenes in the original so as to preserve the moral purity of British readers. (See Cormac Ó Cuilleánáin, “Not in Front of the Servants: Forms of Bowdlerism and Censorship in Translation,” *The Practices of Literary Translation: Constraints and Creativity*, 35) This reminds us immediately of Bao Tianxiao’s 包天笑 translation of *Joan Haste* where he changed the plots to hide the fact of premarital pregnancy so as to maintain the ethical purity of the girl and to avoid “contaminating” the “moral integrity” of his countrymen. See Chapter 2, 85-88.

<sup>24</sup> Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame*, 15.



Together with Susan Bassnett, André Lefevere pushes the trend of translation studies towards what is known as the “cultural turn,” focusing on the various cultural elements that make their mark on the choices of translators, hence on works of translation.<sup>25</sup> Like cultural studies in general, the cultural approach to translation studies focuses less on the internal mechanism of literature than on its external contexts. In many ways, it is more akin to sociological and historical studies than to literary studies. It is therefore no surprise when some scholars bemoan the rarity of scholarship, particularly in translation studies, which probes the “poetic” dimension of literature.<sup>26</sup> Keeping its focus on the “poetic” dimension (i.e., the “internal mechanism”) or on the aesthetic dimension of literature, including translation as a form of literary creation, this thesis adopts as its main theoretical framework a combination of translation studies and intertextuality theory, as will be explicated later. Yet to situate my future arguments within an appropriately historicized framework, I have also taken on the central propositions of manipulation theory and the cultural approach to translation studies in order to keep track of the social, historical and cultural contexts of the texts under discussion.

### **1.1.1.2 Translation and Creativity**

Partly as a natural result of the tearing down of the illusion of “equivalence” and

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<sup>25</sup> See for example André Lefevere and Susan Bassnett eds. *Translation, History and Culture*. London: Pinter, 1990.

<sup>26</sup> C. Kohlross. “Walter Benjamin’s ‘The Task of the Translator’: Theory after the End of Theory,” *Partial Answers-Journal of Literature and the History of Ideas* 7. 1 (2009): 97-108.

“originality,” scholars have started to note the creativity inherent in the translation process. Jean Boase-Beier and Michael Holman hold that creativity grows out of constraints (one need only think of a particularly constrained literary form, say the sonnet, to corroborate their argument) and that this is equally true for translation and literary creation. As there are more constraints for translation, with linguistic difference being the major one, than for conventional literary creation, there may even be more space for creativity in the translation process.<sup>27</sup> In that argument, translation comes to be viewed as a kind of rewriting, which is a creative rendering of the foreign work and can add new momentum to the target language culture. For instance, Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere point out that translation, as rewriting, can introduce “new concepts, new genres, new devices, and the history of translation is the history also of literary innovation, of the shaping power of one culture upon another.”<sup>28</sup>

Similarly, Gideon Toury incisively points out that translation activities and their products very often bring about changes in the target culture. “After all, cultures resort to translating precisely as a way of filling in gaps, whenever and wherever such gaps may manifest themselves: either in themselves, or (more often) in view of a corresponding non-gap in another culture that the target culture in question has reasons to look up to and try to exploit for its own needs.”<sup>29</sup> It is often through

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<sup>27</sup> Boase-Beier and Holman, *The Practices of Literary Translation: Constraints and Creativity*, 16.

<sup>28</sup> Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere, “General editors’ preface,” in Venuti, *The Translator’s Invisibility: a History of Translation*, vii.

<sup>29</sup> Gideon Toury. *Descriptive Translation Studies--and Beyond*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2012. pp. 21-22.

translating literatures of other cultures that one culture forms and develops its national literary canon.<sup>30</sup> Translation, therefore, is not only a creative textual production in itself, but is also capable of generating other creative textual productions.

### **1.1.2 Intertextuality Studies: From Saussure to Riffaterre**

#### **1.1.2.1 Origin and Development**

The theory of intertextuality has its origins in twentieth-century linguistics. Like many modern literary and cultural theories, the theory of intertextuality owes much of its methodological framework to the work of the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure.<sup>31</sup> In *Course in General Linguistics*, Saussure defines “a sign” as comprising the signifier and the signified, the relationship between which is not referential but arbitrary. In other words, the signifier is linked with the signified not because the signifier originally points to the signified – “faithfully” designating the “origin” – but because it has assumed this function at a given moment of time within a linguistic system.<sup>32</sup> This recognition changes the traditional opinion that meaning originates from the speaker, and leads people to recognize the larger system according to which the signifier becomes associated with the signified. Saussure coins the term “semiology” for the science of signs and asserts that it takes its place among the social sciences.

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<sup>30</sup> A good parallel to my current project is Eve Bannet’s work on “transatlantic literature” in the eighteenth century: i.e., the ways that British books were pirated and to some degree rewritten for American consumption. In this case, language wasn’t translated, but narrative was. See Eve Tavor Bannet. *Transatlantic Stories and the History of Reading, 1720-1810: Migrant Fictions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

<sup>31</sup> Graham Allen. *Intertextuality*. London: Routledge, 2000. p. 2.

<sup>32</sup> Allen, *Intertextuality*, 8.

While Saussure's linguistic theory establishes the relational nature of meaning and texts, the Russian literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin is more concerned with the existence of language within specific social situations. In *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, originally published in 1929, Bakhtin uses the term "dialogism" to refer to the dialogic relationship Dostoevsky's novels carry with other literary works, stating that dialogism as embodied by certain kinds of novels rejects the "singular, authoritative voice" that "monologic" genres like the epic and kinds of lyric impose on the world. He explains the idea of "dialogic relationships" in literary works by pointing out that many phenomena of artistic speech, such as parody, *skaz*<sup>33</sup> and dialogue, share a common trait: "discourse in them has a twofold direction - it is directed both toward the referential object of speech, as in ordinary discourse, and toward *another's discourse*, toward *someone else's speech*."<sup>34</sup> Although not yet using the term "intertextuality," Bakhtin is already noticing and probing the phenomenon of the reference to *someone else's speech* in a literary text, as well as in a social context. His theoretical achievements, although not given their due attention until decades after their first publication, cast tremendous influence on the theory of intertextuality.

Combining Saussure's proposition of the relational features of language and Bakhtin's

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<sup>33</sup> In the 1984 English version of Bakhtin's above work, the footnote states "Skaz has no precise equivalent in English, and will be retained as a Russian term throughout. It refers to a technique or mode of narration that imitates the oral speech of an individualized narrator." M. M. Bakhtin. *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*. Trans. Caryl Emerson. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984. p. 8.

<sup>34</sup> Bakhtin's italics. Ibid., 185.

theory on the social context of language, Julia Kristeva first coined the term “intertextuality” in her article “Le mot, le dialogue, le roman” (Word, Dialogue, and Novel), published in *Tel Quel* (As Is) in 1966, although the concept of “intertextuality” was only discussed at length in her monograph *Séméiotikè Recherches pour une Sémanalyse* (Semiotics, Research for a Semanalysis, 1969).<sup>35</sup> In the article, Kristeva points out that “any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another.”<sup>36</sup>

#### **1.1.2.2 Barthes: “The Death of the Author”**

Though Roland Barthes uses the term “intertextuality” later than Kristeva, his engagement with the concept in his work *S/Z* (1974) is equally vigorous. In an earlier essay titled “The Death of the Author” (1968), Barthes emphasizes the importance of the *reader*, instead of the *author*, in establishing the significance of a literary work, announcing that “a text is made of multiple writings, drawn from many cultures and entering into mutual relations of dialogue, parody, contestation, but there is one place where this multiplicity is focused and that place is the reader, not, as was hitherto said, the author. The reader is the space on which all the quotations that make up a writing are inscribed without any of them being lost; a text’s unity lies not in its origin but in its destination.”<sup>37</sup> This article fundamentally challenges the traditional association of

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<sup>35</sup> Julia Kristeva. *Séméiotikè Recherches pour une Sémanalyse* (Semiotics, Research for a Semanalysis). Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1969.

<sup>36</sup> Julia Kristeva. “Word, Dialogue, and Novel,” *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*. Trans. Thomas Gora, Alice Jardine, and Leon S. Roudiez. Oxford: Blackwell, 1980. p.66.

<sup>37</sup> Roland Barthes. *Image Music Text*. Trans. Stephen Heath. London: Fontana Press, 1977. p.148.

a literary work with its author and to a certain extent changed the way people read and study literature. The traditional scholarship that explains the meaning of a literary work on the basis of the biography of its author has been gradually abandoned. In *S/Z*, he continues to scrutinize the production of meaning in literary works. He distinguishes between a “readerly text” and a “writerly text.” A “readerly text” is a classic text in the conventional sense, allowing readers only the freedom either to accept or reject the text, whereas a “writerly text” allows readers to participate in the pleasure of writing and producing meaning. Barthes obviously favours the latter kind of text, upholding it as “the goal of literary work,” i.e., “to make the reader no longer a consumer, but a producer of the text.”<sup>38</sup> The importance of Barthes’s deconstruction of the traditional opposition between author and text is that it destroys “the myth of filiation,” i.e., “the idea that meaning *comes from* and is, metaphorically at least, the *property of* the individual authorial consciousness. The modern scriptor, when he or she writes, is always already in a process of reading and of re-writing. Meaning comes not from the author but from language viewed intertextually.”<sup>39</sup> Barthes’s theory frees the text from the authoritative dominance of the author by reminding us of the derivative nature of textual production. His theory forms the fundamental assumption of this current thesis, namely, that all literary texts are derivative, formed by engaging intertextually with other texts. Originality, as coming solely from the mind of the author, is nothing but a myth. This is not to deny the existence of creativity, but to argue that creativity always emerges out of intertextual engagements with other texts,

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<sup>38</sup> Roland Barthes. *S/Z*. Trans. Richard Miller. New York: Hill and Wang, 1974. pp. 4-5.

<sup>39</sup> Allen’s italics. See Allen, *Intertextuality*, 74.

both intralingually and interlingually.

### **1.1.2.3 Riffaterre: the Structuralist Approach**

While Barthes is more concerned with the entire cultural code rather than specific intertexts, finding great significance in the plurality, if not infinity, of interpretive possibilities in literary texts, there are a group of theorists who are quite the opposite.<sup>40</sup> Graham Allen calls the approaches adopted by theorists such as G éard Genette and Michael Riffaterre “structuralist approaches,” pointing out that “structuralists retain a belief in criticism’s ability to locate, describe and thus stabilize a text’s significance, even if that significance concerns an intertextual relation between a text and other texts.”<sup>41</sup>

Riffaterre holds that the understanding of intertextuality is inseparable from the notion of an intertext. According to him, an intertext is “one or more texts which the reader must know in order to understand a work of literature in terms of its overall significance.”<sup>42</sup> Intertextuality is “the web of functions that constitutes and regulates the relationships between text and intertext.”<sup>43</sup> The notion of intertextuality deconstructs the ingenuity of a text, and suggests that meaning, or even “literariness,” to quote Riffaterre,<sup>44</sup> emerges from constant references to other texts.<sup>45</sup> Although

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 97.

<sup>42</sup> Michael Riffaterre. “Compulsory Reader Response: the Intertextual Drive.” *Intertextuality: Theories and Practice*. Eds. Michael Worton and Judith Still. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990. p. 56.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 57.

<sup>44</sup> Riffaterre is using the term “literariness” which comes from the Russian Formalists. Jakobson

Riffaterre's approaches have come under criticism from various directions, as structuralist approaches tend to be criticized in an age of poststructuralism, I have found them very useful in literary analysis. This is because compared with the theories of Kristeva and Barthes, which focus more on abstract meditations about semiotics, Riffaterre's approach brings stability to literary study, a stability that is sometimes required, if we are to make some sense out of literary works. His approach also applies well to literary study because of its focus on the internal mechanism of literature.

Riffaterre's term of "hypogram" is a useful analytical category. According to Riffaterre, a hypogram can be a single sentence or a string of sentences; it "may be made out of clichés, or it may be a quotation from another text, or a descriptive system."<sup>46</sup> A hypogram "depends on the notion that certain words or word groups already possess a 'poetic' function in the sociolect."<sup>47</sup> Riffaterre also points out that "hypogrammatic derivation" exists whenever "the verbal sequence patterns itself upon word groups which pre-exist in the language and have usually been long tried and tested in literature."<sup>48</sup>

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later "translates" it into a new term, "poeticity," which is more dynamic. See Roman Jakobson. *Language in Literature*. Cambridge, Mass.; London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1987. pp. 62-94.

<sup>45</sup> Michael Riffaterre, "Compulsory Reader Response: the Intertextual Drive," 56.

<sup>46</sup> Michael Riffaterre. *Semiotics of Poetry*. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1978. p. 63.

<sup>47</sup> Allen, *Intertextuality*, 122. "Sociolect" refers to a dialect which is characteristic of a social rather than a regional group. See Peter Fawcett. "Linguistic Approaches," *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, 120.

<sup>48</sup> Michael Riffaterre. "Semantic overdetermination in poetry." *PTL: a Journal for Descriptive Poetics and Theory of Literature* 2 (1977), in Allen, *Intertextuality*, 122.



I find the idea of hypogram a powerful analytical tool in discussing the intricate mechanism of literary production. Our appreciation of literary works is very often determined by hypogrammatic derivations, because those words or word groups with an established poetic function within literary conventions serve as the background – the “connotations” Benjamin, Barthes, and many others mention – of our literary appreciation. It is exactly in this way that Chinese writers in the early twentieth century carried out their literary productions. For instance, when Bao Tianxiao 包天笑 (1876-1973), in his translation of H. R. Haggard’s *Joan Haste*, ended the story with the clichéphrase “a fragrant soul thus enters the heaven of parting sorrow” (一縷香魂遂入離恨天界矣), he was invoking the readers’ emotional response to the image of the ill-fated beauty (*hongyan boming* 紅顏薄命), which was common in the Chinese literary tradition.<sup>49</sup> In this thesis, I attempt to demonstrate the way structuralist approaches of intertextuality theory can help us understand the literary production of early twentieth-century China.

#### 1.1.2.4 Intertextuality and Creativity

Both in Western and non-Western literatures, the phenomenon of intertextuality appears frequently, endowing literary texts with creativity and meaning. The modern Chinese translation of “intertextuality” is “*huwen*” 互文, generally referring to the cross-reference of two parts of the same texts to each other, and it has been identified

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<sup>49</sup> H.R.Haggard. *Joan Haste* (*Jiayin xiaozhuan* 迦因小傳). Trans. Panxi Zi 蟠溪子 and Tianxiao Sheng 天笑生, Shanghai: Wenming chubanshe, 1903. p. 124.

as a literary rhetorical device in classical Chinese literature.<sup>50</sup> As a rhetorical device, the concept of “*huwen*” differs from the Western notion. I mainly discuss the Western concept of intertextuality in this thesis because it provides us with the crucial theoretical framework to interpret and analyze the relational nature of texts, although I explore the Chinese tradition of intertextuality in greater depth in Chapter 5. In classical Chinese literature, phenomena which match the Western notion of intertextuality abound. Quotations of as well as allusions to earlier texts are remarkably common in classical Chinese poetry and prose, representing two of the most frequently adopted literary rhetoric devices. Poets and essayists who could easily quote from others’ texts were considered erudite, but more importantly, the texts that were quoted built into the expressive structures of their literary works and provided new meanings for old texts as they came to life again in the new context of quotation.

The phenomenon of intertextuality also abounds in Western literatures of all periods. Quoting from works of predecessors constitutes one of the most common and important strategies of literary creation. Known for his proposition of “depersonalization” in poetry, T. S. Eliot states in his well-known article “Tradition and the Individual Talent”:

We dwell with satisfaction upon the poet’s difference from his predecessors, especially his immediate predecessors; we endeavour to find something that can be isolated in order to be enjoyed. Whereas if we approach a poet without his prejudice we shall often find that not only the best, but the most individual parts

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<sup>50</sup> For a study of the origin and developments of the Chinese notion of “*huwen*,” see Luo Xuanmin 羅選民. “Intertextuality and Translation” (*Huwenxing yu fanyi* 互文性與翻譯). Diss. Lingnan University, 2006. pp 31-47.

of his work may be those in which the dead poets, his ancestors, assert their immortality most vigorously.<sup>51</sup>

This pronouncement, striking as it may seem at first, appositely describes the way poets build the most immortal parts of their works on earlier works. Eliot may sound self-contradictory when stating that “the most individual” parts of one’s work come from those written by “the dead poets,” but he is in fact pointing out the most important feature of intertextuality: while borrowing from earlier works, poets are transforming and appropriating them as their own, as the very representation of their own individuality. This idea is further explicated by Eliot in a later passage. “No poet, no artist of any art, has his complete meaning alone. His significance, his appreciation is the appreciation of his relation to the dead poets and artists.”<sup>52</sup> The dependence of later literary works on pre-existing works demonstrates the close link between intertextuality and creativity. Recognizing the fact that creativity builds on intertextuality does not undermine the creativity of later works, because intertextuality is different from repetition or copying. Intertextuality is in itself a creative and transformative process.

From numerous literary examples we see writers create new works out of pre-existing works. Therefore intertextuality is the birthplace of creativity. However, while intertextuality frequently functions as the initiator of creativity, it can be a cause of deep anxiety as well. In *A Map of Misreading* (1975), Bloom asserts that even though

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<sup>51</sup> Eliot, *The Sacred Wood*, 43.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 41.

poets desire to be the source of influence, as a way of defying death, they are all formed by the influence of others, which plagues them and makes them deeply anxious. He compares the relationship between the *ephebe*<sup>53</sup> (or “a new poet” as Bloom explains) and his precursors to the one between a person and his parent.<sup>54</sup> In this, Bloom suggests a parallel to the Greek tragedy *Oidipous Tyrannos* (Oedipus the King, ca. 429 BC) and its modern interpretation by Freud (1856-1939).<sup>55</sup> Although the fear of repeating what earlier poets said constantly plagues later poets, it nevertheless spurs them to try and find new vocabularies for their ideas and emotions, ones that are different from their poetic forefathers. As a result, the anxiety caused by intertextuality prompts poets to seek new expressions.

In the particular period of Chinese literary history examined in this thesis, i.e., in the 1910s and 1920s, however, writers did not seem to be particularly worried about borrowing from their foreign counterparts. They willingly and eagerly sought foreign literatures to incorporate into their fictional narratives, to add to the cultural capital as well as emotional intensity of their works. Sometimes, they borrowed from such a wide range of foreign texts that their works represent a hybrid lyricism that is both refreshing and innovative. Su Manshu 蘇曼殊 (1884-1918) for example borrowed fragmented texts from an Indian play, a poem of Byron, and a Chinese poem of the

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<sup>53</sup> “Among the Greeks, a young citizen from eighteen to twenty years of age, during which he was occupied chiefly with garrison duty.” See “ephebe, n.”. *OED* Online. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/63191?redirectedFrom=ephebe> Accessed 21 Jun. 2013.

<sup>54</sup> Harold Bloom. *A Map of Misreading*. New York ; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.p. 18.

<sup>55</sup> Sigmund Freud. *The Interpretation of Dreams*. Trans. James Strachey. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1976.

Northern Song period (960-1127) to create a pseudotranslation. As I demonstrate in Chapter 4, transcultural intertextuality can be a powerful force for the production of creativity.

In a word, in the literary history of all cultures, writers adapt and appropriate pre-existing texts, creating new literary works by means of intertextuality. In their painstaking effort to imitate, borrow, reinforce, resist and defy the influence of their precursors, creativity emerges from between the lines.

### **1.1.3 The Combination of Translation Studies with Intertextuality Studies: A New Theoretical Approach**

Having discussed the theoretical approaches of both translation studies and intertextuality studies, we can realize without difficulty their inherent similarities. Just as the theory of intertextuality stresses the fact that no text is independent of other texts or contexts, and every text is produced by means of explicit or implicit evocation of pre-existing texts, a work of translation is constantly referring to the text in the source language, as well as to the pre-existing texts and contexts in both the original language *and* in the target language. In the following section, I argue that due to essential commonalities between these two modes of textual production, namely, of translation and intertextuality, we can combine the essence of the respective theories to construct a new theoretical framework with which to scrutinize the literary scene of early twentieth-century China.

First of all, I will explain why both translation and intertextuality are modes of textual production and in what ways they are compatible. Translation is aimed at producing a literary work in the target language by transporting the meaning, style, and feeling (i.e., the aesthetic responses provoked by meaning and style) of the pre-existing work in the source language. Intertextuality is to quote from or allude to, either explicitly or implicitly, one or more pre-existing works to form parts of a new text. In both cases, bits and pieces of the pre-existing work are taken out, transformed and integrated into a new literary work, the process of which is the very process of the birth of creativity. Usually, the difference between the two lies in the fact that translation entails an interlingual transportation, while intertextuality can occur within the same language.<sup>56</sup> However, if the historical period under scrutiny happens to be one when one culture encounters various other cultures, as a result of which many instances of interlingual intertextuality occurred, the distance between translation and intertextuality is significantly shortened. The Chinese literary scene in the early decades of the twentieth century is a perfect example of this. Many writers quoted foreign literary works in their literary creations, either translated into Chinese or in the original language, and in so doing transformed the quotations at the same time as they transformed their indigenous culture and language. Just like translations of foreign

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<sup>56</sup> The marginal case between translation and intertextuality is the literary form of “imitation,” such as Samuel Johnson’s (1709-1784) imitations of Juvenal (ca. 1-2 Century AD), where Juvenal’s text is not quite “translated,” but fully alluded to for an audience Johnson can assume knows Latin as well as English. Johnson “translates” Juvenal’s satire of classical Roman politics to a satire of British politics in the eighteenth century. Johnson was following the tradition set by Alexander Pope (1688-1744) to imitate the works of classical poets. I discuss Yu Dafu’s imitation of foreign literary works in Chapter 5, 252-264.

works, passages from foreign literary works were taken from the original contexts and integrated into texts of Chinese literature in order to produce these new texts, either as the afterlife of pre-existing texts, according to Benjamin,<sup>57</sup> or as the birth of new texts. Now the only difference between the two modes of textual production is the scale of borrowing, as we tend to think of translation as borrowing more, if not much more, than intertextuality. However, even this distinction may be blurred at times. As I shall show later in this chapter, at particular stages of translation, translators may take such liberty with the original work that the translation becomes such a hybrid of the source text and the translator's elaboration of it that it is very hard to determine the scale of borrowing. Therefore, we can see that the line between translation and intertextuality, if it exists at all, is but a tenuous one.<sup>58</sup>

The two fields of translation studies and intertextuality studies have great potential to be enriched by each other. Scholars have realized the profound significance of intertextuality studies for translation studies. For instance, Lawrence Venuti considers translation to be a unique case of intertextuality, positing that "it in fact involves three sets of intertextual relations: (1) those between the foreign text and other texts, whether written in the foreign language or in a different one; (2) those between the foreign text and the translation, which have traditionally been treated according to

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<sup>57</sup> Benjamin, "The Task of the Translator," *Illuminations*, 72.

<sup>58</sup> Theo D'haen, in finding out the similarity between translation and intertextuality, proposes to consider translation as a form of "bound intertextuality," because "it posits a stricter link between two (or more) texts than is necessarily the case in an intertextual relation," but is "less strict than that which we usually associate with a 'real' translation." T. D'Haen. "Antique Lands, New Worlds? Comparative Literature, Intertextuality, Translation." *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 43. 2 (2007): 107-120.

concepts of equivalence; and (3) those between the translation and other texts, whether written in the translating language or in a different one.”<sup>59</sup> Similarly, Eleonora Federici draws our attention to “the translator’s intertextual baggage,” referring to the translator’s “own intertextual literary, linguistic and cultural ‘baggage’ due to his/her ‘location’ and identity politics, a baggage that permeates his/her act of translation and ‘rewriting’ of the source text into the target text.”<sup>60</sup>

As both Venuti and Federici indicate, intertextuality studies has deepened our understanding of the process of translation by further deconstructing the opposition between equivalence and transformation insofar as both the source text and the target text cease to be static, self-explaining entities. Instead, both the source text and the target text produce their meanings only by relating to other texts, and by having the latter relate to the former.<sup>61</sup> The integration of intertextuality theory into translation studies prompts us to refute the traditional perception of the structure of the translation process as a three-fold relationship between the source text, the translator and the translated text. It can now be understood to be a more complex structure, including the source text which is surrounded by other texts and contexts in the source language environment, the translator who interprets and interrogates the foreign work,

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<sup>59</sup> Lawrence Venuti. “Translation, Intertextuality, Interpretation.” *Romance Studies* 27. 3 (2009): 157-173.

<sup>60</sup> Eleonora Federici. “The Translator’s Intertextual Baggage.” *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 43. 2 (2007): 147-160.

<sup>61</sup> In some cases, a later “translation” and/or intertextual passage can change our understanding and apprehension of the earlier work. For instance, in “On First Looking into Chapman’s *Homer*,” John Keats (1795-1821) describes the situation that not knowing Greek, he had only encountered Pope’s translation before he saw Chapman’s earlier one. The different translation versions allowed him to have different understandings of Homer’s work. See John Keats. “On First Looking into Chapman’s *Homer*.” *The Poetical Works of John Keats*. London: Edward Moxon, Dover Street, 1847. p. 240.



and the translated text created in a web of intertextual relationships among other texts and contexts in the target language environment. Therefore instead of three entities to consider, there are now three relationships to take into account. Moreover, this present perspective also foregrounds the importance of the reader – as Barthes did – who interprets the translation through the web of interrelated texts and contexts in his/her own language and therefore bestows meaning on the translation.

Moreover, the subjectivity of the translator is brought still further to the fore when these two approaches are integrated. The translator first of all becomes a reader when he or she is required to interpret and interrogate the intertextuality inherent in a foreign text. Therefore the role of a translator is that of a mediator and interpreter, whose agency is salient yet limited by his/her own culture. Eleonora Federici draws a vivid analogy: a translator is like a curious traveler in a new and unknown literary world who “follows many hints and finds new routes in an unexplored map which he/she necessarily reads through his/her own cultural lens.”<sup>62</sup>

At the same time, translation studies also has great potential for deepening the inquiries made by intertextuality studies. Just like intertextuality, translation is an inherently interpretive process. Venuti defines the relationship between the target text and the source text in the process of translation as an “interrogative” one, because translation inscribes “meanings and values that invite a critical understanding of the

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<sup>62</sup> Federici, “The Translator’s Intertextual Baggage,” 147-160.

quoted or imitated texts, even the cultural traditions and social institutions in which those texts are positioned, while simultaneously inviting the reader to understand the foreign text on the basis of texts, traditions, and institutions specific to the translating culture.”<sup>63</sup> Therefore by studying the interpretive nature of the translation process, we can probe further into the relationship between two texts, which is the fundamental concern of intertextuality studies.

Yet, the more crucial significance of translation studies for intertextuality studies resides in the intercultural and interlingual dimensions it brings to the latter. Translation, in its narrow definition, i.e., interlingual translation, is a mental labour that involves two, sometimes even more, languages. This complicates the questions so far discussed by scholars of intertextuality, since although they do discuss Western writers’ intertextuality of Homer (800BC-701BC) or Virgil (70BC-19BC), they rarely see it from an interlingual and intercultural point of view. Translation studies has established relatively mature frameworks for the understanding of textual migrations among different languages as well as their implications. Questions of comparative linguistics, such as the “compatibility” or “congeniality” of different languages, have entered the range of discussions,<sup>64</sup> deepening our understanding of textual transactions. Just as Christina Schäffner rightly points out, translation adds an intercultural dimension to the studies of intertextuality, and contributes to the

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<sup>63</sup> Venuti, “Translation, Intertextuality, Interpretation,” 157-173.

<sup>64</sup> See for instance, Wolfgang Behr. “Kingsmill’s *Shijing* Translations into Sanskrit and the Very Idea of ‘Congenial Languages,’” paper presented at the conference “Sinologists as translators in the 17-19<sup>th</sup> centuries: archives and context,” SOAS, 19-21 June 2013.

expansion of discursive relations across languages and cultures.<sup>65</sup> If, as Riffaterre asserts, the hypogram, or words that carry established poetic function, can engender meaning and “literariness” in the new text, then a translator who engenders meaning and literariness in the target language not only has to bridge the gap between the pre-existing text and the new text of translation, but also the gap between two cultures. How is literariness produced intertextually and across different cultures? This question will be addressed in Chapter 4 which examines the way Su Manshu procured a hybrid lyricism for his short stories by translating as well as intertextualizing foreign and traditional literary works.

There is much insight to be gained by combining translation studies with intertextuality studies, particularly for the study of authors who possess more than one identity, i.e., authors who are both writers and translators. This interesting combination of identities makes them valuable subjects of research. On the one hand, a writer-translator interprets a foreign work from the standpoint of his own cultural background while trying to appreciate the intertextual meaning carried by the foreign text. On the other hand, he creates a text in the target language that corresponds with the foreign text, using allusions, quotations, or styles familiar in the target language convention. Here, what every writer-translator does is at once similar and varied. As stated in the quotation from T. S. Eliot at the beginning of the introduction, there are different levels of borrowing in different writers, although that they all borrow is

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<sup>65</sup> Christina Schaffner. “Intercultural Intertextuality as a Translation Phenomenon.” *Perspectives-Studies in Translatology* 20. 3 (2012): 345-364.

certain.

## **1.2 Contextualization: the Scene of Early Twentieth-Century Chinese Fiction (1900-1925)**

In this thesis, I apply the new methodological framework discussed above to analyze the literary scene of early twentieth-century China, namely, fictional texts written between roughly 1900 and 1925. I have not concerned myself much with the genres of poetry, drama and essay writing, since they would be beyond the scope of this doctoral thesis. I do, however, mention them in passing when discussing aspects of fiction writing, which is the key subject of this research. I have chosen this time period because the year 1925 is considered by some as marking the end of the May Fourth era, while the second half of the 1920s witnessed such different political circumstances that it was often referred to as the “post-May Fourth” era.<sup>66</sup> The more profound reason for my choice of this period is the underlying change of attitudes towards borrowing from foreign literatures. It seems that mid-1920s marks a shift in ideas of authorship in the Chinese literary field. There is a greater degree of direct borrowing from foreign literatures before mid-1920s, which significantly decreased afterwards. As Mark Gamsa argues, in the 1900s and 1910s, translations of foreign novels were often mixed with literary creations. In the early 1920s the borders between translation and creation were still “porous.” Yet the later 1920s and 1930s saw the rise of “authorship” and the respect for the individual creator of a literary

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<sup>66</sup> See for example Wendy Larson. *Literary Authority and the Modern Chinese Writer: Ambivalence and Autobiography*. Durham, N.C.; London: Duke University Press, 1991. p. 1.

work, which made plagiarism a sharp accusation.<sup>67</sup> Therefore I argue it makes sense to study the literary creation and translation of the years between 1900 and 1925, during which time the opposition between literary translation and creation was not as strictly guarded a border as it later became.

### 1.2.1 Translation of Foreign Literatures in Early Twentieth-Century China

The literary scene of early twentieth century China is both complex and fascinating, with the burgeoning of the publication industry, the thriving literary market, numerous literary societies and periodicals, and most important of all for this present study, the introduction and translation of a large number of foreign literatures. Indeed, the number of translations of foreign literary works sometimes reached or even exceeded that of literary creation in the early decades of the twentieth century. According to Zheng Fangze 鄭方澤, in the year 1905, there were 17 created fictional works published as books, in contrast to 59 translated ones. In 1907, there were 43 created ones, in contrast to 79 translated ones.<sup>68</sup> Before 1911, there were 1288 literary creations and 1016 literary translations, the former being 1.27 times the latter.<sup>69</sup> Among the myriad of literary journals and newspapers at the time, many devoted a

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<sup>67</sup> Mark Gamsa. "Translation and Alleged Plagiarism of Russian Literature in Republican China." *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 33 (2011): 151-171.

<sup>68</sup> Zheng Fangze 鄭方澤. *A Chronology of Historical Events in Early Modern Chinese Literature* (*Zhongguo jindai wenxue shishi biannian* 中國近代文學史事編年). Changchun: Jilin renmin chubanshe, 1983. p. 266.

<sup>69</sup> Tarumoto Teruo. "Translated Fiction of the Late Qing and Early Republican Period---Translated Fiction that Traveled from Japan to China" (*Qingmo Minchu de fanyi xiaoshuo: jing Riben chuandao Zhongguo de fanyi xiaoshuo* 清末民初的翻譯小說——經日本傳到中國的翻譯小說), in Wang, ed., *Translation and Creation: On Early Modern Chinese Translation of Foreign Fiction*, 157.

large part of their pages to translated literature, while quite a few were almost entirely devoted to translated works.<sup>70</sup> Moreover, some of the most well-known publications of popular literature were comprised mainly of translated literature, with *New New Fiction* (*Xin xin xiaoshuo* 新新小說) and *Illustrated Fiction* (*Xiuxiang xiaoshuo* 繡像小說) as two of the best examples.

In spite of the significant number of translated literary works, they have not been given enough scholarly attention until a few decades ago. In mainland China, despite scattered articles on translation written by writer-scholars such as Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881-1936),<sup>71</sup> Qian Zhongshu 錢鐘書 (1910-1998)<sup>72</sup> and Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸 (1898-1958),<sup>73</sup> until the 1990s there had been few scholarly monographs that systematically study the literary translations of the period from 1890 to 1919, which witnessed the high tide of literary translation in Chinese translation history.<sup>74</sup> Not

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<sup>70</sup> See A Ying 阿英. *A Ying on Novels* (*A Ying shuo xiaoshuo* 阿英說小說). Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 2000. p. 185.

<sup>71</sup> Zhou Shuren 周樹人. "Preface to *Anthology of Short Stories beyond the Border*" (*Yuwai xiaoshuo ji xuyan* 《域外小說集》序言). *Materials on Twentieth-Century Chinese Fiction Theory* Vol. 1 (1897-1916) (*Ershi shiji Zhongguo xiaoshuo lilin ziliao* 二十世紀中國小說理論資料). Eds. Chen Pingyuan and Xia Xiaohong 夏曉紅. Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1997, pp. 376-377.

<sup>72</sup> Qian Zhongshu 錢鐘書. "Lin Shu's Translations" (*Lin Shu de fanyi* 林紓的翻譯). *Lin Shu's Translations* (*Lin Shu de fanyi* 林紓的翻譯). Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1981. pp. 18-52.

<sup>73</sup> Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸. "Mr. Lin Qinnan" (*Lin Qinnan xiansheng* 林琴南先生). *Lin Shu's Translations*, 1-17.

<sup>74</sup> Various works on the history of translation or literary history in China discussed this particular period in individual chapters. In the last chapter of *History of Late Qing Fiction* (1937), A Ying introduces several well-known translators at that time, such as Liang Qichao, Lin Shu, Wu Chou 吳櫛, Chen Lengxue 陳冷血 (1878-1865), Bao Tianxiao, etc, with a brief list of translated fiction by nation, author and translator. This article, like many of A Ying's works, could be useful materials for later researchers, despite its limited length. See A Ying. *History of Late Qing Fiction* (*Wanqing xiaoshuo shi* 晚清小說史). Nanjing: Jiangsu wenyi chubanshe, 2009. p. 188). Also, see Ma Zuyi 馬祖毅. *A Concise History of Translation in China – Before the May Fourth Movement* (*Zhongguo fanyi jianshi: wusi yundong yiqian* 中國翻譯簡史：五四運動以前). Beijing: Zhongguo duiwai fanyi chubanshe, 1984.

until 1998 did Guo Yanli publish his monumental work *A Survey of Early Modern Literary Translations in China*, which specifically deals with the period between 1870 and 1919.<sup>75</sup> Later, more monographs appeared which dealt with translation history in modern China. There have been quite a few works on the history of translation in early modern or modern China which were written in Chinese.<sup>76</sup> In the West, Lydia Liu adopted a linguistic approach to the study of early twentieth-century translation, while Hu Ying adopted a feminist approach.<sup>77</sup> Michael Gibbs Hill in his newly published book *Lin Shu, Inc.: Translation and the Making of Modern Chinese Culture* (2013) considers translation as mental labour, and compares Lin Shu 林紓 (1852-1924) and his cohort of translators to a factory that produces translated texts. Hill's aim does not lie in close reading and comparison of translated texts, but in exploring the transformation of mental labour and intellectual work in modern China, he provides us with a fresh angle to understand translation in early twentieth-century China.<sup>78</sup>

But generally speaking, translated works remain critically understudied as *literary*

<sup>75</sup> Guo Yanli 郭延禮. *A Survey of Early Modern Literary Translations in China (Zhongguo jindai fanyi wenxue gailun 中國近代翻譯文學概論)*. Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1998.

<sup>76</sup> For instance, see Li Wei 李偉, *A History of Translation in Modern China (Zhongguo jindai fanyi shi 中國近代翻譯史)*. Jinan: Qilu shushe, 2005; Lian Yantang 連燕堂. *A History of 20th Century Chinese Literary Translations (Ershi shiji Zhongguo fanyi wenxue shi 二十世紀中國翻譯文學史)*. Ed. Yang Yi 楊義. Tianjin: Baihua wenyi chubanshe, 2009; Liao Qiyi 廖七一. *The Transformation of Early Modern Chinese Thoughts on Translation: A Study of Literary Translation Norms before and after the May Fourth (Zhongguo jindai fanyi sixiang de shanbian: Wusi qianhou wenxue fanyi guifan yanjiu 中國近代翻譯思想的嬗變：五四前後文學翻譯規範研究)*. Tianjin: Nankai daxue chubanshe, 2010.

<sup>77</sup> Lydia Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity – China, 1900-1937*; Hu Ying. *Tales of Translation: Composing the New Woman in China, 1899-1918*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2000.

<sup>78</sup> Michael Gibbs Hill. *Lin Shu, Inc.: Translation and the Making of Modern Chinese Culture*. Global Asias. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

texts. This may be a hangover from the traditional opinion that a translated work is derivative, intended as a copy of the original work and is therefore not an embodiment of creativity. For a long time in China and even in today's college courses on translation, people consider Yan Fu's 嚴復 (1854-1921) criteria of translation, i.e., "xin" 信 (fidelity), "da" 達 (fluency) and "ya" 雅 (elegance), as the ultimate prescriptive principles for translation. Yet many early twentieth-century Chinese translations of foreign literary works were none of these, particularly those translated by the Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School (*Yuanyang hudie pai* 鴛鴦蝴蝶派, henceforth called Butterfly School) writers in Shanghai. The term Butterfly School generally refers to writers of popular love fiction who were active in Shanghai in the 1910s to 1930s.<sup>79</sup> There are various problems with this term, one of which is the fact that many writers did not consent to being categorized as belonging to this school. After much deliberation, I still choose to use this term, instead of other, more neutral terms such as the "old school," because given the focus of this thesis on love fiction, the term "Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School" has a richer implication because of its close connection with romantic love stories. This implication is entirely lost in other terms such as the "old school." Many Butterfly School writers creatively translated foreign love stories into typical Butterfly School love stories, with frequent allusions to Chinese traditional stereotypes and lavish descriptions of romantic love

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<sup>79</sup> For an account of the origin of this name, see Ping Jinya 平襟亞. "The Story of the Naming of the "Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School" ("Yuanyang hudie pai" mingming de gushi "鴛鴦蝴蝶派"命名的故事) *Research Materials on the "Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School" (Yuanyang hudie pai yanjiu ziliao 鴛鴦蝴蝶派研究資料)*. Ed. Wei Shaochang 魏紹昌. Vol. 1. Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 1984, pp. 179-181. There have been questions regarding the name of this group of writers, as this name is both laden with negative connotations and sometimes misleading. See Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, 7-8.



between man and woman. They casually changed the plots and names of the stories and sometimes even omitted the names of the original authors, putting their own names as authors, instead of as translators.<sup>80</sup> This kind of practice has been largely criticized by later scholars as irresponsible and as a violation of the original<sup>81</sup>— and of Yan Fu’s principle of fidelity.<sup>82</sup> As a matter of fact, few translations at the time can match all three of Yan’s principles. Therefore, with the passage of time, those translations have been consigned to scholarly neglect.

The long-time ignorance of the translation activities of Butterfly School writers is also closely related to the underestimation of their literary works in general. After the poetics and ideologies of the May Fourth movement took the dominant role in the 1920s, reinforced by the historiography of the Communist Party after 1949, the works of Butterfly School writers were dismissed as petit-bourgeois, sentimental and meaningless. Thus, for a long time, these writers and their works were largely forgotten or intentionally overlooked by scholars of modern Chinese literature. It is only until recently when scholars like Perry Link pointed out the significance of Butterfly School writers that they started to gain some recognition both in and out of

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<sup>80</sup> For discussions of two translation versions of H. R. Haggard’s novel *Joan Haste*, see Liu Hongtao 劉洪濤 and Liu Qian 劉倩. “Creative treason in Lin Shu’s translation of *Joan Haste*” (*Lun Lin yi xiaoshuo ‘jiayin xiaozhuan’ zhong de chuangzaoxing panni* 論林譯小說《迦茵小傳》中的創造性叛逆). *Journal of Beijing Normal University* (Social Sciences Edition) 3 (2008): 44-51; Liu Qian. “Love Novels in Translation: *Joan Haste* as an Example of Domestication.” *Culture in Translation: Reception of Chinese Literature in Comparative Perspective*. Eds. Kwok-kan and Kelly Kar-yue Chan Tam. Hong Kong: Open University of Hong Kong Press, 2012. pp. 182-200.

<sup>81</sup> See for example Zheng Zhenduo, “Mr. Lin Qinnan,” 1-17.

<sup>82</sup> However, Yan Fu himself misread and misinterpreted much of the foreign works he translated. See Benjamin I. Schwartz, *In Search of Wealth and Power: Yen Fu and the West*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1964. p. 52.

China. Perry Link points out that between the years 1912 and 1949, there were between 5000 and 10,000 popular novels published. Until the beginning of the 1930s, the majority of urban readers preferred the works of Butterfly School writers to those of the elite writers.<sup>83</sup> In the preface of *History of Popular Literature of Modern China* (*Zhongguo jinxindai tongsu wenxueshi* 中国近现代通俗文学史, 2010), Fan Boqun also notes the neglected importance of popular literature in China, of which the Butterfly School constituted one crucial kind.<sup>84</sup> These and other academic works disclose the historical value of popular writers and their works, by struggling against predominant opinions and blind faith in modern historiography. As a significant proportion of popular fictional narratives were translated from foreign literatures, the study of translations by popular writers becomes very important.

In this thesis, I argue that the faithfulness of translated works to the source texts needs to recede still further from its once central position in translation studies. As I propose later in this chapter and in Chapter 2, instead of referring to these translations as “translations,” it may be more accurate to call them “creative translations.” Rather than a transparent activity, translation is a highly creative textual production process and is conditioned by specific historical conditions. For instance, it is well known that Lin Shu, who did not know a single foreign language, nevertheless translated about 180 novels from more than 11 nations, and undertook translation of foreign literatures

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<sup>83</sup> Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, 16.

<sup>84</sup> Fan Boqun 范伯群. *History of Popular Literature of Modern China* (*Zhongguo jinxindai tongsu wenxueshi* 中国近现代通俗文学史). Nanjing: Jiangsu jiaoyu chubanshe, 2010. pp. 1-27.

in a most unique way, i.e., by cooperating with oral interpreters who knew foreign languages. Yet Lin's approach did not appear in a vacuum. At the time, most translations were done by Westerners in collaboration with Chinese students or instructors in the two government translation bureaux in China, The School of Common Learning in Beijing (*Jingshi tongwen guan* 京師同文館) and The Shanghai Institute of Various Languages (*Shanghai guangfangyan guan* 上海廣方言館).<sup>85</sup> It is known that Lin Shu became the vice director of The Imperial University in Beijing (*Jingshi da xuetang* 京師大學堂) in 1902, at which time it merged with The School of Common Learning in Beijing. Given that Lin Shu was the vice director in charge of the translation bureau, it is not surprising that his translation techniques were similar to the majority of people who carried out translation work in the same institute. So instead of focusing only on the fidelity of Lin Shu's translation, scholars need to be aware that his translation approach was conditioned by the prevailing, in this case, the official, method of the time.

Furthermore, literary translations of the time in question were also determined by economic institutions, i.e., the thriving publication industry in Shanghai and the success of popular literary magazines. The 1910s and 1930s of Shanghai witnessed a burgeoning of capitalism, with rapid growth in the publication industry. Writers of popular literature made their living by publishing their stories in tabloids and popular

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<sup>85</sup> See Lawrence Wang-Chi Wong's article "From 'Controlling the Barbarians' to 'Wholesale Westernization': Translation and Politics in Late Imperial and Early Republican China, 1840-1919." *Asian Translation Traditions*. Eds. Eva Hung and Judy Wakabayashi. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing, 2005. p. 120.

magazines. If their stories sold well, they could live a better life or even make a fortune. As Link's research suggests, the popularity of Butterfly School literature with the reading public could have encouraged these writers to produce more and similar stories that the public were happy to read.<sup>86</sup> In a word, translation could be a highly lucrative pursuit that possibly required less labour than the writing of "original" literary texts.

While both of the above two factors do play important roles in conditioning the activity of translation, what I want to emphasize is the third factor: the prevalent poetics of the contemporary era, combined with long-lasting literary traditions. I argue that in order to study literary translations as literature, we need to emphasize the factors that usually influence the styles of literary works, such as poetic and literary traditions. In fact, many similarities exist between the translations and creations of writer-translators, a fact that demonstrates the mutual influence between the two kinds of textual production.<sup>87</sup> When writers of the Butterfly School, such as Bao Tianxiao and Zhou Shoujuan 周瘦鵑 (1895-1968), translated foreign fiction, they tended to render them in ways similar to their own writing styles, turning foreign works into the kind of sentimental love stories that were flourishing in the literary market at the time. They also drew on the classical scholar-beauty romance (*caizi jiaren xiaoshuo* 才子佳人小說) for inspirations when translating foreign love stories. Only when we are

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<sup>86</sup> See Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, 79-124.

<sup>87</sup> Chen Jianhua in his doctoral thesis also examines the translation and creation of Zhou Shoujuan, discussing the influence of the former on the latter, as well as the issue of pseudotranslation. See Chen Jianhua 陳建華. "A Myth of Violet: Zhou Shoujuan and the Literary Culture of Shanghai, 1911-1927." Diss. Harvard University, 2002. pp. 248-300.

aware of the indigenous literary tradition, as well as the prevailing poetics, can we better understand translators' choices and translation strategies.

### 1.2.2 Literary Creation in Early Twentieth-Century China

It has been generally agreed that foreign literatures translated and introduced into China constituted a significant influence on modern Chinese literature.<sup>88</sup> May Fourth writers such as Yu Dafu 郁達夫 (1896-1945), Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892-1978), and Lu Xun candidly talked about the way they obtained inspiration from foreign literatures. Guo Moruo was much moved after reading Lin Shu's translation of *Joan Haste* when he was in his teenage years and unapologetically wrote about his youthful passion for Joan years after he became an established writer.<sup>89</sup> Yu Dafu drew significant inspiration from Western writers such as Ernest Dowson (1867-1900) and Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-1894).<sup>90</sup> Moreover, having spent years in Japan during the formative years of his writing career, he was inevitably heavily influenced by

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<sup>88</sup> See for example Yang, *From Late Qing to May Fourth*, 11.

<sup>89</sup> After reading Lin's translation, Guo Moruo wrote: "What great sympathy did the protagonist Joan draw out of me! What an abundance of tears! I loved and pitied her, as I was envious of her lover Henry. When I read about Henry falling down from the ancient tower after trying to get small birds for her, and Joan opening her arms to catch him, it felt like I myself was falling from the tower. I thought were there a lovely Joan who loved me so, I would have fallen from the tower and happily died for her." See Guo Moruo, *Youth (Shaonian shidai 少年时代)*. Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1979. p. 113.

<sup>90</sup> Instead of identifying his approach "intertextuality studies," Leo Lee names his method "textual transaction." See Leo Lee, "Romanticism Introduced: Three Short Stories in Yu Dafu *Sinking Revisited*" (*Yinlai de langmanzhuyi: chongdu Yu Dafu Chenlun zhong de sanpian xiaoshuo 引來的浪漫主義：重讀郁達夫《沉淪》中的三篇小說*). *Journal of Jiangsu University (Social Science Edition)* 8. 1 (2006): 1-9. This article furthers Lee's effort in his monograph *The Romantic Generation of Modern Chinese Writers*, in which he discussed how Yu Dafu appropriated literary works by Louis Stevenson and Ernest Dowson. See Leo Lee, *The Romantic Generation*, 112-113.

Japanese literature as well.<sup>91</sup> In recent years, scholars have established that not only May Fourth writers, but many writers of the earlier decades, such as Zeng Pu,<sup>92</sup> Wu Jianren, and Su Manshu also absorbed and appropriated foreign influences in their literary creations.<sup>93</sup>

Meanwhile, traditional literature also played an important role in early twentieth-century Chinese literature. It is easy to think traditional literature ceased to exist after the May Fourth literary revolution, but recent scholarship has demonstrated that this was far from being the case. Traditional poetry continued to thrive, though maybe in a more covert form.<sup>94</sup> Traditional literature not only remained alive, but also played an important role in the writings of not only “old-school writers,” such as the Butterfly School writers, but also in more “progressive” writers such as Su Manshu and Yu Dafu, who mingled lyrical expressions from classical poetry and prose into their short stories on romantic love. Even Lu Xun was known to express his private sentiments in classical poetry rather than vernacular verse.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Jennifer Putin’s doctoral thesis addresses the expressions of self in Yu Dafu’s writing in the context of literary developments in Japan. She compares similarities and differences among Yu’s writing and those of his contemporary Japanese writers such as Futabatei Shimei and Kasai Zenzō, drawing the conclusion that Yu Dafu was attracted to Japanese literature because it blended elements from both inside its own culture and foreign cultures. See Jennifer Putin. “Yu Dafu: Explorations of the Self.” Diss. University of Oxford, 1993. pp. 74-110.

<sup>92</sup> See Yang Lianfen. *Introduction to Modern Chinese Fiction (Zhongguo xiandai xiaoshuo daolun 中國現代小說導論)*. Chengdu: Sichuan daxue chubanshe, 2004. pp. 23-26.

<sup>93</sup> A collection of essays edited by David Pollard, together with a similar Chinese version edited by Wang Hongzhi, endeavours to explore various aspects of translation and creation in late Qing and early Republican China. See David E. Pollard, ed. *Translation and Creation: Readings of Western Literature in Early Modern China, 1840-1918*. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins, 1998; Wang Hongzhi, ed. *Translation and Creation*.

<sup>94</sup> See for example Jon Eugene von Kowallis. *The Subtle Revolution: Poets of the “Old Schools” during Late Qing and Early Republican China*. Berkeley, Calif.: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, Center for Chinese Studies, 2006.

<sup>95</sup> For a study of classical poems written by Lu Xun, see Jon Eugene von Kowallis. *The Lyrical*

It is necessary to note the diglossic language situation in China in the period between 1900 and 1925.<sup>96</sup> As is well known, the May Fourth literary movement was closely tied to language reform at the beginning of the twentieth century. The classical Chinese language was considered by scholars who had received education abroad to be laden with backward ethics and ways of thought. The vernacular language was promoted to an unprecedented status, and was made to carry the burden of national survival and development.<sup>97</sup> The victory of the vernacular language did not happen overnight. In reality, both the classical language and the vernacular one co-existed in much literary writing of the early twentieth century. While they can arguably be viewed as two distinct kinds of languages, in order to distinguish modern Chinese literature's borrowings from classical Chinese language from its borrowings from foreign languages, in this thesis I view the former as intralingual, and view the latter as interlingual.

Scholars have adopted various approaches when discussing the way that foreign and traditional literary texts were appropriated in modern Chinese literature. Some have approached it from a socio-historical perspective,<sup>98</sup> others from a feminist perspective.

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*Lu Xun: a Study of his Classical-Style Verse*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996.

<sup>96</sup> For a detailed discussion of the formal innovations of modern Chinese writing, see Edward Gunn. *Rewriting Chinese: Style and Innovation in Twentieth-Century Chinese Prose*. California: Stanford University Press, 1991.

<sup>97</sup> See Andrew F. Jones. *Developmental Fairy Tales: Evolutionary Thinking and Modern Chinese Culture*. Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 2011. pp. 105-106.

<sup>98</sup> See Pan Shaw-Yu 潘少瑜. "Early Twentieth-Century Chinese Translations of Foreign Love Stories: A Case Study of Lin Shu and Zhou Shoujuan" (*Qingmo Minchu fanyi yanqing xiaoshuo yanjiu: yi Lin Shu yu Zhou Shoujuan wei zhongxin* 清末民初翻譯言情小說研究——以林紓與周瘦鵑為中心). Diss. National Taiwan University, 2008.

For instance, Rey Chow discusses Lin Shu's translation of *La Dame aux Camélias* in terms of its social and cultural significance,<sup>99</sup> while Hu Ying relates the same translation to the issue of "the new woman."<sup>100</sup> But after so much discussion of politics, economic and social institutions, perhaps the time has come to explore literary exchanges between China and its foreign others/local predecessors in the same way that we discuss Murakami Haruki's homage to F. Scott Fitzgerald, or Wordsworth's appropriation of Milton. Only when we move beyond socio-political interpretation can we discuss literary exchanges and influences in the true sense of the words. Then the question becomes: if literary influence *per se* is our central concern, how can we trace literary influence and talk about it? It is not enough to say writer X was influenced by writer Y because X said so in his diary. In a poststructuralist age, one can never know an author's intention, nor are diaries and letters to be trusted without reservation.

One of the most promising strategies for resolving this problem is to invoke the theory of intertextuality. When a text from a pre-existing source appears in a literary work, we can often identify it with some certainty and note the ways in which a writer incorporated it into his or her own work. Then we can explore some of the reasons why he or she did so and to what degree he or she transformed the pre-existing text. Using the theory of intertextuality to discuss early twentieth century Chinese literature is a fruitful way of accommodating the complex, sometimes disorientating,

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<sup>99</sup> Rey Chow. *Woman and Chinese Modernity: the Politics of Reading between West and East*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1991.

<sup>100</sup> Ying Hu, *Tales of Translation*.



phenomenon of textual borrowing and appropriation, both from classical Chinese literature and foreign literatures. In fact, as Yi-tsi Mei Feuerwerker insightfully points out, in the Chinese literary tradition, “intertextuality – the imitation, adaptation, revision, or quotation of prior texts in the construction of new texts – had long been a self-conscious and self-perpetuating exercise. It was a way to give one’s own writing authority and meaning, even as the creative process often involved the transformation and transcending of previous literary material.”<sup>101</sup> But as the agenda of the May Fourth literature movement demanded, some writers no longer intertextualized traditional literature uncritically, but quoted literary antecedents in order to defy them; other writers borrowed from foreign literary traditions as well as from traditional Chinese sources.<sup>102</sup>

The real situation was even more complicated than what Feuerwerker’s description suggests. As explored in chapters 4 and 5, many Chinese writers still quoted classical Chinese literature, not with a gesture of defiance, but with a nostalgic backwards glance. Both Su Manshu and Yu Dafu juxtaposed classical Chinese literature with its foreign counterparts with great facility, and this deserves more critical attention. By adopting the theory of intertextuality, we will be able to see these writers’

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<sup>101</sup> Yi-Tsi Mei Feuerwerker. “Text, Intertext, and the Representation of the Writing Self in Lu Xun, Yu Dafu, and Wang Meng.” *From May Fourth to June Fourth: Fiction and Film in Twentieth-Century China*. Eds. Ellen Widmer and David Der-wei Wang. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993. p. 168.

<sup>102</sup> In *Ideology, Power, Text: Self-Representation and the Peasant “Other” in Modern Chinese Literature*, Feuerwerker again uses the methodology of textuality studies to discuss the way modern Chinese intellectuals represented themselves and their peasant others in literary texts. See Yi-tsi Mei Feuerwerker. *Ideology, Power, Text: Self-representation and the Peasant “Other” in Modern Chinese Literature*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998.

appropriation of foreign literatures not as a separate and sudden decision, but as a natural continuation of a time-honoured tradition, only in altered, even camouflaged guise. These texts, which previously have been labeled “creations,” are better described by the new term “translated creations,” which foregrounds their engagements with foreign literatures as well as with classical Chinese literature. As scholars of intertextuality studies have argued, authorial originality is nothing but illusory. All literary creations depend on their intertextual borrowing from other, pre-existing texts. It goes without saying that modern Chinese literature borrowed from foreign literary works, classical Chinese literature, and contemporary Chinese literature. However, as the focus of this thesis is modern Chinese literature’s engagement with foreign literatures, although I discuss its engagement with classical Chinese literature at some length in various chapters, I have coined the term “translated creation” to encompass this interlingual intertextuality. This point will be elaborated further in Chapter 2.

### **1.2.3 Applying the Methodology to Early Twentieth-Century Love Fiction: a New Perspective**

As already laid out in a previous section of this chapter, I am combining the methods of translation studies and intertextuality studies to probe Chinese literature in the early twentieth century. I argue that early-twentieth century China provides a superb case study for this methodology, because of the sheer volume of texts translated, the

remarkable ease with which writers switch between languages and cultures, and their openness to foreign literatures. The freshness of my approach is to combine these two questions: how did writers creatively translate foreign literatures, and how did writers obtain inspiration/creativity from intertextuality? While much current scholarship emphasizes either translation or intertextuality, I posit that it would be more productive if they can be seen as textual productions on the same spectrum. This is because in the literary scene in China at the turn of the twentieth century, the boundary between translation and intertextuality from foreign literatures was very vague. Therefore, instead of regarding translation and intertextuality as separate modes of literary production, it would be more productive to see them as a continuum of textual production, in which elements of traditional literature and foreign influences mingled and merged. The fluidity of these modes of literary production is mirrored by the fluidity of the identities of their authors – many were simultaneously novelists, poets, translators, journal editors, and so forth – which reinforces as well as explains the boundary-crossing of the texts. If the entirety of literary productions can be perceived in this light, scholars will be less vexed by the anxiety of categorization, and can proceed instead to analyzing the reasons for the choices of writer-translators, the secret battles they fought which were betrayed by their works, and the processes whereby two or more cultures encounter one another.

Regarding translation and intertextuality as a continuum recognizes their profound similarities at the same time as it asserts their differences. If Lin Shu's translation of

*La Dame aux Camélias* (1897) domesticates the French novel and is therefore an effort to embed it in the context of Chinese sentimentality, Su Manshu's implicit intertextuality of Lin Shu's translation, hence indirectly the French novel itself, in his short story "Story of the Broken Hairpin" (*Suizan ji* 碎簪記, 1916) represents a similar effort to integrate foreign understandings of sentimentality into the Chinese context. Yet at a deeper level, these two actions are intrinsically different. While in the former case, the writer-translator tried his best to domesticate the foreign texts and foreground the Chinese context, in the latter case, the writer-translator exoticized his literary creation, foregrounding the foreign elements. My thesis discloses this significant shift of writing strategies as it covers several writers from different times and backgrounds, thus making it possible to reflect upon the transformation in the general attitudes toward foreign and traditional literatures.

In the first few years of the 20th century, classical Chinese literature still held great authority for translators like Lin Shu, who considered it capable of expressing the most subtle feelings.<sup>103</sup> Therefore, the hegemony of the Chinese language and tradition asserted itself as translators applied the styles and idioms of classical Chinese to foreign works. When Lin marveled at the similarity between foreign novels and *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shi ji* 史記, ca 104 BC-90 BC), his undertone was a suspended disbelief that foreign writers could achieve such heights as

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<sup>103</sup> Lin Shu. "Preface to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*" (*Heinu yutian lu liyan* 《黑奴吁天錄》例言), *Materials on Twentieth-Century Chinese Fiction Theory*, 43.

Chinese authors.<sup>104</sup> So by translating foreign works into classical Chinese while making considerable alterations, Chinese translators were bestowing a certain authority on foreign works.

The situation changed dramatically as Western culture penetrated deeper into China, with the growing awareness of not only the military and economic strength, but also the cultural power of the West. From this point onwards, translators started to stick more closely to the original work, not only in meaning, but also in diction and wording. Similarly, writers such as Su Manshu and Yu Dafu went out of their way to quote passages from foreign works, often directly in the foreign languages, in their own short stories. With this, the power relationship underwent a profound change. Writer-translators started to borrow the power of foreign works to lend validity and vitality to their own works. The attitudes of writer-translators towards foreign works changed from condescension to homage.<sup>105</sup> My thesis will plot this shift through time, as the chapters unfold themselves. Though a clear-cut shift of attitude is both illusory and idealistic, I shall contain the complexity of the situation while seeking to articulate shifts in writers' treatment of foreign literatures.

#### **1.2.4 A Note on Terminology**

So far, several pairs of terms have been recurring in my discussion: translation and

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<sup>104</sup> Lin Shu. "Preface to *Ivanhoe*" (Sakexun jiehou yingxiong lüe xu 《撒克遜劫後英雄略》序), *Materials on Twentieth-Century Chinese Fiction Theory*, 160.

<sup>105</sup> For discussions on homage in literature, see Margaret Hillenbrand. "Murakami Haruki in Greater China: Creative Responses and the Quest for Cosmopolitanism." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 68. 3 (2009): 715-747

intertextuality, translation and creation, and creative translation and translated creation. They will be joined by other terms such as pseudotranslation and pseudocreation later in the thesis. In order to make it easier for readers to follow my arguments, I use this section to elucidate the meaning of these terms, their relationship with one another and their relevance to my overall arguments.

**Translation Studies and Intertextuality Studies:** These are two fields of inquiry which have developed largely independently of each other, and which are combined in this thesis to form a new methodological framework.

**Translation and Intertextuality:** These are two modes of textual production which create literary texts. Translation typically refers to the rendering of a text from one language into another, while intertextuality typically refers to the reference to other texts when composing a new text. In actual literary practices, these two modes of textual production often interlace and overlap with each other. As a result, they create texts of hybrid nature, ones that I have termed “creative translation” and “translated creation.”

**Creative Translation and Translated Creation:** These are two types of literary texts which are produced by the above two modes of textual production, namely, translation and intertextuality. They have traditionally and conveniently been labelled “translation” and “creation.” In this thesis, the terms “translation” and “creation” are

replaced by “creative translation” and “translated creation.” As I mentioned earlier in this chapter and will elaborate further in Chapter 2, many Chinese translations of foreign fictional works at the beginning of the twentieth century did not follow the original works closely. Instead, writer-translators drew inspiration from traditional Chinese literature so as to manipulate the emotions expressed in the translated texts. In order to highlight the creativity inherent in this kind of textual production, I argue that the term “creative translation” better captures the features of such texts than the cruder term “translation.” Similarly, what used to be considered literary “creations” in early twentieth-century China often involved various degrees of intertextual and interlingual engagements with foreign texts. Chinese writers at the time eagerly quoted and adapted passages and sentences from foreign literary works, both translated and untranslated ones, to compose their own literary texts. Such creations can best be described as “translated creation” because this term foregrounds the derivative nature of these literary texts, rather than assuming that they entirely and absolutely originated from the authors themselves. While “creative translation” is a term that has become quite commonly used in the field of translation studies, “translated creation” is a term that I have coined myself. It is hoped that these two terms, when used in parallel, can better grasp the complex nature of the literary texts that prevailed in the literary market in early twentieth-century China, and dispel the illusion that such writings can be neatly and conveniently categorized as “translation” and “creation.”

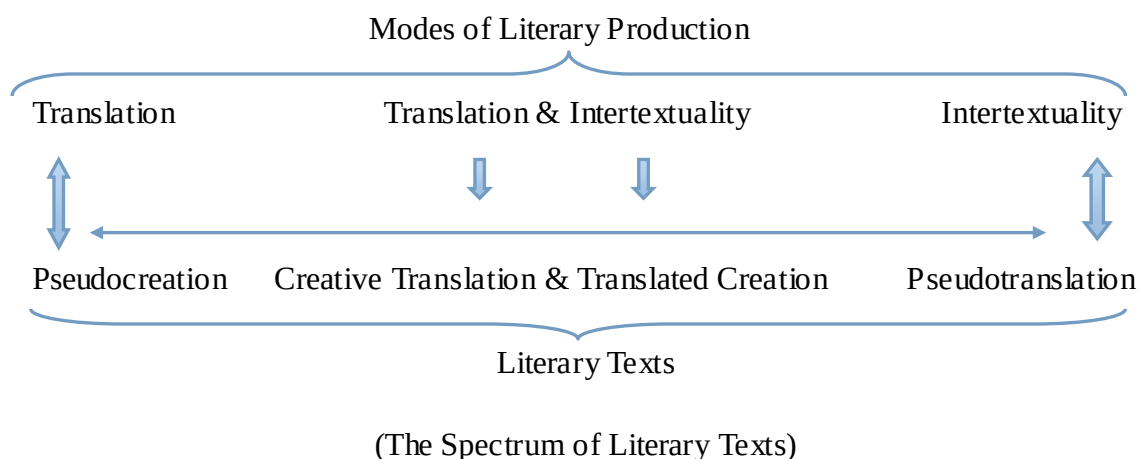
**Pseudocreation and Pseudotranslation:** These two terms refer to extreme forms of “creative translation” and “translated creation”: namely, when a text claims to be something opposite to its real self. “Pseudocreation” refers to a literary text which claims to be an authentic creation when it is a work of translation. “Pseudotranslation” refers to a literary text which claims to be a work of translation when it is a work of creation. These two terms have been used by scholars of translation studies, particularly “pseudotranslation,” and therefore function as the point of departure in my discussions in Chapter 2. I bring out these terms to show their limits, and then to introduce the broader terms of “creative translation” and “translated creation” which fill in the spectrum of literary works that lies at the heart of my argument in this thesis. I will explain the spectrum below.

### **The Spectrum of Literary Works:**

This thesis intends to tear down the dichotomy between what has traditionally been called “translation” and “creation.” The terms “creative translation” and “translated creation” are created not to fortify this dichotomy, but to infuse more nuance and fluidity into the ways we understand literary texts. I propose that instead of positioning all Chinese-language fictional texts in the early twentieth century within fixed categories, we see them as belonging to a spectrum. All texts on this spectrum are generated by processes of translation and intertextuality. The two extremes on this spectrum are pseudocreation and pseudotranslation, representing the cases where texts composed by either mode claim to be composed by the other. These two extreme



situations are more theoretical than practical. The more practical and realistic situation is that texts are composed by both modes to different degrees. “Creative translations” are composed by translation to a larger degree than by intertextuality, whereas “translated creations” are the opposite.



### 1.3 Why Love Fiction?

<sup>106</sup> I have chosen the term “love fiction” over the more commonly used term “romantic fiction” because the latter carries with it fraught connotations deeply rooted in Western cultures, such as ideas of chivalry, courtship of noble-born ladies and so on. “Love fiction” is a more straightforward term indicating the theme of romantic love.

fictional works discussed in this thesis have romantic love as their central theme, although they often contain many other emotions including filial piety, sorrow, pity, jealousy and anger. Love fiction, both translated and created, provides us with a fertile ground to study the transformation of emotional expression in modern Chinese literature.

### 1.3.1 Scholarly Neglect of Early Twentieth-Century Chinese Love Fiction and its Cause

The sheer volume of love fiction written, translated and published in the first two decades of the twentieth century is striking. Between June 1912 and June 1915, more than 300 translations and creations of love fiction were published in about 10 magazines including *The Short Story Magazine* (*Xiaoshuo yuebao* 小說月報), *The Grand Magazine* (*Xiaoshuo daguan* 小說大觀) etc.<sup>108</sup> These love stories appealed to a large number of readers with their romantic ambiance, sensational plots, and emotional stimuli. As Link convincingly argues, the influence of popular love stories during the early decades of the twentieth century was much more considerable than that of so-called elite literature.<sup>109</sup>

However, despite the enormous popularity of love fiction, the scholarly attention

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“feeling,” see Anna Wierzbicka. *Emotions Across Languages and Cultures: Diversity and Universals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. pp. 1-7.

<sup>108</sup> Xie Qingli 謝慶立. *A History of Early Modern Chinese Popular Social Love Fiction* (*Zhongguo jinxindai tongsu shehui yanqing xiaoshuo shi* 中國近現代通俗社會言情小說史). Beijing: Qunzhong chubanshe, 2002. p. 67.

<sup>109</sup> Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, 11.

given to it has been relatively scant, particularly with respect to translated works. Many scholarly works on late Qing early Republican translations categorize them into “political fiction,” “science fiction,” and “detective stories,” excluding “love fiction” in spite of its conspicuous popularity.<sup>110</sup> Compared with the scholarly attention given to the other three categories of fiction, translation of love fiction has not just received far less attention than is its due, but the notice it has attracted tends to be limited to its political and social relevance.<sup>111</sup>

The reason for the neglect of the translation and creation of love fiction has deep roots in the traditional Confucian belief in the moral and utilitarian function of literature, which was reinforced by the May Fourth discourse of revolution and literary realism. A significant number of scholarly works on late Qing and early Republican literature tend to foreground its political and revolutionary aspects.<sup>112</sup> However, given the large

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<sup>110</sup> See for instance, Wang-chi Wong. “An Act of Violence: Translation of Western Fiction in the Late Qing and Early Republican Period.” *The Literary Field of Twentieth-Century China*. Ed. Michel Hockx. Richmond: Curzon Press, 1999. p. 30.

<sup>111</sup> For study of translation of political fiction, see Guo, *A Survey of Early Modern Literary Translations in China*, 95-108; Lawrence Wang-chi Wong, “‘The Sole Purpose is to Express My Political Views’: Liang Qichao and the Translation and Writing of Political Novels in the Late Qing,” in Pollard, ed., *Translation and Creation*, 105-126; For study of translation of detective fiction, see Eva Hung, “Giving Texts a Context: Chinese Translations of Classical English Detective Stories 1896-1916,” in Pollard, ed., *Translation and Creation*, 151-176.

<sup>112</sup> See Liu Jianmei. *Revolution Plus Love: Literary History, Women’s Bodies, and Thematic Repetition in Twentieth-Century Chinese Fiction*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2003; Peter Button. *Configurations of the Real in Chinese Literary and Aesthetic Modernity*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009. However, over the years, scholars have begun to focus on the alternative, sometimes hidden, trends of modern Chinese literature that were politically neutral or apolitical, and were dedicated to entertainment, leisure or commercial goals. For instance, Charles Laughlin explores the literature of leisure (*xiaopin wen* 小品文), which flourished in the late 1920s through the 1930s. He points out that this genre of literature “affirms alternative values that often came into conflict with Confucian virtues rigidly interpreted – alternative values like friendship, romantic love, beauty, and the pursuit of a variety of simple and complicated pleasures,” and it recognizes “the complex and contradictory textures of emotional life.” See Charles A. Laughlin. *The Literature of Leisure and Chinese Modernity*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2008. p. 3.

number of fictional works on love – both translated and created – in early twentieth-century China, it is essential for us to examine what their appeal to popular readers might have been, and how writers constructed these fictional works with the help of foreign literatures and the Chinese lyrical tradition.<sup>113</sup>

### 1.3.2 The Transformation of Emotional Expression in Modern Chinese Literature

Reading through major works of classical and modern Chinese literature, it quickly becomes apparent that there are conspicuous differences in the emotional expression of works from different periods. Perhaps the most obvious distinction lies in the fact that modern Chinese literature exhibits a much more developed ability to articulate rich and intense emotions, often in direct ways. In an article entitled “On Emotions Expressed in Chinese Verse” (*Lun Zhongguo yunwen litou suo biaoqian de qinggan* 论中国韵文里头所表现的情感), Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873-1929) examines the characteristics of classical verse which set out to convey emotions. He divides all emotional expressions into three kinds: direct expressions of excessive emotions (*benjin de biaoqingfa* 奔進的表情法) – nine out of ten of which are emotions of sadness; resonant expression of emotions (*huidang de biaoqingfa* 迴蕩的表情法) –

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<sup>113</sup> Though the narrative tradition of Chinese literature has been thoroughly studied, the study of its lyrical tradition seems relatively lacking. David Der-wei Wang’s two books deal with the lyrical tradition from a historical perspective and shed new light on this issue. See David Der-wei Wang, *The Lyrical Tradition and Chinese Modernity* (*Shuqing chuantong yu Zhongguo xiandaixing* 抒情傳統與中國現代性) Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2010; ---, *Four Discussions of the Modern Lyrical Tradition* (*Xiandai shuqing chuantong silun* 現代抒情傳統四論). Taipei: Taida chuban zhongxin, 2011.

deep emotions recollected in tranquility; and the subtle expressions of emotions (*hanxu yunjie de biaoqingfa* 含蓄蘊藉的表情法) – the vast majority of emotional expressions in classical verse – which can be again divided into four subtypes. Of the four subtypes, the first subtype is the communication of strong emotions via apparently placid words; the second subtype is the infusion of emotion into scenery depiction, combining the two; the third subtype is the concealment of emotion entirely, with only scenery depicted, which nevertheless conveys the emotion; and the fourth subtype is the discussion of other seemingly unrelated matters to symbolize one's emotions.<sup>114</sup> The reason why I recount at some length Liang's categorizations is that they demonstrate the preference for indirect emotional expression in classical Chinese literature.

In comparison, modern Chinese literature demonstrates a much more sustained effort at direct emotional expression. One only needs to read the poems of Xu Zhimo 徐志摩 (1897-1931) and Guo Moruo, and the novels of Yu Dafu to sense the sea change. The way these modern writers express their emotions is bolder, more direct and more fully articulated than that of their forebears. In fact, the subjective and lyrical features of modern Chinese literature were acknowledged quite early in literary history. In the 1970s, in an article entitled "Subjectivism and Individualism in Modern Chinese Literature," the Czech scholar Jaroslav Průšek points out that at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Chinese literature reflected the author's inner life and comprised

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<sup>114</sup> Qian Jibo 錢基博. *A Modern History of Chinese Literature (Xiandai Zhongguo wenxue shi 現代中國文學史)*. Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe, 2007. pp. 361-364.

descriptions or analysis of his own feelings, moods, visions and even dreams. The artist's work approximated more and more closely to a confession in which the author would reveal the different sides of his character and of his life.<sup>115</sup> Similarly, in *The Romantic Generation of Modern Chinese Writers* (1973), Leo Ou-fan Lee points out that there has been a strong and obvious emphasis on sentiment since late Qing literature, and an even stronger one in May Fourth literature, as a result of the influence of Western romanticism.<sup>116</sup>

So, what brought about the transformation in the expression of emotion in Chinese fiction in the early twentieth century? Of course, foreign influences were crucial. Yuan Jin argues that the high tide of the creation of romantic fiction during the early Republican period was directly influenced by foreign fiction translated at that time, starting with Lin Shu's translation of *La Dame aux Camélias*.<sup>117</sup> The Western romantic stories that were translated revealed to Chinese literati a new value system that stressed the independent individual, who would fight against the constraints of feudal ethics in pursuit of true love. As a result, an unprecedented sense of sacrifice and a commitment to the narrative of confession emerged in Chinese romantic fiction, as well as the "first-person narrative mode" and psychological descriptions.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Průšek, *The Lyrical and the Epic: Studies of Modern Chinese Literature*, 1-11.

<sup>116</sup> Leo Lee, *The Romantic Generation*, 261; Jennifer Putin notes that at the turn of the twentieth century, both in Japan and China, many intellectuals withdrew from social and political life as a result of the decline of traditional career structures for public intellectuals. There was a great surge of interest in ideas of the self and romantic self-expression which were imported from Europe and Russia. See Putin, "Yu Dafu: Explorations of the Self," 74-75.

<sup>117</sup> Yuan Jin, "On the Influence of Translated Fiction on Chinese Romantic Fiction," in Wang, ed., *Translation and Creation*, 283.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 294. In an article, Fan Boqun also discusses the influence of translated romantic fiction on literary creation. Fan undertakes statistical analysis of four early modern journals, Fiction

Writer-translators like Lin Shu and Zhou Shoujuan translated popular foreign love stories which served as an enlightenment education on the romantic relationship for Chinese readers.<sup>119</sup>

Yet foreign influence alone cannot explain such a profound and complex transformation. As Haiyan Lee argues in her seminal work *Revolution of the Heart: A Genealogy of Love in China, 1900-1950*, the modern Chinese conception of love was a “historical product of colonial modernity marked by cross-hybridization, displacement, contestation and repression.”<sup>120</sup> Adopting Raymond Williams’ theory of “the structure of feeling,” Lee explores the gradual and subtle change in the Chinese structure of feeling in the first half of the twentieth century. She narrates the genealogy of love with a threefold scheme: the Confucian, the enlightenment and the revolutionary structures of feeling. By examining the conflicts and compromises of these three structures of feeling, Lee demonstrates that the discourse of love played a crucial role in the political and social aspects of twentieth-century China.<sup>121</sup>

In exploring the causes of the transformation of Chinese conceptions of love, Lee

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Times (*Xiaoshuo shibao* 小說時報), *Saturday* (*Libailiu* 禮拜六), *The Grand Magazine of Literature* (*Wenxue daguan* 文學大觀), *Pictorial Stories* (*Xiaoshuo huabao* 小說畫報), all of which mainly published love fiction, either translated or created. See Fan Boqun. “How the Literary Translation by Bao Tianxiao, Zhou Shoujuan and Xu Zhuodai Produced Positive Influence on Fiction Creation” (*Bao Tianxiao, Zhou Shoujuan, Xu Zhuodai de wenxue fanyi dui xiaoshuo chuanguo zhi cujin* 包天笑、周瘦鵑、徐卓呆的文學翻譯對小說創作之促進), in Wang, ed., *Translation and Creation*, 227.

<sup>119</sup> Pan, “Early Twentieth-Century Chinese Translations of Foreign Love Stories,” 41-51.

<sup>120</sup> Haiyan Lee. *Revolution of the Heart: A Genealogy of Love in China, 1900-1950*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2007.p. 16.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 300-309.

discussed several important Western novels that were translated into Chinese at the turn of the century. However, she does not distinguish between the original works and their Chinese translations. Instead of treating translated literary works as to some degree rewritten by translators, Lee discusses them as if they were original works. While this approach may not cause huge problems when discussing later periods, it does pose a serious issue for the late Qing and early Republican period, as translators were so prone to alter the original works that to overlook this phenomenon may risk serious simplification and distortion of the literary scene.<sup>122</sup>

In short, although much has been said about the lyrical tendency of modern Chinese literature – and about the transformation of emotional expression – less work has been done to bolster the claims of change via close-focussed textual readings which are informed by an apposite theoretical language. In this thesis, I use the methodological framework of translation and intertextuality to unveil the very process of literary influence. By studying the way early twentieth-century Chinese writers composed love fiction – either via translation or intertextuality – I aim to find out what exactly took place, particularly at the textual level, in the transformation of expression of emotion in early twentieth-century China.

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<sup>122</sup> Another aspect that Haiyan Lee does not fully address is the impact on the literary creations of Chinese authors by translated works. For instance, it has been widely consented that Xu Zhenya's *Yu li hun* is an imitative work of *La Dame aux Camélias* translated by Lin Shu. Yet in discussing Xu's creation of this work, Lee does not associate it with *La Dame aux Camélias*, even though she quite often discusses the two novels in parallel. This is equally true in her discussion of the Butterfly School writers. Though she articulates their strong advocacy of romantic love, with seeming assumption that this has something to do with foreign influences, she never goes into detailed and convincing account of their specific connection with Western literature, let alone their enthusiastic translation activities that should have had significant impact on their creation. Nevertheless, Lee's work has pointed out a worthy direction for further inquiries into the love theme in translated literary works.



#### 1.4 Choice of Writers

My choice of writers is based on the assumption that the traditional perception of the so-called May Fourth literature as being more valuable than other kinds of literature of the same time is a mistaken one. This view has been effectively deconstructed by David Der-wei Wang, Chen Pingyuan, and Michel Hockx, among others, as an illusory perception of historical and literary reality.<sup>123</sup> David Wang draws our attention to late Qing fiction as the true beginning of the modernity of Chinese literature, which was later repressed by the dominant discourse of the May Fourth. Chen Pingyuan considers late-Qing and early Republican fiction as the starting point of modern Chinese fiction and discusses the influence of Western fiction on the transformation of narrative modes in modern Chinese fiction. Michel Hockx takes the issue one step further by challenging the basic assumption that “May Fourth” literature was the main literary style of the Republican period. Pointing out insightfully that the very aggressiveness of the literary figures of the New Literature was evidence of their “less than established position,” Hockx adopts and modifies Pierre Bourdieu’s *habitus* theory, among other approaches of the sociology of literature, to discuss the literary societies and journals of modern China from “a

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<sup>123</sup> David Der-wei Wang, *Fin-de-siècle Splendor: Repressed Modernities of Late Qing Fiction, 1849-1911*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997; Chen, *The Transformation of Narrative Modes in Chinese Fiction*; ---, *The Starting Point of Modern Chinese Fiction: A Study on Late Qing and Early Republican Fiction* (*Zhongguo xiandai xiaoshuo de qidian: Qingmo Minchu xiaoshuo yanjiu* 中國現代小說的起點：清末民初小說研究). Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2010; Michel Hockx, *Questions of Style: Literary Societies and Literary Journals in Modern China, 1911-1937*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2003.

rigidly historical perspective,”<sup>124</sup> offering us a more complex and realistic account of the literary scene of Republican China. Similarly aware of developments of print culture and the market mechanism of early twentieth century China, Link brings to light the previously downtrodden popular literature of the so-called Butterfly School, unveiling the historical significance and hidden modernity in their literary works.<sup>125</sup> Leo Oufan Lee also looks at the popular literature of metropolitan Shanghai in the 1930s for a fresh perspective on the coexistence of highbrow and popular literature.<sup>126</sup> These monographs, together with many edited volumes and journal articles, have significantly changed our perception of Chinese literature at the turn of the twentieth century.

Following in the steps of these scholars, in this thesis I continue to resist the traditional categorizations, and I discuss a wide range of writers who have been conventionally taken to be wildly different. Bao Tianxiao, Li Dingyi 李定夷 (1890-1963) and Zhou Shoujuan, whose translations of Western love stories will be discussed in the first two core chapters, have often been considered representatives of Butterfly School writers, writing love stories in the traditional style. Su Manshu has sometimes been considered an initiator of the same school, but is an exceptional case in that he was viewed positively by the writers of New Literature.<sup>127</sup> Yu Dafu, of course, belongs to the Creation Society, one of the most progressive, pro-Japan

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<sup>124</sup> Hockx, *Questions of Style*, 3-6.

<sup>125</sup> Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*.

<sup>126</sup> Leo Ou-fan Lee. *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930-1945*. Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 1999.

<sup>127</sup> See Chapter 4, 171-175.

literary societies of the May Fourth cohort. The third and fourth core chapters of this thesis discuss the way these two writers engaged with foreign literary texts in their romantic short stories. The reason why I have juxtaposed writers from these two broad categories is that only by putting them side by side can we look more closely at the overall situation of the literary scene in late Qing and early Republican China, and only then can we realize how similar or different some of their choices and approaches were, and thus grasp the development of modern Chinese literature in general.

Three major criteria have shaped my selection of writers. The first is their possession of hybrid identities, as translators as well as writers. In order to probe the intriguing question of creativity, particularly creativity via the activities of translation and intertextuality, I have selected these writers over those who operated within a single language. Though quite a few writers of early twentieth century were at the same time translators, the second criterion rules many out, i.e., they need to be producers of texts which fall within the realm of love fiction. By producers of texts, I aim to cover both translators of love fiction, as well as writers of love fiction. The source texts for translation and for intertextuality do not necessarily have to be love fiction, so long as the target texts are within that genre of fiction and treat love as the central theme. The last criterion is the size of readership. Instead of choosing obscure writers who were less read at the time and therefore less studied thereafter, I have chosen writers who have been relatively less studied in terms of translation and intertextuality, yet who

enjoyed considerable readership. This is to ensure the applicability of this research to the larger picture of literary reality of the historical period under scrutiny.<sup>128</sup>

### **1.5 Chapter Layout**

This thesis is divided into four core chapters. Chapter 2 “Pseudo-writing and Creating Channels for the Expression of Emotion” analyzes the ways in which writers of the Butterfly School opened up a channel to express their emotions by way of pseudowriting. I choose to adopt the terms “pseudotranslation” and “pseudocreation” – which altogether are called “pseudowriting” – to refer to two extreme forms of writing strategy that were made use of at the beginning of the twentieth century. Two broader terms are coined to contain literary works that do not pretend to be translation or creation where they are the opposite: creative translation and translated creation. In this way, this chapter sets forth the governing framework to contain all the literary texts studied in the entire thesis. To illustrate this framework, two writers, normally associated with the Butterfly School – Bao Tianxiao and Li Dingyi – are examined in this chapter, to examine the way they created a space in which virtuous sentiments regarding marriage and love could be articulated, though more discreetly through the form of pseudowriting. It was by using these strategies that the writer-translators of the Butterfly School found a way to turn their works into affectively charged spaces which reflected quite freely on the key ethical dilemmas of the day. These emotions

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<sup>128</sup> The only translator and writer who fall within these categories but has been purposely left out is Lin Shu. This is because he has been quite thoroughly studied, although his translations share many characteristics with those of Bao Tianxiao and Zhou Shoujuan as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3.

might have been well beyond their own awareness, or against their own moral constraints, but these were the “lived,” complex emotions that existed. Only by identifying these emotions can we approach historical and literary reality more closely.

Focusing on the first type of literary work – creative translation – Chapter 3 “The Creation of Melodramatic Emotional Effects: Omission and Addition in Zhou Shoujuan’s Translations of Short Stories on Love” examines two translation strategies, i.e., the omission and addition, which Zhou Shoujuan adopted in his translation of short stories on love. The parts omitted were mostly details about cause-and-effect relationships and depictions of psychological complexity. By omitting these parts, Zhou made the story development more abrupt and sensational, increasing the melodramatic level of the story. The parts added were lavish descriptions of the physical beauty of female characters using intertextualized traditional modes of depiction, and the insertion of powerful emotional expressions. As a result of these two kinds of translation strategies, Zhou was capable of expressing excessive emotions in melodramatic ways, much more so than the original works. While Zhou sought to create melodramatic stories, he brought a kind of lavishly emotional literature into the horizon of ordinary readers and his contemporary writers, and with the huge popularity of his works, cast significant influence on modern Chinese fiction writing.

Having discussed the ways writers of popular love stories creatively translated foreign literatures, in chapters 4 and 5 I move on to discuss how those writers who had conventionally been considered more “progressive” intertextualized foreign texts in their own creations, or what I call “translated creations.” Chapter 4 “The Merging of Traditional Lyricism with Foreign Literary Texts in Su Manshu’s Fictional Writing: the Formation of Transcultural Lyricism” undertakes to illustrate how Su Manshu initiated new ways of emotional expression by inserting foreign, mainly Western-language literatures into his creations. Belonging to either Butterfly School or New Literature, yet eagerly sought after by both, Su might be the most apposite person to link the discussions of literary productions of both sides. His critical essays and translation prefaces reveal his advocacy of the ideal of a transcultural lyricism, i.e., emotional expression can and should cross the boundaries of language and culture. As a result, he eagerly and vigorously intertextualized and translated foreign literary works, combining them with distinctly Chinese lyrical modes, forming a new way of emotional expression that is both familiar and exotic, passionate and restrained, which might have been the very reason he was welcomed and approved by writers of both styles.

Continuing in the vein of Chapter 4, Chapter 5 “Finding the Right Medium for Emotional Expression: Intertextualizing Western Literary Texts in Yu Dafu’s Early Short Stories” examines Yu Dafu’s translated creations, namely, the way he constructed his early short stories by appropriating, on various levels, foreign literary

works and classical poetry. This chapter starts by painting an overall picture of Yu Dafu's contact with and criticism of foreign literatures, before moving onto an elaborate discussion of the background of Yu Dafu's literary activities. I argue that there was a significant method of emotional expression in classical Chinese fiction: using the poetic form when expressing emotions; and that this method transformed into quoting foreign works to express emotions. In explaining the cause of this transformation, I take into account the complicated relationship between language reform and literary movement in the first two decades of twentieth-century China, and how that prompted multi-lingual writers like Yu Dafu to seek new ways of expression from foreign literary precedents. The contemporary Japanese practice of quoting from Western literary works also led Japanese-educated Chinese writers like Yu Dafu to do the same. As a result, Yu often switched into English or German when arriving at an emotional climax in his early short stories. Yet the borrowing from foreign literary precedents should not blind us to the borrowing from classical Chinese literary conventions, as will be discussed regarding Su Manshu in Chapter 4. Yu's intertextuality of foreign works can be divided into three categories. The first category is the direct use of random foreign word as a way of emotional expression, in contrast with the second one where foreign poetic texts serve as a touchstone for initiating certain emotional ambiance. The third category is to loosely translate a piece or several pieces of foreign works to borrow their emotional ambiance, so as to construct his own works. These early works of Yu, in which he eagerly, if blindly, appropriated foreign texts, can be considered an initial stage of his literary practice, carried out in a

transitional stage of modern Chinese literature as a whole.

In sum, the ultimate aim of this thesis is to unveil the complex scene of the production of love fiction in China in the early decades of the twentieth century. In a historical era when translation of foreign literatures served as an inspiration and source of creativity for indigenous literature, it is crucial that we see the extent to which foreign literatures entered indigenous literature, and how powerfully literary traditions held their grounds. It was through a prolonged process of contact, resistance, compromise and acceptance that modern Chinese literature found itself the carrier of enormous creativity, which makes it such a fascinating subject of research.



## Chapter 2 Pseudo-Writing and Creating Channels for the Expression of Emotion

### 2.1 Introduction: Pseudo-Writing and the Creation of a Layered Ambivalence

In one of Bao Tianxiao's most well-known short stories "A Strand of Flax" (*Yilü ma* 一縷麻, 1909), the female protagonist Nüshi 女士 (a lady), who has received Western learning, is engaged to the son of a rich man of matching social status and wealth, yet she eventually finds out that her fiancé is mentally handicapped. In order to console her, her father shows her a translated story entitled "I am an Ill-fated Girl" (*Qie mingbo* 妾命薄, 1906), which tells the story of a girl who marries her fiancé after he becomes handicapped. The father says to his daughter:

自歐風輸入，拔禾植秀，貞節之行，往往嗤之如敝屣。曾亦知歐西女子未嘗無茹荼飲藥，艱苦自忍者。則亦付之運命也耳……<sup>1</sup>

Since the cultures of Europe were introduced into China, they planted weeds and got rid of crops. Virtuous conducts have often been discarded in contempt. Yet now we know there are women from Western Europe who can stand hardships and persevere. They have also entrusted themselves to the mercy of fate...<sup>2</sup>

The above passage is intrinsically ambivalent because while the father is apparently against Western learning, he uses a translated story to support traditional Chinese ethics and is therefore unconsciously taking Western ideas to be the superior model. Ambivalent feelings are conveyed throughout this short story. Having heard her father's words, the daughter replies that the couple in the story love each other dearly,

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<sup>1</sup> Bao Tianxiao 包天笑. "A Strand of Flax" (*Yilü ma* 一縷麻). *Fiction Times* (*Xiaoshuo shibao* 小說時報) 1909 (2): 1-5.

<sup>2</sup> All translations of the Chinese texts are mine, unless otherwise stated. My translations, like those of translators discussed in this thesis, are not a transparent rendering of the source texts, which are the Chinese texts in this case. Having found no better way to do it, I have tried my best to ensure my translations follow the Chinese texts as closely as possible.

unlike in China where the matchmakers impose marriages on young people; that she finds nothing wrong with the prevalent trend of divorce. Now it appears that Bao was in support of new learning and new ethics. However, as soon as the girl marries the retarded man, she catches a contagious disease which can be life-threatening. When no one dares to look after her for fear of infection, her husband volunteers to do so, revealing a selfless love. When she finally recovers, she learns that her husband has passed away, having been infected by the disease while looking after her. She feels guilty and sad, turns down the proposal of the man she has truly loved before her marriage and is determined to stay single for all her life.

So far, the emotions conveyed by the story seem to suggest the virtuous sentiments of gratitude and self-sacrifice.<sup>3</sup> However, Bao does not end his story with the girl's selfless decision. Near the ending of the story, Bao describes in detail how every time the girl comes back home to visit her father, she carefully avoids the man she used to love. This detail betrays the fact that the girl is struggling with her true feelings, and although the author tried to demonstrate that she has achieved tranquility of mind, it is not difficult for readers to perceive her subjugation of her true love to ethical propriety. Here, a tension is revealed between the message the author articulated and the underlying, inner voice of subjectivity that seems to be reaching for expression.

Similar intra-textual debates appeared not infrequently in the literary creations of

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<sup>3</sup> For an elaborate discussion of the "virtuous sentiment" in early twentieth-century Chinese fiction, see Haiyan Lee, *Revolution of the Heart*, 60-94.

Bao's cohort, dubbed the "old school" (*jiupai* 舊派) by their May Fourth counterparts. These debates reflect the conflicts between the writers' implicit, sometimes unconscious feelings, and the ones they chose to articulate more forcefully. Therefore the story of "A Strand of Flax" is but one example of how writers managed to express ambiguous emotions in their stories. By identifying these emotions as contradictory to the articulated ones often buttressed by plots, readers can gain a deeper insight into the emotions (including "thought-related" ones) that the writers unwittingly convey.<sup>4</sup> It is very important to identify the inconsistency embodied in the articulations of these authors and the unconscious emotions their works betrayed. In Raymond Williams' famous proposition of "the structure of feeling," he points out that when studying culture and society, it is crucial that adequate attention is given to "meanings and values as they are actively lived and felt,"<sup>5</sup> instead of constraining our understanding with more formal, systematic concepts such as "world-view" or "ideology," which suggest a past, fixed sense. He posits that this idea "has a special relevance to art and literature, where the true social content is in a significant number of cases of this present and affective kind, which cannot without loss be reduced to belief-systems, institutions, or explicit general relationships, though it may include all these as lived and experienced, with or without tension, as it also evidently includes elements of social and material (physical or natural) experience which may lie beyond, or be

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<sup>4</sup> "Thought-related" emotion is one category of emotion. See Wierzbicka, *Emotions Across Languages and Cultures*, 24. This idea corroborates Haiyan Lee's proposition of "virtuous sentiments" which are sentiments informed by virtue and moral codes. See Haiyan Lee, *Revolution of the Heart*, 60-94.

<sup>5</sup> Raymond Williams. *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1977. p.132.

uncovered or imperfectly covered by, the elsewhere recognizable systematic elements.”<sup>6</sup> Although Williams is mainly concerned with the “structure of feeling” in the broader social-cultural context, his ideas can well be extended to discuss individual literary works. Just like Williams’ emphasis on shifting, lived meanings and values when trying to truly understand a society and culture, I would like to stress the ephemeral, changing, implicit and sometimes camouflaged emotions hidden behind the apparently clear-cut stories of the Butterfly School writers.<sup>7</sup>

Similarly, in a recent review of Haiyan Lee’s work *Revolution of the Heart: A Genealogy of Love in China, 1900-1950*, Charles Laughlin notes that:

One of the pitfalls of discourse analysis is that by restricting analysis to what is explicit and documentable, either in literary works or in criticism and social commentary, it is easy to overlook what is implied, as well as meanings that may not be consciously intended by writers. This would actually seem to run counter to Raymond Williams’ notion of the structure of feeling, which he notably describes as being “in solution” and not yet “precipitated,” good metaphors for unintended, unconscious, or at least implicit notions and phenomena. If we have to limit ourselves to what writers were consciously aware of and able to articulate, we would miss a lot of what is historically and culturally significant in literature and its criticism, and at least we are probably missing Raymond Williams’ point.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 133.

<sup>7</sup> It is necessary to point out that although Bao Tianxiao was often placed foremost on the list of Mandarin Ducks and Butterfly School writers (and judging from his own article, he was well aware of it), he did not seem to consider himself a member of the school. However, he seemed to accept the title of a Butterfly writer, if only reluctantly. See Bao Tianxiao, “The Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School and I” (*Wo yu Yuanyang hudie pai* 我與鴛鴦蝴蝶派), in *Research Materials on the “Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School”* (*Yuanyang hudie pai yanjiu ziliao* 鴛鴦蝴蝶派研究資料). Ed. Wei Shaochang 魏紹昌. Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 1984. pp. 178-179. Ning Yuan 寧遠 posits that although Bao Tianxiao and Zhou Shoujuan published many works, their styles were not the most typical of the school; the most representative of early Butterfly School were Xu Zhenya and Li Dingyi, and Zhang Henshui represented later Butterfly School. Ning Yuan 寧遠. “On the Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School” (*Guanyu Yuanyang hudie pai* 關於鴛鴦蝴蝶派), in Ibid., 176-177.

<sup>8</sup> MCLC Resource Center Publication (July 2011)  
<http://mclc.osu.edu/rc/pubs/reviews/laughlin.htm> Accessed 30 Jul. 2011.

As Charles Laughlin rightly points out, the implied and unconscious meanings, including emotions, which are often neglected, in fact constitute a crucial aspect of our understanding of literary works. It is particularly true, perhaps, in the case of the literary scene in China in early twentieth century. Chinese literature at the time underwent significant changes, both in terms of its absorption of a wide range of foreign literatures and in terms of its re-evaluation of its own literary tradition. The complexity and multi-cultural dimensions of the literary scene prompted writers to intertextualize foreign works, translated and untranslated ones, into their literary creations, by which means they conveyed complex and ambivalent emotions.

A case in point takes us back to “A Strand of Flax,” in which the translated story titled “I am an Ill-fated Girl” was used as a discursive tool by the father in order to persuade his daughter to marry the disabled man. What Bao did not make clear was the identity of the translator of “I am an Ill-fated Girl,” referring to it only as “a translated story published on *Eastern Times* (*Shibao* 時報) in Shanghai at the time.”<sup>9</sup> In fact, Bao translated “I am an Ill-fated Girl” himself, and then intertextualized the very story in his own fictional narrative.<sup>10</sup> By not revealing the translator’s real identity, he endowed the translated story with more authority than it would otherwise have had. Then by using the translated story to develop his plots, he was able to articulate different emotional states with greater subtlety. This direct utilization of translated

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<sup>9</sup> Bao, “A Strand of Flax,” 1-5.

<sup>10</sup> Bao Tianxiao. “I am an Ill-fated Girl” (*Qie mingbo* 妾命薄). *Eastern Times* (*Shibao* 時報), 1906, page one: serialized from Mar. 4<sup>th</sup> to Mar. 7<sup>th</sup>.

stories as a discursive strategy is perfectly analogous to translators' indirect utilization of the process of translating/rewriting to express sometimes provocative emotional states without arousing too much suspicion.

The rather lengthy textual analysis above captures what I am about to elaborate in this chapter, namely, the way writers of the Butterfly School opened up a channel to articulate a range of complex, even subversive emotions in their literary works by way of pseudowriting. Pseudowritings – with pseudotranslation and pseudocreation as the extremes – are literary texts which contain multiple layers of meaning as a result of the author's manipulation. I begin my discussion of pseudowriting with two terms – pseudotranslation and pseudocreation – that have already been widely used in translation studies, before proposing new terms that possess a broader connotation. By pseudotranslation, I refer to works that are actually created but which masquerade as translations. By pseudocreation, I refer to works that are in fact translated, but pretend to be created.<sup>11</sup> Being the extreme cases, these two kinds of pseudowriting cannot fully contain the translation and creative activities of the time, or even later times. Therefore, pseudotranslation and pseudocreation can be considered as two poles, or contrasting extremes, marking the borders of the dynamic spectrum of literary texts, as shown in the diagram in the Introduction. Between these two extremes, i.e., within this spectrum, there are literary works composed of various proportions of translation

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<sup>11</sup> The concept of pseudotranslation varies in the works of different scholars. Some scholars take it to indicate both creations that pretend to be translations, and free translations that do not follow the source text closely. See for instance, Douglas Robinson, "Pseudotranslation," *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, 183-185.

and creation. As I propose later in the chapter, much early twentieth-century Chinese literature can be considered either as “creative translation” (i.e., translations which do not follow the original text closely) or as “translated creation” (i.e., indigenous creations which draw inspirations from foreign texts), two broader categories which fill the spectrum. Literary works under both categories are composed by way of translation and intertextuality, which are two ways of creative textual production, by which writer-translators engage with both foreign literary works and indigenous traditions.

This chapter is mainly concerned with the translation activities of two writer-translators often associated with the Butterfly School, Bao Tianxiao and Li Dingyi, whose works offer apposite examples for “creative translation” and “translated creation.” I first provide two miniature textual examples to illustrate the meaning of the narrower terms of pseudocreation and pseudotranslation. Then I introduce the methodological framework of this chapter, discussing the theories of pseudotranslation and pseudocreation. Afterwards, I provide a brief account of the Butterfly School writers’ mastery of foreign languages to delineate the background of their translations and compositions. This is followed by two elaborate textual analyses of Bao’s creative translation of *Joan Haste*, and Li Dingyi’s translated creation of *A Fair in Peril*, to examine how writer-translators inserted virtuous sentiments into their texts via pseudowriting.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Note that this book title may strike readers as odd at present, but I will explain it later in the chapter.

## 2.2 Two Miniature Textual Analyses to Illustrate the Methodology

### 2.2.1 Pseudocreation: *Xin'er Goes to School*

Bao Tianxiao's translation of Edmondo De Amicis's (1846-1908) *Heart* (Cuore, 1886) – *Xin'er Goes to School* (*Xin'er jiuxue ji* 馨兒就學記, 1910) – gives every appearance of an authentic Chinese literary creation. Most importantly, on the cover of the novel, it conspicuously states: “composed by Tianxiao Sheng” (天笑生著).<sup>13</sup> The presentation of a work of translation as a work of creation indicates that it is a typical work of pseudocreation. In this pseudocreation, Bao substituted the name of the protagonist with that of his own son, and the Italian surroundings with Chinese ones. He felt comfortable with, even proud of what he did with the original work, as he wrote later in a memoir:

我是從日本文轉譯得來的，日本人當時翻譯歐美小說，他們把書中的人名、習俗、文物、起居一切改成日本化。我又一切都改變為中國化。此書本為日記體，而我又改為我中國的夏曆，有數節，全是我的創作，寫到我的家事了。如有一節寫清明時節的“掃墓”，全以我家為藍本……<sup>14</sup>

I retranslated the work from Japanese. At the time, when Japanese people translated European and American novels, they Japanized all the names, customs, objects and lifestyles. I in turn Sinicized all of them. This work was originally written in diary form, but I altered it to fit the Chinese lunar calendar. There were several sections that were completely my creations, which discussed matters in my household. For instance, there was one section describing the sweeping of graves during the *Qingming* festival, which was entirely modeled on my own family...

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<sup>13</sup> Tianxiao Sheng is Bao's pseudonym. Xu Weimin 徐為民. *Dictionary of Pseudonyms of Early Modern and Modern Personnels* (*Zhongguo jinxindai renwu bieming cidian* 中國近現代人物別名詞典). Shenyang: Shenyang chubanshe, 1993. p. 312.

<sup>14</sup> Bao Tianxiao. *Memoirs of Shadow Bracelet Mansion* (*Chuanying lou huiyilu* 釧影樓回憶錄). Beijing: Zhongguo da baikequanshu chubanshe, 2008. p. 384.



Although Bao obviously followed the plot of the source text, he appropriated it to such an extent that the translation could be easily taken as a creation. He even added an abrupt ending to the last “monthly story”<sup>15</sup> of the book. The story is about a boy and a girl on a sinking ship. They have just got to know each other when there is a disastrous storm and the ship begins to sink. When only one seat is left on the lifeboat, the boy throws the girl towards it, giving the last chance of survival to her. Bao followed the plot of the original work until the very end with the disappearance of the ship into the sea. Then he added a brief ending, saying that later, when the girl’s parents plan an arranged marriage for her, she firmly refuses, pledging never to marry and to spend the rest of her life supporting her parents, practicing abstinence from meat and serving Buddha.<sup>16</sup> This ending closely resembles that of “A Strand of Flax,” in its spirit of self-sacrifice and gratitude reflected by a vow of celibacy. It seems that for Bao, the sentiment of gratitude can always compel a female to sacrifice her lifelong happiness, particularly the perspective of a happy marriage, for the man to whom she owes gratitude. Love is completely overridden by gratitude whenever there is a battle between the two.<sup>17</sup> In fact, gratitude takes the place of romantic love and becomes love itself. Published just a few months after “A Strand of Flax,” the last story of *Heart* could naturally have been imprinted with Bao’s philosophy of “love as gratitude.” By creatively transforming the source text, Bao inserted the emotion of

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<sup>15</sup> In *Heart*, apart from the diaries and letters written by the protagonist and his family, there are 9 short stories told consecutively every month, which are termed “monthly stories.” Edmondo De Amicis. *Cuore: the Heart of a Boy*. Trans. Desmond Hartley. London: Peter Owen Publishers, 1986.

<sup>16</sup> Bao Tianxiao. *Xin’er Goes to School (Xin’er jiaoxue ji 馨兒就學記)*. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1910. p. 77.

<sup>17</sup> Bao Tianxiao’s fondness of the “sacrificial mode” can also be reflected by his translation entitled *Orchid in an Empty Valley (Konggu lan 空谷蘭)*. The source text itself was an imitation of *East Lynne* by Ellen Wood (1814-1887), better known as “Mrs. Henry Wood,” a Victorian woman writer. This novel has been considered an example of “the sacrifice paradigm,” see Elizabeth Ann Kaplan. “The Maternal Melodrama: The Sacrifice Paradigm: Ellen Wood’s *East Lynne* and its Play and Film Versions.” *Motherhood and Representation: The Mother in Popular Culture and Melodrama*. Ed. Elizabeth Ann Kaplan. London: Routledge, 1992. pp. 76-106.

“love as gratitude” into the translated story. It is an example of the way translators can intensify, transform, or offset emotions expressed in the source texts by way of pseudocreation.

### 2.2.2 Pseudotranslation: *Free Marriage*

Pseudotranslation is the opposite extreme to pseudocreation. The novel *Free Marriage* (*Ziyou jiehun* 自由結婚, 1903) “translated” by “The Flower of Freedom” (*Ziyou Hua* 自由花) claimed to be a work of translation.<sup>18</sup> The “translator” claimed that the title of the original work was *Free Marriage* and that the author was a Jewish writer named “Vancouver.”<sup>19</sup> This novel was later revealed to be the work of Zhang Zhaotong 張肇桐 (1881?-1938), who wrote it while studying at Waseda University in Japan. Undoubtedly, the “translator” was well aware of the conventions of translations at that time, as he provided readers with not only an English title and the name of the original author, but also a letter from that purported author, Mr. John C. Vancouver, written in English.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, a casual reading of the novel would reveal its patriotic theme. The protagonist names himself “Yellow Peril” (*Huang Huo* 黃禍), so as to motivate himself to toil hard for the survival of the Chinese nation.

The female protagonist devotes herself to the revolutionary cause, even joined an

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<sup>18</sup> *Ziyou Hua* 自由花. *Free Marriage* (*Ziyou jiehun* 自由結婚). Ziyoushe: 1903.

<sup>19</sup> Hu Cui’e 胡翠娥. “Periphery that is not Periphery: On Pseudotranslation and Pseudocreation in the Fiction Writing and Fiction Translation of Late Qing” (*Bushi bianyuan de bianyuan--lun wan Qing xiaoshuo he xiaoshuo fanyi zhong de weiyi he weizhu* 不是邊緣的邊緣——論晚清小說和小說翻譯中的偽譯和偽著). *Comparative Literature in China* (*Zhongguo bijiao wenxue* 中國比較文學) 3 (2003): 69-85

<sup>20</sup> For a detailed discussion of *Ziyou jiehun*, see Michael Gibbs Hill. “No True Men in the State: Pseudo/translation and ‘Feminine’ Voice in the Late Qing.” *Journal of Modern Literature in Chinese* / *Xiandai Zhongwen wenxue xuebao* 10. 2 (2011): 125-148

all-female army which aims to save the nation. The theme of saving the Chinese nation from internal corruption and external imperialism was a typical one at the turn of the twentieth century. Yet the author pretended that the work was originally written by a Jewish writer, so that the story of the Jewish people losing their country would be all the more shocking to Chinese people, and thus better suited to his intention of warning and motivating his compatriots. This is a typical example of writers using the strategy of pseudotranslation to endow their works with more cultural authority which is associated with the cultural or literary contexts of foreign works.

### **2.3 Pseudocreation and Pseudotranslation: Theoretical Background**

From the above examples, it should already be apparent that there is some ambivalence between the two terms pseudocreation and pseudotranslation. As I suggested in the “Introduction” chapter, within the framework of intertextuality and translation presented there, one might even say that translation is always both pseudotranslation and pseudocreation. This is ultimately because of the vague boundary between translation and creation.<sup>21</sup> The ambivalence between the two terms is the reason for the different definitions of “pseudotranslation,” which is used by some scholars to include what I call “pseudocreation.”<sup>22</sup> For reasons of clarity, I refer to a translation as pseudocreation when it is manifestly presented as a created work,

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<sup>21</sup> Marilyn Rose posits that there is no clear boundary between translation and creation, only an interliminal space. See Marilyn Rose. *Translation and Literary Criticism: Translation as Analysis*. Manchester: St. Jerome, 1997. p. 8.

<sup>22</sup> See for instance Hill, “No True Men in the State,” 125–148; also see Footnote 11.

and a literary work as pseudotranslation when it is manifestly presented as a work of translation.

In *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, Gideon Toury defines pseudotranslations, or fictitious translations, as “texts which have been presented as translations with no corresponding source texts in other languages ever having existed – hence no factual ‘transfer operations’ and translation relationships.”<sup>23</sup> The immediate problem that follows his definition is the sometimes impossible task of discovering the “original work.” It is much easier, and therefore gives the researcher much more self-assurance, to say that an original work does exist, certifying that the translation is an “authentic” one, than it is for him/her to say the original work does not exist, since the republic of letters consists of an ocean of secondary works and anonymous authors, whose identities and pseudonyms have long ago receded into oblivion. Who can say with absolute confidence that a corresponding original work never existed? Even if such a work never existed, could there not have been a similar work? Or what if the “translator” chose various parts of different literary works, translated them and made them into one collage?<sup>24</sup> This is the dilemma pseudotranslation causes for its scholars, yet which can be solved by taking into account theories of intertextuality. The notion of intertextuality not only solves the

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<sup>23</sup> Gideon Toury. *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1995. p. 40.

<sup>24</sup> Toury does acknowledge the fact that “there may exist myriad pseudotranslations, with respect to which the mystification has not been dispelled, and maybe never will be. These texts can only be tackled as translations whose sources are unknown; but then, so many authentic translations are in that same position, and there is no real way of distinguishing between the two groups.” Ibid., 40-41.

problem of identifying a work of pseudotranslation, but also interprets the ambivalent relationship between pseudocreation and pseudotranslation. If every text consists of a number of other texts, then all writing becomes pseudowriting because it inevitably borrows or steals from pre-existing texts. While pseudocreation is a translation that intertextually engages with indigenous traditions, pseudotranslation is a literary creation that intertextually engages with foreign elements. Just as there is no clear boundary between translation and creation, there is no clear-cut boundary between pseudotranslation and pseudocreation. Instead, these two kinds of pseudowriting open up what Marilyn Rose calls an “interliminal space” where literary creativity thrives and old cultures are rejuvenated.<sup>25</sup>

Some scholars suggest that both pseudotranslations and authentic<sup>26</sup> translations perform the same cultural and historical functions and therefore can be studied in the same way. Hu Cui’e posits that “seen from their cultural functions, pseudotranslations and pseudocreations are only conclusions drawn by later scholars after archival work, yet at the time when they were published, they were regarded by the authors as translations and creations and were thus received by readers. Therefore they performed the same role as authentic translations and creations in the evolution of the culture and literature of that nation.”<sup>27</sup> However, I argue that whereas it might be true

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<sup>25</sup> See Luo Dan 羅丹. “Study of Pseudotranslation in Interliminal Space” (*Yuji kongjian de wei yi yanjiu* 閼際空間的偽譯研究). *Journal of Xi’an International Studies University* 16. 3 (2008): 45-66

<sup>26</sup> Given notions of intertextuality, the word “authentic” is a problematic term. Being aware of its problem, I am using it for the sake of brevity. I use it to refer to “self-consciously intentional” creations and translations.

<sup>27</sup> Hu, “Periphery that is not Periphery: On Pseudotranslation and Pseudocreation in the Fiction

that pseudotranslation and authentic translation share similar cultural and social functions, they are essentially different in their textual production processes. Moreover, while I agree that the real identity of a pseudotranslation is usually discovered (assuming that it does get discovered at all) at a much later time, the roles pseudotranslations and authentic translations played at the given time could not have been exactly the same. A pseudotranslation is branded with indigenous ideology and poetics that are profoundly different from an authentic one, therefore the impact it has on readers is oriented and controlled by the “translator,” which is a more direct manipulation of literary influences than that which we find in an authentic translation. The case of pseudocreation versus authentic creation needs to be understood along similar lines.

It seems to me that rather than treating pseudotranslations/pseudocreations and authentic translations/creations as equal, a more effective approach to studying them is to compare them respectively. As for pseudotranslations, texts whose very nature resides in literary creation, researchers can compare them with authentic creations by the same authors and examine the motivations behind their choice of pseudo-writing. As for pseudocreations, which are in fact translations or rewritings, it would be revealing to compare them with authentic translations of the original works, even the original works themselves, since this allows us to glimpse into what was lost or added, either intentionally or unwittingly, during the rewriting process. This can be a useful

way to gain a deeper insight into the ways various cultures function when they encounter one another.

In love novels of early twentieth-century China, it was exactly through the processes of pseudowriting that writers found a channel to articulate emotional states, both explicitly and implicitly. It is particularly important to note the implicit articulations of emotion in works of pseudowriting, as these emotions were either against the dominant ethics or unwittingly expressed, yet may in fact represent important emotional states. The sentiments expressed by the Butterfly School writers discussed in this chapter are mainly virtuous sentiments informed by Confucian ethics. They are what Haiyan Lee calls “the Confucian structure of feeling.”<sup>28</sup>

## **2.4 The Butterfly School Writers’ Mastery of Foreign Languages**

Before proceeding to the methodological discussion of pseudotranslation and pseudocreation, some background information is necessary on the familiarity of Butterfly School writers with foreign literary works. In sharp contrast to the “backwardness” or the stark negation of progressive and Western ideals that were once associated with them, many writers of the Butterfly School (as well as those less closely associated with this school) had both the access to foreign fiction and the ability to understand foreign languages. For instance, Bao Tianxiao studied English

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<sup>28</sup> See Haiyan Lee, *Revolution of the Heart*, 60-94.

and French, and his level of Japanese proficiency was quite high;<sup>29</sup> Li Dingyi had good command of English as well as a wife who was able to read French;<sup>30</sup> and Zhou Shoujuan self-studied English but was as good at it as any of his contemporaries. The ability to understand foreign languages (or in the case of Lin Shu, to obtain assistance from people who could) allowed these writers the opportunity to absorb ideas and inspiration from foreign literatures. Yet more than simply reading foreign literatures, they translated a large number of foreign literary works into Chinese, ranging from love novels, adventure stories, education novels, detective stories and so on. Given their obvious preference for the love theme in their literary creations, the wide range of foreign works they chose to translate is somewhat surprising. It is even more striking that they absorbed new writing techniques, fresh ideas and styles from their own translations, and used them in their own literary creations.<sup>31</sup> Although these writers generally did not have the experience of overseas study, unlike many May Fourth writers, this does not always create an absolute distinction between the two.<sup>32</sup> On the contrary, the open-mindedness and critical evaluation of foreign ideas is all the more remarkable in these writers given their lack of direct immersion in foreign cultures.

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<sup>29</sup> Guo, *A Survey of Early Modern Literary Translations in China*, 343.

<sup>30</sup> Li Wenqian 李文倩. "A Brief Biography of Li Dingyi" (*Li Dingyi zhuanlüe* 李定夷傳略). *Historical Materials on New Literature (Xinwenxue shiliao* 新文學史料) 4 (2009): 92-106.

<sup>31</sup> Shen Yanbing 沈雁冰. "Naturalism and Modern Chinese Fiction" (*Ziran zhuyi yu Zhongguo xiandai xiaoshuo* 自然主義與中國現代小說). *Literary Materials on "the Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School"* (*Yuanyang hudie pai wenxue ziliao* 鴛鴦蝴蝶派文學資料). Eds. Rui Heshi 芮和師 et al. Beijing: Zhishi chanquan chubanshe, 2010. pp. 687.

<sup>32</sup> Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, 177.



In the following part of the chapter, I analyze Bao Tianxiao's translation of *Joan Haste* and Li Dingyi's translation of *A Fair in Peril* to examine how authors discovered broader possibilities of emotional expression through pseudowriting, and to illustrate how these ambivalent and conflicting sentiments can be better understood by considering these works as pseudowriting.

## **2.5 Textual Analysis:**

### **2.5.1 Creative Translation**

#### **2.5.1.1 Creative Translation in Early Twentieth-Century China**

The situation of the Chinese literary field at the beginning of the twentieth century provides us with a fertile ground to study pseudowriting. The soil is so fertile that a simple dichotomy between pseudotranslation and pseudocreation seems to be an oversimplified framework for the complexity of the literary scene. For instance, although many translations at the time were remarkably transformed and domesticated by Chinese translators, they cannot be adequately contained by the label of pseudocreation because there appears to be a lack of intentional camouflage in such an undertaking. The notion of authorship at the time in China differed significantly from the modern concept, and there was not yet a clear distinction between creation and translation.<sup>33</sup> Many works have the name of a Chinese writer as the “author,”

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<sup>33</sup> For an account of the changing perception of authorship in early twentieth-century China, see Gamsa, “Translation and Alleged Plagiarism of Russian Literature in Republican China,” 151-171.

with a foreign writer as the “original author.” It seems obvious that many Chinese writers did not purposely hide the fact that the works were originally written by foreign authors. Moreover, the vast majority of such works demonstrate a combination of translation and creation, which further undermines the validity of the term “pseudocreation.” Su Manshu’s translation of *Les Misérables* added plots that Victor Hugo would never have imagined. He created a chivalrous man named Ming Nande 明男德 who rescued Jean Valjean from prison but was stabbed by the latter who robbed him of his money.<sup>34</sup> Su’s sarcasm was no doubt directed at the national character of the Chinese people, and he was not alone in doing this. Translators like Lin Shu and Li Dingyi added their remarks here and there while translating to express feelings not necessarily those intended by the foreign authors, omitting plots “morally inappropriate” for their compatriots and adding those that they found appealing or beneficial. All in all, if we take pseudocreation to refer to works that follow the definition of translation in its strictest sense, it cannot contain the large numbers of translation-creation that prevailed at the time. Therefore I propose the term “creative translation” not only to cover pseudocreation, but also to include other texts which were adapted by the translators but did not present themselves as created works. This term is capable of encompassing a broad range of literary texts on the spectrum shown in the Introduction.

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<sup>34</sup> Victor Hugo. *Les Misérables*. Trans. Su Manshu 蘇曼殊. Su Manshu. *A Complete Anthology of Su Manshu’s Works (Su Manshu quanji 蘇曼殊全集)*. Ed. Liu Yazi 柳亞子. Vol. 2. Beijing: Beijingshi Zhongguo shudian, 1985. p. 149.

### 2.5.1.2 Bao Tianxiao and the Secrets of Joan Haste

During the last few years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, H. R. Haggard's (1856-1925) love novel *Joan Haste* was brought into China.<sup>35</sup> The first translators of this book were Yang Zilin 楊紫麟 (dates unknown) and Bao Tianxiao.<sup>36</sup> Yang was at the time a student of Shanghai Hongkou College of China and the West (虹口中西書院), who was one day wandering in the streets of Shanghai when he accidentally found this book in a second-hand bookstore.<sup>37</sup> Later, while killing time before a rendezvous with his cousin Bao, he started to read this novel and found it immensely interesting. As a result, he read and translated this book with Bao. That autumn, when Yang took sick leave and stayed at home, he finished translating the whole book.<sup>38</sup> After Bao Tianxiao revised the translation, it was serialized in *Journal of Translated Works for Promoting Learning* (*Lixue yibian* 勵學譯編) and was published by Civilization Press (*Wenming shuju* 文明書局) as a separate edition in 1903.<sup>39</sup> However, the book

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<sup>35</sup> For a brief introduction of Haggard's life, see John Sutherland. *The Longman Companion to Victorian Fiction*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2009. pp. 269-270.

<sup>36</sup> Bao Tianxiao turned out to be the more famous of the two. His translation career eventually prospered. By 1916, he had published about 36 kinds of translated novels. See Chen Pingyuan, *The Starting Point of Modern Chinese Fiction*, 52.

<sup>37</sup> There were many second-hand bookstores in Shanghai in early twentieth century. One of the most famous was the book store run by a Japanese named Uchiyama Kanzō 內山完造 (1885-1959). For a detailed introduction of this bookstore as the hub of Sino-Japanese literary relations in the 1920s and 1930s, see Christopher T. Keaveney. *Beyond Brushtalk: Sino-Japanese Literary Exchange in the Interwar Period*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009. pp. 23-44.

<sup>38</sup> According to the preface written by Yang, it was he who translated most of the novel before asking Bao to make omissions, additions and improvements as he saw fit. This was because Bao was better at writing than he was. H. R. Haggard. *Joan Haste* 迦因小傳. Trans. Panxi Zi 蟠溪子 and Tianxiao Sheng 天笑生, Shanghai: Wenming shuju, 1903. p. 1. According to this account, Yang must have been responsible for the initial translation, similar to what Lin Shu's oral translators did. Bao was in a similar situation as Lin, who added remarks and was responsible for the final presentation of the novel.

<sup>39</sup> At the time, Bao Tianxiao was running a small bookstore in Suzhou, where he edited and published this magazine. Most of the stories he translated were popular Japanese novels which he obtained from second-hand book stores in Shanghai and Suzhou. See Bao, *Memoirs of Shadow Bracelet Mansion*, 161-174.

that Yang purchased was only half of the novel. He claimed to have sent a letter to Europe in order to acquire the full edition but did not get any reply.<sup>40</sup>

The novel tells the tragic love story of Joan Haste and Henry Graves. Joan is brought up as an average village girl, though she is exceptionally beautiful, noble and intelligent, not unlike a lady brought up in the upper-middle class. She encounters Captain Graves one day outside the village, in the ruins of a deserted abbey. The two fall in love at first sight. When Henry tries to climb up a tower to fetch some jackdaws to please Joan, he slips, falls onto a sharp stone and breaks his leg. Anxious about his welfare, Joan has him sent to her own house to look after him. Over the next days while Henry convalesces, they grow more and more closely bound to each other. Henry's intention to marry Joan, however, is met with fierce opposition from his family, who after the death of his father and the dissipation of his elder brother will go bankrupt if Henry does not marry Emma Levinger, daughter of Mr. Levinger, a rich gentleman who has also been Joan's financial supporter and guardian due to some unknown reason. With a heroic spirit of self-sacrifice, Joan leaves Henry to seek a job in London, only to find herself pregnant with Henry's baby. The baby unfortunately does not survive her infancy. Finding herself still in love with Henry, Joan decides to marry Rock, an eccentric local farmer who has been her ardent pursuer, so that she can prevent herself from giving in to Henry's proposal. Disappointed and angry, Henry marries Miss Levinger to save his family from ruin. However, lying on his

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<sup>40</sup> Haggard, *Joan Haste*. Trans. Panxi Zi and Tianxiao Sheng, 1.

deathbed, Mr. Levinger confesses to Joan that she is in fact his legitimate daughter, and that he has been trying to marry Emma to someone with social status like Henry only because *she* is the illegitimate daughter and needs protection. Desperate, Joan cannot help telling Henry the truth and both of them are deeply distressed. Unfortunately, when Rock finds out that Joan still loves Henry, he grows mad with fury and kills Joan with an errant bullet which he thinks is directed at Henry. Rock runs away completely insane and Joan dies in the arms of Henry, ending her life in misery.<sup>41</sup>

Since Yang and Bao were not able to obtain the first half of the book, their translation started from the second half of the book, i.e., Joan's separation from Henry and her experience of hardship and desperation in London. Previous scholars have questioned the authenticity of Yang and Bao's claim that they could not find the first half, presuming that they omitted the first half in order to hide the plots about Joan getting pregnant before getting married.<sup>42</sup> But it has now been clarified that it is most likely that they did not get hold of the first half of the original novel, because the plots about Joan's pregnancy appeared not only in the first half, but also in large part in the second half.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Henry Rider Haggard. *Joan Haste*. London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1895.

<sup>42</sup> For instance, in *Research on Lin's Translated Novels*, Han Hongju referred to Yang and Bao's claim of having lost the first half of the book as a "lie." See Han Hongju 韓洪舉. *Research on Lin's Translated Novels* (*Lin yi xiaoshuo yanjiu* 林譯小說研究). Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2005. p. 143; also see Wang-chi Wong. "An Act of Violence," 32.

<sup>43</sup> See Liu Qian. "On the Creative Treason in Yang and Bao's Translation of *Joan Haste* and Related Issues" (*Lun Yang, Bao yi Jiayin xiaozhuan de chuangzaoxing panni jiqi xiangguan wenti* 論楊、包譯《迦因小傳》的創造性叛逆及其相關問題). *Journal of Chuxiong Normal University* 25. 11 (2010): 51-61.

Nevertheless, despite the fact that Yang and Bao did not omit the first half of the book on purpose, they did try their best to preserve Joan's ethical purity.<sup>44</sup> They made many changes to the original work and added new passages to it, so as to convey virtuous sentiments through the self-sacrificing and morally-correct Joan. For instance, according to Haggard's work, after Joan goes to London, she is taken good care of by the Birds (a kindhearted seamstress, her deaf-mute husband and daughter) and is employed temporarily by a clothes store. Soon, to her great dismay, she finds herself pregnant. Haggard then went into a detailed description of Joan's psychological experiences. At first she feels extremely ashamed and even tries several times to commit suicide, when suddenly she has an epiphany: to be a mother is nothing to be ashamed of. She can love and feed the baby for Henry's sake. Then she hires a cart to go back to the Birds' home. The story described Joan's psychological changes from a girl to a woman, and the painful awakening of love. Her health deteriorates due to her longing for Henry and overwhelming mental stress. However, this five-page long description was omitted by Yang and Bao, who substituted it with the comments of Tianxiao Sheng:

天笑生曰：人至憤懣失意無可告語，及思慮過度時，往往有此種境界：腦筋失紐，百骸任行，坐則如針刺氈，立則如虎履尾。熟視無睹，傾耳不聞。迦因以嬌荏女郎，久藏深閨尤恐被風吹去，一旦遭此磨折，何能忍此摧辱？我知其不遇意中人，其病象亦已流露。然由是而病而死，玉殞花銷，汶汶黃土。

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<sup>44</sup> Compared with Yang and Bao, Lin Shu's later translation dealt with Joan's premarital pregnancy more directly, although he also took pains to eliminate scenes that contained blatant intimacy. See Liu Hongtao and Liu Qian, "Creative Treason in Lin Shu's Translation of *Joan Haste*," 44-51.

造物者雖以恩迦因，實以酷迦因也。<sup>45</sup>

So said Tianxiao Sheng: When a person is extremely depressed and worried, yet without any means to express his sorrow, this is what usually happens: his mind is blurred; his body is out of control; he cannot sit, nor can he stand; he cannot see things nor can he hear. Joan is but a delicate young girl, brought up in the seclusion of her boudoir, so fragile that a gust of wind might blow her away. Once such misfortune befalls her, how can she stand such torture and shame? I know since she could not meet her beloved one, the symptoms of her illness already appeared. If she falls ill and dies because of it, shattering the jade and demolishing the flower, disgraced by yellow earth, then Providence gave Joan much boon only to torture her.

Here, Bao tried to explain the cause of Joan's later disease as mental anxiety, blurring the cause of her anxiety as "such misfortune." Then, he rewrote Joan's attempted suicide as a scene in which she stands on Westminster Bridge, watching cars come and go. Thus, significant plots such as the discovery of pregnancy, the attempt at suicide and the final success of self-redemption were entirely dismissed by the translators. Instead of telling his readers what exactly happened to Joan, Bao proceeded to an elaborate description of the emotion of depression. Using hypogrammatic expressions such as "the seclusion of her boudoir" (*shengui* 深閨), "shattering the jade and demolishing the flower" (*yusun huaxiao* 玉殞花銷), Bao reminded readers of the many tragical love stories in traditional Chinese literature in which the beautiful yet delicate female protagonists die of sorrow.

This perhaps explains how Bao got away with this rather ambiguous and unconvincing explanation of Joan's deteriorating health and depressed mood. His interpretation is coherent with the traditional narration in Chinese love stories which

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<sup>45</sup> Haggard, *Joan Haste*. Trans. Panxi Zi and Tianxiao Sheng, 35-36.

describe young women (and men) pining away over unfulfilled love. There does not need to be a particular incident to make them unhappy, and the very fact that they are longing for a beloved one can make them pine away and die. As Haiyan Lee notes in *Revolution of the Heart*, in the early twentieth century “it was declared (as well as demanded) that love was the sole principle underscoring all social relationships.”<sup>46</sup> Love among men and women was considered to be of particular importance among the Butterfly School writers of romantic love stories. In translating Haggard’s novel, Bao inserted the emotion of “sorrow caused by love” which closely resembles other love stories of the Butterfly School.

By tactfully editing and rewriting the original story, Bao not only strengthened emotions that fit well with Confucian virtues, but also muffled those that ran contrary to them. The fact that the female protagonist had been pregnant before getting married to the man would have offended many readers, as Lin Shu’s full translation later demonstrated (a point which I discuss later in the chapter). Her final epiphany of the guiltlessness of being a single mother, her feeling of courage and strength, and her faith in her independent thought rather than adherence to social prejudice, were all omitted in Bao’s rewriting process. In doing this, Bao demonstrated a good sense of his prospective readers’ emotional needs and ethical inclinations.

Besides the ethical issue of premarital pregnancy, there is also the issue regarding

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<sup>46</sup> Haiyan Lee, *Revolution of the Heart*, 6.



marriage that Yang and Bao rendered subtly yet distinctly different from the original work: namely, the criteria for selecting a spouse. Compared with researchers who focus on the love between Joan and Henry, the relationship between Emma and Henry has received significantly less attention. This might be a direct result of Yang and Bao's depiction of their marriage as a result of material necessity. In their translation, the moment that Emma decides to accept Henry's proposal is when Henry successfully shoots a bird in the hunting session with her father. She thinks: "Henry has excellent shooting skills. The imperial family are fond of people who are skilled in using rifles. If he can shoot that well, he will definitely not stay poor in the long run." (亨利技固佳，且皇家方重習武事者。此君能爾，必非長貧賤者也。)<sup>47</sup> This is a very realistic and materialistic way of choosing a husband, but the scene in Haggard's original work was quite the contrary:

Emma, watching Henry's face as he fired away with as much earnestness and energy as though the fate of the British Empire depended upon each shot, thought that he was quite handsome. Handsome he was not, nor ever would be; but it is true that, like most Englishmen, he looked his best in his rough shooting clothes and when intent upon his sport.<sup>48</sup>

It is not unlikely that Yang and Bao misunderstood the original message, since their rendering of "the British Empire" into "the imperial family" (*huangjia* 皇家) suggests a possible misreading. But their translation nonetheless diverged Haggard's careful depiction of Emma as an innocent, kindhearted and graceful girl. Brought up as a lady by Mr. Levinger, she is never aware of her real identity as an illegitimate

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<sup>47</sup> Haggard, *Joan Haste*. Trans. Panxi Zi and Tianxiao Sheng, 98.

<sup>48</sup> Haggard, *Joan Haste*, 364.

child, and has always maintained a carefree and affectionate nature. She falls in love with Henry when they first meet two years previously and has since then admired him. When she learns of the affair between Henry and Joan, she believes Henry did not love her and wants to stay out of his life. But when Henry proposes to her after learning of Joan's marriage to Rock, Emma accepts his proposal so that his family can avoid bankruptcy and poverty.<sup>49</sup> It is rather obvious that in Haggard's depiction, Henry's proposal is a sincere one, and Emma's acceptance is a selfless, albeit reluctant decision. However, in Yang and Bao's translation, when Henry proposes, he says: "Maybe you are not happy to accept me, but the current situation leaves me with no other alternative. My entire family depends on you." (或爾所未必悅意, 然事亦有不得不然者。某一家待卿而理也。)<sup>50</sup> Emma replied: "Now that you request this of me, I dare not reject you." (君今有命, 其不敢辭。)<sup>51</sup> The contrast between a quintessentially female Chinese resignation and the selfless love of Haggard's Emma is quite stark.

Yang and Bao's depiction of Henry and Emma's union is fraught with traditional Chinese criteria of match-making, i.e., the couple should be equal in wealth and social status, and it is customary to improve wealth and social status through marriage. Admittedly, the same idea permeates Haggard's original work, as in many Victorian novels, which might have been the very reason why Yang and Bao chose this novel in the first place. However, Haggard's painstaking depiction of the pure goodness of

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 366-369.

<sup>50</sup> Haggard, *Joan Haste*. Trans. Panxi Zi and Tianxiao Sheng, 99.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 100.

Emma and of Henry's sincere love for her (indeed, his love for her was portrayed as nothing less than sincere, because he mistakes Joan as having abandoned himself in favour of the richer Rock, and tells himself to stop loving her) was completely altered by the translators. Yang and Bao downplayed the happiness of Henry and Emma's marriage, rendering it a result of material concern which forms a sharp contrast to the self-sacrifice of Joan. As mentioned earlier, Bao often highlighted the emotion of self-sacrifice in his fictional narratives. By dampening the appeal of the character Emma, Bao foregrounded the self-sacrifice of Joan, increasing the emotional intensity of the novel. Here, the translators' stance towards the characters – a stance that is both personal and also cultural – is revealed through their subtle rendering of their words and behaviours, which in turn manipulates the reactions of the readers.

Apart from the emotions of "sorrow caused by love" and "self-sacrifice," the virtuous sentiments of Confucian family ethics are also articulated in this creative translation. In Haggard's original work, Henry is a rather rebellious son, who rejects his father's last wish that he should marry Emma because he wants to be responsible for Joan whom he truly loves. This scene appears in the first half of the book so Yang and Bao did not need to translate it, though when reference is made to that incident in the second half of the book, they did what they could to blur the dialogue. Then when dealing with the translation of the scene in which Henry's mother leaves her room, having expressed her dissatisfaction at Henry's intention to marry Joan, Henry follows his mother, lamenting: "How wronged I am! Why does my mother wrong me like

this?”<sup>52</sup> This gesture of seeking his mother’s pity does not exist in Haggard’s work, in which Henry only stares after his mother and complains about his own bad fortune.<sup>53</sup> Bao, like many of his fellow Butterfly School writers, had received traditional education in his youth, an important part of which was filial piety.<sup>54</sup> By omitting the plots of rejecting his father’s last wish, and by making Henry a docile boy towards his mother, Yang and Bao mitigated the disturbing feeling which might have been caused by Henry’s rebellious behavior for Chinese readers. From another perspective, by increasing the power of Henry’s parents over him, Yang and Bao foregrounded the conflicts between parents and children. Readers would have been reminded of the classical scholar-beauty romance, in which the tragedy of the love between young lovers was often caused by their authoritative parents. Therefore the tragic love story between Joan and Henry became much easier for Chinese readers to digest.

A temporary suspension of value judgment using the criterion of fidelity will reveal that Yang and Bao’s creative transformation, either intentional or inadvertent, of the emotions conveyed by the work, in a way contributed to the adaptation of this work to the psychological needs and expectations of his contemporaries, particularly those who were frequent readers of popular love stories. As Yin Bansheng 寅半生 wrote, only after reading Lin Shu’s complete translation of *Joan Haste* did readers realize what favour Yang and Bao had done to preserve Joan’s ethical purity. In this way, the

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 74.

<sup>53</sup> Haggard, *Joan Haste*, 320.

<sup>54</sup> Bao mentioned that the study of *The Book of Filial Piety (Xiao jing 孝经)* was a part of his curriculum at school. Bao, *Memoirs of Shadow Bracelet Mansion*, 7.

merits of their translation are more conspicuous.<sup>55</sup> The very fact that Lin Shu himself decided to do a second translation of the work also reflects the popularity of Yang and Bao's translation, because it would have to be printed in relatively large numbers to draw Lin's attention. It seems likely that Yang and Bao's mediation of the text, particularly his mediation of the sentiments articulated by the text, contributed significantly to its popularity.

## 2.5.2 Translated Creation

### 2.5.2.1 Translated Creation in Early Twentieth-Century China

Compared with pseudocreation, pseudotranslation has received much less attention from academics working on early twentieth-century Chinese literature. This is partly because the former significantly outnumbered the latter, and partly because of the afore-mentioned difficulty in certifying the non-existence of the original works. Another crucial factor that increases the difficulty in identifying these works is that many works which claimed to be translations had a great many misspellings. A casual glance over catalogues of translated literary works from the early twentieth century reveals many such misspellings. For instance, Forest of Fiction Press (*Xiaoshuolin she* 小說林社) published a translated novel in 1908, supposedly written by an American author named "Tenton R. Stanley," entitled *In Folly's Fetters or the Beri Is of a Secret*

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<sup>55</sup> Yin Bansheng 寅半生. "On Reading the Two Translation Versions of *Joan Haste*" (*Du Jiayin xiaozhuan liang yiben hou* 讀《迦因小傳》兩譯本後), *Materials on Twentieth-Century Chinese Fiction Theory*, 249-251.

*Marriage*.<sup>56</sup> At first glance, a contemporary reader might have no idea what the title means and might even assume it to be a pseudotranslation. Typing this name into search engines and databases does not generate any coherent results. Only when the researcher takes into account the possibility of misspelling does he or she enjoy a moment of realization, verging on an epiphany, that the real title should be *In Folly's Fetters or the Perils of a Secret Marriage*, which is a novel that actually existed.<sup>57</sup> However, such realizations may well be happy coincidences. Putting aside the difficulty in some cases of uncovering the correct spellings of authors and/or titles, those novels and short stories that were translated might also have been lesser-known works that have long since disappeared from literary histories and archives.

Despite the difficulty of identifying them, pseudotranslations abounded in early twentieth-century China. Many writer-translators acknowledged having created literary works which pretended to be translations. There are quite a few short stories by Zhou Shoujuan which he admitted were, in fact, pseudotranslations.<sup>58</sup> Zhou Zuoren 周作人 (1885-1967) also translated short stories with questionable sources, a strategy which “completely blurs any lines between translation, summary, imitation,

<sup>56</sup> Guan Jiazheng 關家錚. “About Forest of Fiction Press” (*Guanyu Xiaoshuolin she 關於小說林社*). *Library Development (Tushuguan jianshe 圖書館建設)* 2001 (additional issue): 295-301.

<sup>57</sup> My current discovery takes me to a newspaper in New Zealand named *Truth*, which was “for many years one of the country’s most colourful, controversial and popular newspapers” and which “was launched, in Wellington, by the Australian newspaper publisher John Norton in June 1905.” An advertisement of this novel, along with other novels, was published on Issue 934, 20 October 1923, p. 4. The date of this advertisement is later than the date of the publication of its Chinese translation, but it nevertheless proves the actual existence of the original novel. <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast?a=d&d=NZTR19230505.2.15.1&cl=&srpos=0&e=-----10--101---0Halloween--> Accessed 16 Sept. 2013.

<sup>58</sup> Pan Shaw-Yu, “Imagining the West: Zhou Shoujuan’s Pseudotranslations” (*Xiangxiang xifang: lun Zhou Shoujuan de ‘weifanyi’ xiaoshuo 想象西方：論周瘦鵑的“偽翻譯”小說*). *Compilation and Translation Review* 4. 2 (2011): 1-23.

and rewriting.”<sup>59</sup> Why do people write pseudotranslations? Toury argues that:

From the point of view of cultural evolution, the most significant aspect of the production and distribution of texts as if they were translations is the fact that this constitutes a convenient way of introducing novelties into a culture. In fact, it has often been one of the only ways open to a writer to do so without arousing too much antagonism, especially in cultures reluctant to deviate from sanctioned models and norms. Having normally been regarded as a secondary mode of text-generation, in terms of cultural organization,<sup>60</sup> there can be no wonder that deviations occurring in texts which are culturally acknowledged as translations often meet with much greater tolerance - which explains why so many innovators throughout the ages have disguised their own texts as translations, and not necessarily in *belles-lettres* alone.<sup>61</sup>

At a time when translations from Western literature were widely called for and appreciated for their assumed function of reforming both social institutions and the general morality of the Chinese people, it would have undoubtedly been safer to express novel ideas and propositions, particularly those that rebelled against conventional ethics, under the guise of translation. This may also have to do with the traditional Chinese literary attitude that underestimates the value of fiction.<sup>62</sup> Chinese writers of fiction at the beginning of the twentieth century may have felt ashamed to reveal their real identities as authors, so instead they used their pseudonyms and camouflaged their creations as translations. For instance, even the most celebrated translator of early twentieth-century China, Lin Shu, used his pseudonym Lenghong Sheng 冷紅生 when he first published his translation of *La Dame aux Camélias*.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Hill, “No True Men in the State,” 125-148.

<sup>60</sup> Itamar Even-Zohar. “The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem.” *Literature and Translation: New Perspectives in Literary Studies*. Eds. James S Holmes, Jos é Lambert and Raymond van den Broeck. Leuven: Acco, 1978. pp. 117-127.

<sup>61</sup> Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, 41.

<sup>62</sup> Yuan Jin. *Early Modern Transformations of Chinese Fiction (Zhongguo xiaoshuo de jindai biange 中國小說的近代變革)*. Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2009. pp. 1-2.

<sup>63</sup> Alexandre Dumas fils. *La Dame aux Camélias*. Trans. Lin Shu and Wang Shouchang 王壽昌.

Besides the need of camouflage of cultural innovation, another reason for pseudotranslation is that individual authors seek to change their opinions or styles, yet “wouldn’t like his/her new endeavours to be associated with what his/her name already stands for.”<sup>64</sup> This is true of some pseudotranslations in the Chinese literary field at the beginning of the twentieth century. For instance, Butterfly School writers who insisted on “old ethics” with regard to marital conventions, such as no physical contact between different genders, would write about these very behaviours in a literary work that they pretended to be a translation. This could also have marked their eventual change of attitude towards such behaviours, but they nonetheless did not want it to be perceived by their fellow writers.

Moreover, higher income may yet be another factor that engendered many pseudotranslations. Although it may appear strange to some that translation could have had a higher price than creation, as translation seems to be a less creative process, this was exactly the situation in the Chinese literary market at the beginning of the twentieth century. Quite a few of the most popular magazines at that time mainly published translations of foreign fiction, among which detective stories and love stories were some of the most popular types.<sup>65</sup> Having grown bored with conventional Chinese stories and driven by a growing curiosity about the West, with

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Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1981.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 41.

<sup>65</sup> The majority of fictional works published on *Forest of Fiction* and *Fiction Monthly* (Yueyue xiaoshuo 月月小說) are translated fictional works.



its magical utilization of mechanics and technology as well as its open, brave pursuit of love, average Chinese readers often preferred a translated story to an indigenous one.<sup>66</sup> As Xu Nianci 徐念慈 (1874-1908) noted, there was a conspicuous discrepancy between the prices of translated stories and created stories, which doubtless helped the emergence of pseudotranslation.<sup>67</sup> When the Qing Dynasty (1644-1912) abolished the national examination system, numerous literati found the path towards glory and officialdom that their fathers and grandfathers had taken lost once and for all. The burgeoning newspaper and magazine industry in Shanghai appeared just in time to provide a platform for these frustrated literati.<sup>68</sup> Those who knew Western languages started to send their translations to publishers to make a living, whereas those who did not know foreign languages nevertheless imitated translated works and eventually made a living by selling them off to indiscriminate publishers.

Similar to the case of pseudocreation, the term pseudotranslation is problematic when applied to the literary field of China in early twentieth century. It may be true that the majority of the works were in fact the author's own creation, yet it is quite possible that the author borrowed parts from one or several Western stories, or even from

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<sup>66</sup> Dingyi 定一, "A Series of Remarks on Fiction" (*Xiaoshuo conghua* 小說叢話). *New Fiction* (*Xin xiaoshuo* 新小說) 13 (1905), in *Materials on Twentieth-Century Chinese Fiction Theory*, 96-97.

<sup>67</sup> Juewo 覺我, "My Opinion on Fiction" (*Yu zhi xiaoshuo guan* 余之小說觀). *Forest of Fiction* (*Xiaoshuo lin* 小說林) 10 (1908): 9-15.

<sup>68</sup> For detailed discussions of literary journals at the time, see Hockx, *Questions of Style*; Denise Gimpel. *Lost Voices of Modernity: A Chinese Popular Fiction Magazine in Context*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001.

translations done by his contemporaries.<sup>69</sup> Here again we find pseudotranslation an essentially intertextual act. It always involves appropriation of the indigenous literary tradition and at the same time it appropriates texts with foreign origins. Both the indigenous literary tradition and the foreign texts become something new once incorporated into the pseudotranslation, creating a hybrid texture no longer easily contained in the indigenous culture. The way a writer of pseudotranslation chooses which foreign elements to incorporate is determined by his/her own imagination of the foreign, informed by his/her reading of foreign works or translations.<sup>70</sup> Because of the fluid nature of pseudotranslation, and the difficulty of identifying a piece of writing as pseudotranslation, I coin the term “translated creation” to refer to these works, including not only pseudotranslations in the narrow sense, but also works that are a combination of translation/borrowing and creation, of which the latter stands out as the dominant part. Together with creative translation, translated creation fills the vast majority of the spectrum of literary texts which prevailed the literary market in the early twentieth-century China. While there is no clear boundary between creative translation and translated creation, the former is mainly a product of translation and the latter a product of intertextuality. The three case studies in this thesis – those of Li Dingyi, Su Manshu and Yu Dafu’s translated creations – represent different facets of the way Chinese writers make use of the form and content of foreign literatures to compose their own texts, infusing their texts with powerful emotions.

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<sup>69</sup> The perfect example of pseudotranslation borrowing from several foreign sources, as well as from translations done by others, is Su Manshu’s pseudotranslation *The Story of Entering into Seclusion on the Beach of Sala* (*Suoluo haibin dunji ji* 娑羅海濱遁跡記, 1908). It is discussed in detail in Chapter 4 of the thesis. See Chapter 4, 189-201.

<sup>70</sup> Pan, “Imagining the West,” 1-23.

### 2.5.2.2 Li Dingyi and the Perils of His Fair Ladies

Li Dingyi (1890-1963) was one of the key figures of the Butterfly School. Together with Xu Zhenya 徐枕亞 (1889-1937) and Wu Shuangre 吳雙熱 (1884-1934), they were regarded as the three masters of one branch of Butterfly School, which was closely associated with *Civil Rights Newspaper* (*Minquan bao* 民權報).<sup>71</sup> During his lifetime, Li wrote and translated more than 30 literary works, among which novels about tragic love (*aiqing xiaoshuo* 哀情小說) were the most well-known. He inherited the strategies of Ming and Qing scholar-beauty romance in the depiction of emotions, was well-informed about Western literature, and was influenced by the translations of Lin Shu and Bao Tianxiao.<sup>72</sup> One of Li's earliest works, serialized in *Civil Rights Newspaper* in 1912, written when he was little more than 22 years old,<sup>73</sup> was entitled *Perils of Fair Ladies* (*Hongfen jie* 紅粉劫). Two years later, it was published as a separate edition by Guohua Press (*Guohua shuju* 國華書局) in Shanghai and became a huge success. Twenty one years later, in 1935, Guohua Press printed the novel for the 13<sup>th</sup> time, a printing history which must have ranked it among the most successful novels of that time. The 13<sup>th</sup> edition had a very exotic, even modernist painting as its cover picture, in which a beautiful woman was raising

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<sup>71</sup> For a detailed study of *Civil Rights Newspaper*, see Yuan Jin 袁進. *Early Modern Transformations of Chinese Literature (Zhongguo wenxue de jindai biange 中國文學的近代變革)*. Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2006. pp. 44-58.

<sup>72</sup> Fan Boqun 范伯群. *A History of Popular Literature in Early Modern China (Zhongguo jinxindai tongxuwenxue shi 中國近現代通俗文學史)*. Nanjing: Jiangsu jiaoyu chubanshe, 2010. p. 213.

<sup>73</sup> It is interesting to note that many writers and translators produced their most popular works at a fairly young age. For instance, when his translation of *Joan Haste* was published, Bao Tianxiao was only 26 years old.

one of her arms upward, pointing towards some round shapes of various sizes. The book was categorized as “*qiqing xiaoshuo*” 奇情小說 (novels about unheard-of love) and was sold at a price of 1 yuan. On the last page of the book, Li Dingyi was called “translator-narrator” (*yishuzhe* 譯述者), which was common practice at a time when Chinese writers translated foreign works but did not carefully preserve all details. However, on the front cover of the book, it states that Li Dingyi was the author, implied by the word “written by” (*zhu* 著).

There are four prefaces (*xu* 序) and five inscriptions (*tici* 題詞) written by Li's friends, one introduction (*fafan* 發凡) by himself and one review (*pingyu* 評語) by his wife, all of which were placed at the beginning of the 1935 edition, as if to highlight the significance of the work. The novel tells the story of the male protagonist's encounter with Dai Ying and Xia Bi, the two daughters of a British viscount. The story begins with the protagonist, Dr. Sidawo, witnessing the murder of Dai Ying's fiancé at midnight, when a breathless Dai Ying runs out of the house and bumps into him. Feeling sympathetic, he starts to investigate the matter, in the hope that he might find the real murderer and clear Dai Ying of suspicion. In this process, he gets to know the two sisters well and falls in love with Dai Ying. Deng Tuo, the son of the two girls' stepfather, is a villain who pursues Dai Ying ardently but is detested by the latter. Unable to get her love in return, he poisons Dai Ying out of fury and jealousy. The second half of the novel relates the pains Xia Bi takes to avenge her sister. Sidawo is kept uninformed of the whole process until the very end, though he

tried his best to help whenever he can. Xia Bi finally manages to punish the villains and marries Sidawo, since they grow fond of each other in their joint efforts to punish the villain. But she dies of illness not long after their marriage. The story is an intricate combination of detective story and love story, which allows it to have the powerful appeal of both to such an extent that even a modern reader would find it a page-turner. Its popularity with readers of the early twentieth century is easy to imagine.

What is intriguing about this novel is its real identity, i.e., whether it was an authentic translation or a pseudotranslation. The fourth preface written by Yang Nancun 楊南村 (dates unknown), a good friend of Li's since middle school, states that the author of the novel is a British man named Dr. Don Startward (apparently, the English original of the Chinese transliteration "Sidawo"), and the original title is *A Fair in Peril*. This is the only time these two English names appear in the work. As Li explains in the introduction, Dr. Don Startward graduated from a "royal university" in London and was at the time well-known for his literary creations. He wrote many works and was an editor of a newspaper. Interestingly, Li noted, Startward was also the main protagonist of the novel.<sup>74</sup> It is rather common for translators of that period to mistake the author for the protagonist, or vice versa, due to their relative unfamiliarity with first-person narrative; therefore it is difficult to know which one is the real owner of this name. Having undertaken a fairly thorough research across

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<sup>74</sup> Li Dingyi 李定夷. "Introduction" (*fafan* 发凡). *Perils of Fair Ladies (Hongfen jie 紅粉劫)*. Shanghai: Guohua shuju, 1935.

various databases and catalogues in the UK, including Copac National, Academic, and Specialist Library Catalogue, the British Library, the Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library and the National Library of Scotland, I have found no clues about a work titled *A Fair in Peril* written by a Dr. Don Startward, or any other similar names. If Li Dingyi's claim is true, that Dr. Don Startward was an extremely well-known figure in the British literary establishment at the time, it is not likely that all traces of him and his works sunk into complete oblivion during the last century. Therefore the possibility that the text is a pseudotranslation increases. Moreover, having shown the English title and author's name to several scholars of English literature, I have received a common perspective that the names sound very strange and are not English locutions at all. It is possible that Li Dingyi translated his Chinese title into English, as the Chinese title was a combination of elements that frequently appeared in book titles at the time, such as "beautiful young women" (*hongfen* 紅粉) and "peril" (*jie* 劫).

Another important clue to the identity of this novel is the fact that two years after the initial publication of *Perils of Fair Ladies*, the character "Dr. Sidawo" appeared once again in Li Dingyi's short story "Fake Son" (*Jia'er* 假兒, 1914) that was published in the 2<sup>nd</sup> issue of *Thicket of Fiction* (*Xiaoshuo congbao* 小說叢報) in 1914. There was no indication of any original source of this story. The story focuses on Dr. Sidawo, who is very rich and in his fifties, but who is deeply anxious about the fact that he has

no male offspring.<sup>75</sup> The very fact that Li used the same foreign name twice in two different stories, with two distinctly different protagonists, has many possible implications. One of the likely explanations is that both of the stories were fabricated by Li Dingyi himself. He might have been borrowing this foreign name to tell his own story.

Similar to the pseudotranslation of *Free Marriage*, in *Perils of Fair Ladies* the “translator” Li Dingyi provided us with the name of the original author and the title of the source text – although in this case, it is Li’s friend who provided the English originals. However, the very fact that these English “original names” lead us nowhere foregrounds the chasm between their camouflage as authentic translation and their real identity as creation. Although a number of authentic translations during that period did not indicate the names of original authors and the titles of source texts, they have been easily identified as authentic translations because their plots and characters closely follow certain foreign works. Another suspicion arises when Li’s “translation” of *Perils of Fair Ladies* is compared with Yang and Bao’s translation of *Joan Haste*, for instance. It was a common practice among translators of early twentieth-century China to follow the trend set up by the bestsellers of the day. When a translated novel found immediate success, other people started to seek and translate other works written by the same foreign writer. The story of how Lin Shu, having read Yang and Bao’s translation of *Joan Haste*, started to retranslate it himself is a case in point.

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<sup>75</sup> Li Dingyi. “Fake Son” (*Jia’er* 假兒). *Thicket of Fiction* (*Xiaoshuo congbao* 小說叢報) 2 (1914): 1-4.

Considering the enormous popularity of *Perils of Fair Ladies*, both the scant reference to its author Dr. Don Startward at the time, and the lack of other translations of his works, are highly suggestive, particularly if we compare his case with that of H.R. Haggard, or Henrik Ibsen, whose works were translated frequently and in large numbers, particularly after they gained a general recognition with the initial translations.

That said, I nevertheless maintain some doubts as to whether *Perils of Fair Ladies* is a pseudotranslation, since it mentions many British place names, people's names, theatres, and even historical events in the work, although it is possible that Li intertextualized translations carried out by other Chinese translators. In addition, Li's wife wrote in her review that the elegy at the end of the last chapter was her husband's creation, implying the rest of the novel was not.<sup>76</sup> Given all the clues I can find so far, it is still difficult to say whether *Perils of Fair Ladies* is a pseudotranslation or not. In many previous discoveries of pseudotranslations, suspicions are raised before facts are gathered and at this point the "translator" admits the act of pseudotranslation. When the "translator" dies it becomes more difficult to identify the work. Sometimes it takes years, even decades, for researchers to chance upon key materials and reveal the true identity of a piece of work. In order to solve this dilemma, I find the spectrum between pseudocreation and pseudotranslation very helpful, as it does not rule out the small but residual possibility of authentic translation, while still allowing us to

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<sup>76</sup> Manhong nǚshǐ 鬢紅女史. "Review" (*Pingyu* 評語), in Li Dingyi, *Perils of Fair Ladies*, 3.



cautiously position *Perils of Fair Ladies* closer to the side of pseudotranslation, and to consider it as a translated creation. Like most of the translated novels at the time, *Perils of Fair Ladies* exhibits both indigenous and foreign features. By treating this work as a translated creation, I take into account Li's intertextuality of foreign elements, perhaps from foreign tabloid stories or novels, or from reading others' translations of the foreign works.

In *Perils of Fair Ladies*, as in many of his other created novels, Li created a space in which a range of emotions regarding marriage and love could be articulated, though this time more discreetly through the guise of "translation." Often, these emotions are virtuous sentiments which are dictated by Confucian family ethics. For instance, *Perils of Fair Ladies* expresses a strong feeling against women marrying for a second time, which may perhaps have resulted from Li's personal experience. Li's biography shows that he lost his father at a very early age. His mother, who stayed unmarried for the rest of her life, raised Li and his siblings, looked after Li's paternal grandparents and helped marry Li's aunt to someone suitable. Various biographical resources have indicated that Li Dingyi had been extremely grateful to his mother for her self-sacrifice, and was convinced that had his mother remarried, none of the people around her would have been cared for so well.<sup>77</sup> Many of Li's novels express the idea that only when a woman stays single after the death of her husband can her children be well protected and properly brought up. Similarly, in *Perils of Fair Ladies*, Li

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<sup>77</sup> Li Wenqian, "A Brief Biography of Li Dingyi," 92-106.

Dingyi spared no pain in describing the two girls' drastic decline in fortune after their mother remarries in the wake of her husband's death, hinting that it is the second marriage of the mother that leads to the suffering and eventual deaths of her daughters. In a conversation with Dr. Sidawo, Dai Ying refers to her mother's marriage with Deng Tuo's father as "the chrysanthemum lost her integrity in her later years, and could not stand up to the autumn wind with pride" (黃花晚節不傲秋風), which carries a conspicuously derogative implication.<sup>78</sup> The foreign setting of the novel allowed Li to impute conservative ideologies to an "English" writer, and thus undermine the notion that the foreign equals the morally progressive – a well-circulated cliché at the time. By showing that foreigners could also exhibit a conservative moral stance on widowhood, Li was indirectly boosting the discourse of widowhood.

Paradoxically, the way Li expressed these "thought-related feelings" was to a large extent by intertextualizing traditional Chinese discursive modes. The above example of "the chrysanthemum" is one obvious instance, although a further example demonstrates an even more explicit intertextuality. When Xia Bi narrates the cause of her misfortune to a respectable elder lady, she says: "My sister and I lost our father when we were at a tender age. Our mother did not keep the vow of Bozhou, but imitated the elopement of Wenjun. The day our mother remarried was the day that our ill fortune began." (吾姊妹幼而無父。吾母不作柏舟之守，而效文君之奔。吾母再

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<sup>78</sup> Li Dingyi, *Perils of Fair Ladies*, 60.

醮之日即吾姊妹厄運開幕之時。) <sup>79</sup> “The vow of Bozhou” is an allusion to a poem titled “The Cypress Boat” (*Bozhou* 柏舟) which was collected in the *Book of Songs* (*Shi jing* 詩經, 11 Century BC – 6 Century BC). The poem was allegedly written by the wife of an official who vowed to stay loyal to her husband after he passed away. The term “*Bozhou zhi shou*” or “*Bozhou zhi shi*” has been used to refer to chaste women who do not marry after their husbands pass away. <sup>80</sup> “The elopement of Wenjun” tells a story of just the opposite kind. Zhuo Wenjun 卓文君 (dates unknown) was a beautiful young divorcee who fell in love with Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 (179BC – 117BC) and ran away with him. Their elopement has received controversial views ever since. <sup>81</sup> Though Li Dingyi presented his novel as a work of translation, he frequently intertextualized traditional love stories to endow the novel with the power of all those virtuous sentiments carried by their predecessors.

Besides the sentiments against women’s second marriage, Li also expressed sentiments against reckless passion. Throughout *Perils of Fair Ladies*, almost all the characters die by the end of the story and the cause of their deaths is the same:

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 106.

<sup>80</sup> The exact implication of this poem is controversial. But according to Liu Xiang 劉向 (77 BC-6 BC), it expresses the determination of a wife to stay loyal to her deceased husband. Zhang Tao 張濤. *Translation and Annotation of the Legend of Chaste Women (Lienüzhuàn yì zhù 烈女傳譯注)*. Jinan: Shandong daxue chubanshe, 1990. p. 135. For a discussion of conflicting views about the meaning of this poem, see Chao Fulin 晁福林. “Praise of Melancholy: Comments on “Bozhou” in the *Book of Songs* from No. 26 Bamboo Slip of *Shilun* in Shanghai Museum” (*Zanmei youchou: lun Shangbojian “Shilun” guanyu “Shi · Bozhou” de pingxi 讚美憂愁：論上博簡《詩論》關於《詩·柏舟》的評析*). *Journal of Beijing Normal University* (Social Sciences Edition) 4 (2008): 60-67.

<sup>81</sup> Wan Guangzhi 萬光治. “A Cultural Interpretation of the Story of Wenjun and Xiangru” (*Wenjun, Xiangru gushi de wenhua jiedu 文君、相如故事的文化解讀*). *Journal of Sichuan Normal University* (Social Sciences Edition) 34. 5 (2007): 121-128.

reckless passion. Dai Ying and Xia Bi die directly or indirectly as a result of the vicious deeds of Deng Tuo, who is driven by unfulfilled love for Dai Ying. Deng's accomplice and the accomplice's lover kill each other as a result of Deng's plot, because he is bitterly jealous of his accomplice for winning the love of a woman he also loves. As a result, Deng is punished by law as a result of all his villainies. The mass slaughter of almost all the chief characters seems to suggest Li's warning against the consequences of reckless passion. In the novel, the respectable elder lady mentioned above, in a conversation with Xia Bi, says that "this kind of tragedy of yours can well be a mirror for young people to reflect upon themselves." (姑娘此種慘劇，大可為少年人作龜鑒。) Then Xia Bi replies: "The words of your ladyship are true. Emotions not adequately disposed of definitely poses a great danger for young people." (善哉夫人之言。用情不得其當，殊足為少年人危險。)<sup>82</sup> These and other instances suggest that Li Dingyi, despite his fame as a writer of love stories, was warning young people against the dangers of reckless passions. Admittedly, in some Ming-Qing scholar-beauty romance and late Qing Butterfly School novels, writers often lamented the consequences of reckless passions. But in most of Li's novels, the tragedies were often caused by stern parents and feudal ethics, which sets them distinctly apart from *Perils of Fair Ladies*, in which all the tragic deaths were the consequences of Deng's reckless yet unfulfilled passions. The motive of Li in presenting his work as a translation thus comes under scrutiny. Writing in the year 1912, when a large number of Western love stories had already entered the Chinese

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<sup>82</sup> Li Dingyi, *Perils of Fair Ladies*, 96.

literary market, Li “translated” an English novel which consisted largely of warnings against reckless passion. This seems to be a deeply subversive gesture. When many readers were fascinated by the untrammelled passion, the freedom to pursue one’s true love, and the breakaway from the constraints of Confucian ethics depicted in novels like *Joan Haste* (obviously in Lin Shu’s translation), in *Perils of Fair Ladies* Li expressed dispassionate emotions against the idea that love can supersede virtues to be free from any constraints. By using the strategy of translated creation, Li was able to endow his novel with the cultural capital carried by Western novels, to fight against the presumption that all Western novels held passionate love above virtue. Just as Bao Tianxiao used the translated story “I am an Ill-fated Girl” to borrow its authority and power of persuasion, Li used the pretense of a translation to provide his virtuous sentiments with power and weight.

## **2.6 Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have adopted the framework of pseudowriting to examine the way writer-translators of the Butterfly School integrated a wealth of complex, and sometimes unexpected emotions into the works they translated or created. I argue that Yang Zilin and Bao Tianxiao’s creative translation of *Joan Haste* modified the emotions expressed by the original work, transforming them into virtuous sentiments such as “sorrow caused by love,” “self-sacrifice” and Confucian family ethics. Li Dingyi, on the contrary, in his translated creation, used the form of translation, and the

foreignness it implied, to increase the authority and power of the virtuous sentiments that he conveyed throughout the novel *Perils of Fair Ladies*.

Considering the translations and creations of early twentieth-century China as a form of pseudowriting allows us to probe the intricate process of textual production, and the ways in which writer-translators manipulated the texts. The boundary between pseudotranslation and pseudocreation is a tenuous one, if it exists at all. Bao Tianxiao and Yang Zilin's translation of *Joan Haste* gives every appearance of an indigenous creation, but it follows the plot and characterization of Haggard's novel. Therefore it can be considered a pseudocreation. However, seen in a different light, their translation is full of creative transformation and therefore can be arguably considered a pseudotranslation as well. Why do we distinguish between pseudotranslation and pseudocreation then, if the boundary is so vague and vacillating?

This is because the categories of pseudotranslation and pseudocreation defy the perception of translation and creation as transparent acts of textual production, i.e., the notion that translation is a direct transfer of meaning across languages, and creation is an independent production of meaning. These misconceptions about translation and creation become even more problematic when applied to literary productions at the centre of cross-cultural contacts, such as those of early twentieth-century China. In order to render the categories of pseudotranslation and pseudocreation more useful as analytical categories, I have coined the terms "creative translation" and "translated

creation,” so that texts which do not overtly claim to be either translation or creation can be contained by these terms. The conception of the dynamic spectrum with pseudotranslation at one end, and pseudocreation at the other, is also aimed at dissolving boundaries and creating more flexibility, hence more complexity, in the discussion of textual productions.

Having analyzed some literary works that fall within the categories of creative translation and translated creation, I argue that it was by using these strategies, i.e. by adeptly combining translation and intertextuality at appropriate times, that the writer-translators of the Butterfly School found a way to turn their works into affectively charged spaces which reflected quite freely on the key ethical dilemmas of the day. These emotions might have been well beyond their own awareness, or against their own moral constraints, but they nevertheless constituted “lived,” complex affective states. Only by identifying these emotions can we better understand the way Butterfly School writers dealt with the issue of emotion in their literary works, rather than claiming them to be sentimental novelists pure and simple.

## **Chapter 3 The Creation of Melodramatic Emotional Effects: Omission and Addition in Zhou Shoujuan's Creative Translations of Short Stories on Love**

### **3.1 Introduction**

While chapter 2 mainly dealt with the virtuous sentiments Butterfly School writers managed to express in their creative translations and translated creations, this current chapter focuses on the way Zhou Shoujuan creatively translated foreign love stories to create a melodramatic emotional effect. Sensationalism has been considered by many scholars to be one of the most salient features of early twentieth-century Chinese literature.<sup>1</sup> Instead of using the word sensationalism, I argue that the term “melodrama” has a broader connotation which better fits the features of Zhou’s creative translations. In order to achieve melodramatic emotional effects, two particular approaches were adopted by Zhou in his translations of short stories on love – omission and addition. The parts omitted were mostly details about cause-and-effect relationships and depictions of psychological complexity, which would have dampened melodramatic emotions. By omitting these details, Zhou increased the implausibility of the story, rendering the ending more shocking and dramatic. The parts added were lavish descriptions of the physical beauty of female characters using intertextualized traditional modes of depiction, and the depictions of powerful emotions. These two kinds of additions help to create a stronger, often over-wrought emotional effect which is boosted by the two kinds of omissions to generate the melodramatic tone of Zhou’s creative translations. As a result of these omissions and additions, Zhou was capable of achieving a melodramatic emotional effect in his

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<sup>1</sup> See for example Huang Xuelei. “From *East Lynne* to *Konggu Lan*: Transcultural Tour, Trans-Medial Translation.” *Transcultural Studies* 2 (2012): 48-84.



creative translations which exceeded that of the original works. Tragic events were foregrounded; the ending became more surprising; love and horrible death became intertwined; and, via this strategy, an appeal was made to the emotions of readers.

Much can be learned from Zhou's creative translations, in whose composition process both translation and intertextuality were used as modes of textual production. Zhou vigorously intertextualized traditional Chinese approaches to love fiction – such as those of the scholar-beauty romance – in his creative translations. The reasons for his translation and intertextuality choices can be understood from three aspects: his aesthetic preference for tragedy over comedy; the prevalent literary tendency of his time to indulge in excessive emotions; and the expectation of readers that reading popular stories should be a moving and exciting experience. The combinations of these factors led Zhou to transform foreign short stories into even more melodramatic texts, charged with a higher level of emotional intensity which was typically brought about by accentuating their melodramatic features. While all of Zhou's omissions and additions can be regarded as the results of translation, his additions can be seen more specifically as an intertextual practice. Therefore, in this chapter, I continue to examine Zhou's creative translations with approaches of both translation studies and intertextuality studies.

In this chapter, I begin by briefly introducing Zhou, not simply as a popular writer of short stories, but more importantly, as a translator who skillfully rendered foreign literary works and who stood out from his contemporary translators by his good selection and high quality translation. I then examine how Western scholarship has traditionally understood the term “melodrama,” and how this term has recently been

applied to Chinese literature. I argue that the term “melodrama” is an effective concept through which to understand and interpret some Chinese translations of Western love stories at the beginning of the twentieth century, particularly those by Zhou. In the bulk of this chapter, I carry out a close reading of several of Zhou’s translations to show how he rendered them more melodramatic than the original, and to analyze possible reasons for this strategy. Although the characteristics of melodramatization appear in many of Zhou’s translations, I centre my discussions on his creative translations of Robert Louis Stevenson’s *The Sire de Malároit’s Door* (1878) and Henry Rider Haggard’s short story “The Blue Curtains” (1886).<sup>2</sup> I argue that in Zhou’s creative translations of Western love stories, he adopted the four key modes of melodramatization mentioned earlier: the omission of details about cause-and-effect relationships, the omission of psychological complexity, the addition of heavy-handed depictions of beauty, and the addition of depictions of strong emotions. All of these methods contributed to the creation of melodramatic emotions in Zhou’s translations.

### 3.2 Zhou Shoujuan as Popular Novelist and Translator

Zhou Shoujuan’s original name was Zhou Zufu 周祖福. Born in Shanghai in 1895 to an ordinary working-class family whose income plummeted sharply after his father’s early death, Zhou could never have foreseen the huge impact he would exert on Shanghai’s literary scene in the early years of the Republican era. Publishing his first piece of literary work when he was only 16 years old, he demonstrated a continual enthusiasm for literature and an acute awareness of the psychological needs of his

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<sup>2</sup> For a brief introduction of Stevenson’s life, see Sutherland, *The Longman Companion to Victorian Fiction*, 610-611.

readers. He grew up to be one of the most important figures in the popular literature establishment in Shanghai. His status was considered equal to that of Bao Tianxiao and Yan Duhe 嚴獨鶴 (1889-1968), who were known to be well-versed in all three fields of literary production: creation, translation and editing.<sup>3</sup> Zhou dedicated more than 50 years of his life to literary endeavours, of which translation constituted a significant part. Among the many journals and newspapers in which he practiced his craft, the magazine *Saturday* (*Libailiu* 禮拜六) was one of the most well-known.<sup>4</sup> Zhou published numerous short stories in this magazine, which was first launched on June 6, 1914. Before that, Zhou had already published 58 articles in various magazines and newspapers, among which 46 were translations or adaptations of foreign materials.<sup>5</sup>

His translation career culminated in *Anthology of Short Stories by European and American Masters* (*Ou-Mei mingjia duanpian xiaoshuo congkan* 歐美名家短篇小說叢刊, 1917), published by Zhonghua Book Company (*Zhonghua shuju* 中華書局).<sup>6</sup>

The anthology contained 50 short stories translated between 1913 and 1916, including

<sup>3</sup> Zhou Shoujuan 周瘦鵬. *An Anthology of Zhou Shoujuan's Works* (*Zhou Shoujuan wenji: xiaoshuo juan* 周瘦鵬文集：小說卷). Ed. Fan Boqun 范伯群. Vol. 1: Fiction. Shanghai: Wenhui chubanshe, 2010. p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Instead of allowing him to be grouped as a writer of the Butterfly School, Zhou called himself a member of the *Saturday* School. The two terms have different connotations. While the term "Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School" has both broad and narrow definitions, referring either to popular fiction in the early twentieth century in general, or to popular love stories in particular, "the *Saturday* School" refers to writers who frequently contributed to the *Saturday* magazine. Zhou Shoujuan denied belonging to the Butterfly School and identified himself with the *Saturday* School. For distinctions between these two schools, see Chen Jianhua, "A Myth of Violet," 29-30. See also ---, "Zhou Shoujuan's Psychological Fiction in Early Republican Era: The Difference between the *Saturday* School and Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School" (*Minguo chuqi Zhou Shoujuan de xinli xiaoshuo: jianlun 'Libailiu pai' yu 'Yuanyang hudie pai' zhi bie* 民國初期周瘦鵬的心理小說：兼論“禮拜六派”與“鴛鴦蝴蝶派”之別). *Journal of Modern China Studies* (*Xiandai Zhongwen xuekan* 現代中文學刊) 11 (2011): 37-49.

<sup>5</sup> Zhou, *An Anthology of Zhou Shoujuan's Works* Vol.1, 11.

<sup>6</sup> When it was reprinted in the year 1918, its title was changed to *Anthology of Short Stories by European and American Masters* (*Ou-Mei mingjia duanpian xiaoshuo congke* 歐美名家小說叢刻).

12 that had originally been published in the first 100 issues of *Saturday*. The anthology contained short stories from 14 countries, including Italy, Spain, Sweden, and the Netherlands, all translated from their English versions. The publication of this anthology greatly inspired a frustrated Lu Xun who was depressed by his own failed attempt to publicize his translation collection entitled *Anthology of Short Stories beyond the Border* (*Yuwai xiaoshuo ji* 域外小說集, 1909).<sup>7</sup> He saw in Zhou's translations both a broad horizon and careful selection criteria. Then working for the Ministry of Education, Lu Xun wrote hearty words of praise for Zhou's book:

《歐美名家短篇小說叢刊》凡歐美四十七家著作，國別計十有四，其中意、西、瑞典、荷蘭、塞爾維亞，在中國皆屬創見，所選亦多佳作，又每一篇署著者名氏，並附小像傳略。用心頗為懇摯，不僅志在娛悅俗人之耳目，足為近來譯事之光。惟諸篇似因陸續登載雜誌，故體例未能統一，命題造語，又系用本國成語，原本固未嘗有此，未免不誠。書中所收，以英國小說為最多，唯短篇小說，在英文學中，原少佳制，古爾斯密及蘭姆之文，系雜著性質，於小說為不類。歐陸著作，則大抵以不易入手，故尙未能為相當之紹介，又況以國分類，而諸國不以種族次第，亦為小失。然當此淫佚文字充塞坊肆時，得此一書，俾讀者知所謂哀情慘情之外，尙有更純潔之作，則固亦昏夜之微光，雞群之鳴鶴矣。<sup>8</sup>

*Anthology of Short Stories by European and American Masters* includes works from 47 authors from Europe and the U.S.A. Writers from 14 countries – including Italy, Spain, Sweden, the Netherlands and Serbia, all of which are brought into China for the first time – are collected in the anthology. Most of the works selected are fine pieces. Each piece is accompanied by the name, picture and brief biography of its author. He [the translator] has been very committed and aimed higher than merely entertaining the masses. This can well be called the highpoint of recent translations. The only faults are that because the works were published in magazines over time, their formats are not consistent. The titles and wordings consist of domestic proverbs, but the originals works did not have those proverbs. In this way the translations are not faithful. Among the works collected in the anthology, English short stories constitute the largest number. English literature, however, does not contain many good short stories. Those of Goldsmith and Lamb are by nature miscellaneous works, and thus not quite like

<sup>7</sup> For a description of the compilation and publication of *Anthology of Short Stories beyond the Border*, and discussions of the reasons of its lack of popularity, see Yang, *From Late Qing to May Fourth*, 127-142.

<sup>8</sup> *Public Newspaper on Education* (*Jiaoyu gongbao* 教育公報) 15 (1917), in Wang Zhiyi 王智毅, ed. *Research Materials on Zhou Shoujuan* (*Zhou Shoujuan yanjiu ziliao* 周瘦鵑研究資料). Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 1993. pp. 309-310.

short stories. Works from continental Europe are not adequately introduced probably because they were hard to obtain. Moreover, the works are categorized according to nations, but not arranged according to race, which is a slight slip. Yet while so many seductive and erotic writings fill up the market, this book allows readers to know that aside from laments or tragic stories there are more innocent works. Thus, this work is nevertheless the twilight after darkness, the whooping crane in a flock of roosters.

Lu Xun ended his report with the conclusion:

覆核是書，搜討之勤，選擇之善，信如原評所雲，足爲近來譯事之光，似宜給獎，以示模範。<sup>9</sup>

After a second examination of this book, I confirm that the author worked hard to collect the materials and made worthy choices. Indeed as my original comment states, this can well be called the highpoint of recent translations. It seems proper to give it an award to acknowledge its exemplary role.

Yet when Zhou received an award from the Ministry of Education two years later, he had no idea why he had been given the award nor who had facilitated it. It was not until 1956, when Zhou Zuoren published an article about the award in *Wenhui Newspaper* (*Wenhui bao* 文汇报) that Zhou Shoujuan realized what a privilege he had received.<sup>10</sup> The fact that Zhou's later melodramatic love stories, both original works and translations, became targets of attack by advocates of New Literature reveals the paradoxical nature of critical history, considering Lu Xun's contrasting views about his earlier translations.<sup>11</sup>

In his literary creations, Zhou was mainly known for writing short stories about love and marriage. He wrote quite a few passionate love stories with tragic endings: a

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 310.

<sup>10</sup> See Sang Nong 桑農. "Lu Xun's Anonymous Remark on Zhou Shoujuan's Translation" (*Lu Xun guanyu Zhou Shoujuan yizuo de wei shuming pingyu* 魯迅關於周瘦鵑譯作的未署名評語). *China Book Reading Newspaper* (*Zhonghua dushu bao* 中華讀書報) 27 Sept. 2011: 14.

<sup>11</sup> Zhou, like other writers of love stories at the time, was vehemently attacked by May Fourth writers. See for example. Xi Di 西諦. "Counter-stream of Thoughts" (*Sixiang de fanliu* 思想的反流). *The Literary Thrice Monthly* (*Wenxue xunkan* 文學旬刊) 4 (1921), in *Research Materials on Zhou Shoujuan*, 310-311.

young couple fall in love but are separated because the woman has been engaged since childhood; or a young woman is forced to marry a rich man whom her parents have selected for her despite her love for someone else. As a result of these stories, he was both admired and yet also sometimes ridiculed as the “Giant of Sorrowful Love Stories” (*aiqing juzi* 哀情鉅子). The plots of his short stories were often extremely dramatic, the female protagonists impeccably beautiful and docile, and the male protagonists loving and sentimental. Their pure love usually conflicted with rigid ethical codes which deprived them of their happiness, and even their lives. This dramatic tendency is well in line with the writing style of many Butterfly School writers, as well as with the style of several May Fourth writers, about whom I will discuss later in the chapter. But here I emphasize not primarily the melodramatic features of Zhou’s own literary creations, but the ways in which he “melodramaticized” his literary translations. Before beginning on this discussion, I first examine the definitions and characteristics of the term “melodrama,” and how it has been used in both Western and Chinese contexts.

### **3.3 Melodrama: West and East**

#### **3.3.1 Melodrama: Definition and Characteristics**

The term melodrama derives from the French term *mélodrame* which initially referred to Jean Jacques Rousseau’s (1712-1778) drama *Pygmalion* (1762). This drama combined recitation with libretto, as an experiment in combining spoken dialogue with music. Later, melodrama came to refer to “a stage play, usually romantic and sensational in plot, and interspersed with songs, in which the action is accompanied

by orchestral music appropriate to the various situations.”<sup>12</sup> The theatrical genre of melodrama satisfied Victorian tastes and remained “a dominant form of theatrical entertainment for a hundred years [of the nineteenth century].”<sup>13</sup> Eventually, the musical element “dwindled into insignificance, and eventually ... disappeared altogether,”<sup>14</sup> and the term was extended to include other genres apart from drama, which were “characterized by exaggerated characters and a sensational plot intended to appeal to the emotions.”<sup>15</sup> For a long time, the dominant literary criticism in the West held a negative opinion of melodrama as a literary style, due to its excessive expression of emotion and its departure from the realistic depiction of life.<sup>16</sup> It was not until the 1970s that scholars started to re-examine the nature and features of melodrama from new perspectives. The scholar whose insight proved most pivotal in this re-evaluation of melodrama is Peter Brooks.

In *The Melodramatic Imagination: Balzac, Henry James, Melodrama, and the Mode of Excess* (1976), Peter Brooks claims that authors such as Balzac and Henry James, traditionally considered “serious writers,” nonetheless exhibited melodramatic features in their works, pointing out that:

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<sup>12</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*.

<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/116226?redirectedFrom=melodrama#eid> Accessed 27 Aug. 2013.

<sup>13</sup> Michael Booth. *Theatre in the Victorian Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991. pp. 150-151.

<sup>14</sup> For a brief history of the development of melodrama, see James L. Smith. *Melodrama*, London: Methuen, 1973. pp. 1-14.

<sup>15</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*.

<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/116226?redirectedFrom=melodrama#eid> Accessed 27 Aug. 2013.

<sup>16</sup> Even Charles Dickens (1812-1870), whose works have been identified by critics as exhibiting salient melodramatic features, ridiculed the melodramatic mode of literary production by saying: “It is the custom on the stage: in all good, murderous melodramas: to present the tragic and the comic scenes, in as regular alternation, as the layers of red and white in a side of streaky, well-cured bacon.” Charles Dickens. *Oliver Twist*. London: T. Nelson & Sons, Ltd, 1919. p. 125. For discussions of the melodramatic features of Dickens’ novels, see for example Tore Rem. *Dickens, Melodrama, and the Parodic Imagination*. New York: AMS Press, 2002.

Such writers as Balzac and James need melodrama because their deep subject, the locus of their true drama, has come to be what we have called the ‘moral occult,’ the domain of spiritual forces and imperatives that is not clearly visible within reality, but which they believe to be operative there, and which demands to be uncovered, registered, articulated....They continue to believe that what is most important in a man’s life is his ethical drama and the ethical implications of his psychic drama.<sup>17</sup>

The recognition of melodramatic imagination in the works of “serious writers” allows us to see melodrama no longer as a sign of low taste and frivolity, but as an essential element of fictional writing. For Brooks, melodramatic imagination is a reflection of moral oppositions: he points out that melodramas stage “a heightened and hyperbolic drama, making reference to pure and polar concepts of darkness and light, salvation and damnation.”<sup>18</sup> Brooks’ work has exerted profound influence on later scholars, some of whom still consider moral polarization to be a key feature of melodrama.<sup>19</sup> Yet since the publication of Brooks’ book, which ushered melodramatic fiction into the hall of fame, other scholars have articulated different opinions about the essential characteristics embodied in melodramatic fiction. One of the most widely-recognized features is the dramaturgy of excess, i.e., excessive expression of emotions and hyperbolic statements of conflicts, which create the melodramatic features in fictional narratives.<sup>20</sup>

In *Melodrama and Modernity: Early Sensational Cinema and Its Contexts* (2001),

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<sup>17</sup> Peter Brooks. *The Melodramatic Imagination: Balzac, Henry James, Melodrama, and the Mode of Excess*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1976. pp. 20-21.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., ix.

<sup>19</sup> Frank Kelleter and Ruth Mayer. “The Melodramatic Mode Revisited. An Introduction.” *Melodrama! The Mode of Excess from Early America to Hollywood*. Eds. Frank Kelleter, Barbara Krah and Ruth Mayer. Heidelberg: Winter, 2007. p. 9.

<sup>20</sup> See for example Winfried Herget. “Villains for Pleasure? The Paradox of Nineteenth-Century (American) Melodrama,” *Melodrama! The Mode of Excess from Early America to Hollywood*, 21. Although Brooks acknowledged these views, he reiterated his opinion in the preface to the 1995 edition of his work, that the dramaturgy of excess and overstatement evokes confrontations and choices that are of heightened importance, because of the ethical imperatives on which people base their lives. Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination*, viii, ix.



Ben Singer points out that within the contemporary context, melodrama generally refers to “a set of subgenres that remain close to the heart and hearth and emphasize a register of heightened emotionalism and sentimentality.”<sup>21</sup> Acknowledging the difficulty, if not impossibility, of defining melodrama with a single definition, Singer proposes the approach of a “cluster concept,” namely, to consider melodrama as a term the meaning of which fluctuates within a set range. He breaks down the term into five key, albeit non-exhaustive, constitutive factors:

- 1) Pathos: “the elicitation of a powerful feeling of pity.”
- 2) Overwrought emotion: “heightened states of emotive urgency, tension and tribulation.”
- 3) Moral polarization: “extreme moral polarization between good and evil - a moral absolutism and transparency in which... ‘the hero and the heroine are very, very good; the villain and the adventuress are very, very bad.’”<sup>22</sup> Melodrama’s worldview is simplified; everyone’s ethical status is immediately legible.”
- 4) Nonclassical narrative structure: “compared with the classical narrative’s logical cause-and-effect structure, melodrama has a far greater tolerance, or indeed a preference, for outrageous coincidence, implausibility, convoluted plotting...”
- 5) Sensationalism: “an emphasis on action, violence, thrills, awesome sights, and spectacles of physical peril.”<sup>23</sup>

A piece of work does not necessarily have to possess all of the five characteristics to be called a melodrama, but it needs to include some of them. Depending on the story and its context, combinations of these features can vary from case to case. Although Singer mainly looks at the film industry, his descriptive categorizations can be extended to literary works. Looking at the five characteristics, it is apparent that two of them (namely, the first two) are directly related to emotions, while the other three are indirectly responsible for eliciting powerful emotions. In my examination of Zhou’s translations of foreign short stories, I identify several of these features of melodrama, which lead to the creation of overwrought emotions, including the

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<sup>21</sup> Ben Singer. *Melodrama and Modernity: Early Sensational Cinema and Its Contexts*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001. p. 37.

<sup>22</sup> Henry Albert Phillips. *The Photodrama*. Larchmont, N.Y.: Stanhope-Dodge, 1914. p. 154.

<sup>23</sup> Singer, *Melodrama and Modernity*, 44-49.

emotions of pity. I acknowledge that this term has so far been used mainly in the Western context, but I explain in the following sections why it is an efficient framework to understand Chinese popular fiction at the turn of the twentieth century, as well as what locally-inflected features we should bear in mind when using the term “melodramatic” to discuss early twentieth-century Chinese literature.

The popularity of melodrama has often been attributed to social and cultural ruptures. Brooks uses the rise of theatrical melodrama following the French revolution as an example:

It comes into being in a world where the traditional imperatives of truth and ethics have been violently thrown into question, yet where the promulgation of truth and ethics, their installation as a way of life, is of immediate, daily political concern....We may legitimately claim that melodrama becomes the principal mode for uncovering, demonstrating, and making operative the essential moral universe in a post-sacred era.<sup>24</sup>

Brooks’ work has led much later criticism on melodrama to focus on the social, cultural and political significance of melodrama, and to analyze the way melodrama answers to its historical and social contexts. The same is true with developments in melodramatic fiction in East Asia at the turn of the twentieth century. In discussing the Japanese melodramatic fiction at the turn of the twentieth century, Ken Ito argues that:

Most students of melodrama see its host environment as a society and a culture in flux. The disappearance of former verities and the challenges of new ethical discourses breed a desire for moral certitude answered by the melodramatic mode. Japanese melodramatic fiction grapples with the traumatic discontinuities of the Meiji period: the replacement of the Tokugawa order with a nation-state wedded to industrial capitalism, the destruction of an established status system and the arrival of uncontrolled social mobility, the disturbance of gender roles by new discourses and beliefs, the dislocations in the family where modernity collided

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<sup>24</sup> Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination*, 15.

with flesh and blood.<sup>25</sup>

Ito applies the melodramatic features identified by Western scholarship to Meiji fiction in order to examine the complex relationship between melodramatic fiction and the transformation of family relationships in Meiji Japan. Like Brooks, he considers social and cultural rupture a crucial trigger for the popularity of melodramatic fiction. He further points out that emotional extravagance was common in the novels of the Meiji period (1868-1912). “Narratives were designed to wing the breathless reader from one superheated scene to another, in which no outpouring of emotion was too excessive. It was an age of melodrama.”<sup>26</sup> Indeed, in melodramatic fictional narratives written at a time of social and cultural upheaval, no emotion is too excessive. Like Japan, China also saw the vigorous development of melodramatic stories in the early twentieth century, amongst which those written by Zhou Shoujuan stand as melodramatic fictional narratives *par excellence*.

In fact, the parallel situations in the developments of melodramatic fiction in the West and East Asia do not stop at random compatibilities – the result of what Andrew Plaks terms “passive intertextuality” – but are also shaped by cross-cultural contacts, or what can be regarded as an active form of intertextuality.<sup>27</sup> Quite a few melodramatic fictional narratives popular in the late Victorian England were introduced to Japan in the Meiji period, and then to China in the early twentieth century. For instance, *Orchid in the Empty Valley* (*Konggu lan* 空谷蘭, 1910) is a novel translated by Bao Tianxiao which was first serialized in *Eastern Times* on April 11, 1910. Bao translated

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<sup>25</sup> Ken K. Ito. *An Age of Melodrama: Family, Gender, and Social Hierarchy in the Turn-of-the-Century Japanese Novel*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008. p. 3.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> For a detailed discussion of the concepts of “passive intertextuality” and “dynamic intertextuality,” see Chapter 4, 163-168.

it from the Japanese version *Flowers in a Wild Field* (*No no hana* 野の花, 1900), which was first serialized in a Tokyo tabloid on March 10, 1900. The Japanese version was translated from *A Woman's Error*, written by an English writer named Charlotte Mary Brame (1836-2884) in imitation of a novel titled *East Lynne* by Ellen Wood (1814-1887), a better-known writer who published prolifically in serial form in Victorian magazines.<sup>28</sup> Every time the story was translated, it was largely rewritten and transformed. Therefore it can be considered as a process of intertextuality. This is just one example of the cross-cultural textual travels of melodramatic fiction that occurred in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As Huang Xuelei argues, melodrama (including melodramatic fiction, drama and film) satisfied the tastes of late Victorian English readers as well as early twentieth-century Japanese and Chinese readers.<sup>29</sup> The literary phenomenon examined in this chapter forms a part of this cultural and literary flow across the globe at the beginning of the twentieth century, when melodramatic fictional works written by Robert Louis Stevenson, Henry Rider Haggard and others were creatively translated and transformed by Chinese writer-translators such as Zhou Shoujuan.

### 3.3.2 The Critique of Melodrama in China

In China, fictional narratives similar to Western melodramatic fiction date back to early times, although at no time in history did they undergo such a rapid development as in the late Qing/ early Republican era, in works by writers of popular love fiction.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> For a detailed account of the global travel of *East Lynne*, see Huang, "From *East Lynne* to *Konggu Lan*," 48-84.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Zhu Ziqing 朱自清 (1898-1948) points out that traditional Chinese fiction relied largely on "depicting the anomaly" (*zhiguai* 志怪) and "recording the strange" (*chuanqi* 傳奇) to "improve

At the time, however, these writers often had to endure bitter criticism from their opponents and competitors in the literary market, the self-styled “New Literature” writers. Many of the latter spotted and ridiculed the repetitive story structures of popular fiction. For instance, in the inaugural issue of *New Tide* (*Xinchao* 新潮) in January 1919, the important leader of the “New Culture Movement” Luo Jialun 羅家倫 (1897-1969) published an essay under the pseudonym Zhi Xi 志希,<sup>31</sup> entitled “The Fiction Establishment of China Today” (*Jinri Zhongguo zhi xiaoshuo jie* 今日中國之小說界) in which he summarized the storyline of most popular stories:

大約開首總是某生如何漂亮，遇著某女子也如何漂亮。一見之後，遂戀戀不捨，暗訂婚約。愛力最高的時候，忽然兩個又分開了。若是著者要作豔情小說呢？就把他們勉強湊合攏來。若是著者要作哀情小說呢？就把他們永久分開，一個死在一處地方，中間夾幾句香豔詩，幾封言情信。<sup>32</sup>

Most likely, the story starts with how nice-looking a young scholar is, and how nice-looking the woman is whom he encounters. After they meet for the first time, they find it extremely hard to separate from each other. Therefore they make a secret engagement. Just as their passion reaches its peak, they are suddenly separated. If the author wants to write a passionate love story, he takes pains to bring them together again. If he wants to write a sorrowful love story, then he separates them forever, with each dying in a different place. In the meantime, there are a couple of erotic-love poems and some love letters.

Overtly sarcastic in his tone, Luo points out the predictability of the plots of popular love stories at the time, and the calculated ways in which writers manipulated the emotional effects of their stories.<sup>33</sup> Incisive as his opinions are, Luo does not proceed to categorize the feature of this type of stories as melodramatic. Similarly, in an article

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the morals of the masses” (*quansu* 勸俗). Zhu Ziqing 朱自清. “On Being Serious” (*Lun yansu* 論嚴肅), in Rui, *Literary Materials on “the Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School,”* 750.

<sup>31</sup> See Xu, *Dictionary of Pseudonyms of Early Modern and Modern Personnels*, 476.

<sup>32</sup> Zhi Xi 志希. “Chinese Fiction Establishment Today” (excerpt) “*Jinri Zhongguo zhi xiaoshuo jie*” (*jielu*) 今日中國之小說界”(節錄). *New Tide* (*Xin chao* 新潮) 1. 1 (1919), in Rui, *Literary Materials on “the Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School,”* 648.

<sup>33</sup> Here, Luo touches upon a key feature of popular love story writing of his time: the constant appearance of poems and love letters in love stories to create an emotionally flourishing general tone. The importance of using poetry as a carrier of powerful emotions in a prose fiction receives elaborate discussions in Chapter 5, 231-237.

by Lou Shiyi 樓適夷 (1905-2001) published under the pen name Ye Su 葉素,<sup>34</sup> the author summarizes several broad characteristics of works by *Saturday School* writers. Firstly, they were pornographic, since many of them were about prostitutes and love affairs. Secondly, they were “grotesque.”<sup>35</sup> The writers were obsessed with sepulchral temples, giant demons, furs and blood. Thirdly, they talked about “nonsense,” which suggested a lack of “serious” concerns.<sup>36</sup> Among these three features, the one relating to “grotesqueness” seems particularly in line with Singer’s categorization of “sensationalism,” in which he refers to “an emphasis on action, violence, thrills, awesome sights, and spectacles of physical peril.”<sup>37</sup> The third accusation seems to echo Singer’s categorization of “nonclassical narrative structure”: “compared with the classical narrative’s logical cause-and-effect structure, melodrama has a far greater tolerance, or indeed a preference, for outrageous coincidence, implausibility, [and] convoluted plotting.”<sup>38</sup> It seems that Lou came quite close to recognizing the writing of *Saturday School* writers as melodramatic, but the difference is that while Singer and others viewed melodrama as an important genre of literary or filmic production, Lou and his cohort dismissed it as meaningless and vulgar, an attitude resembling the early critical history of melodramatic fiction in the West.

It has been widely agreed that the popular love stories of *Saturday School* writers were the closest off-shoots of the scholar-beauty romance.<sup>39</sup> As a result, they not only

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<sup>34</sup> See Xu, *Dictionary of Pseudonyms of Early Modern and Modern Personnels*, 413.

<sup>35</sup> Lou used this English word directly, though not without misspelling.

<sup>36</sup> Lou also used the English word for “nonsense” directly in his article. Ye Su 葉素. “The Revival of the *Saturday School*” (Libailiu pai de chongzhen 禮拜六派的重振). *Shanghai Weekly* (*Shanghai zhoubao* 上海週報) 2. 26 (1940), in Rui, *Literary Materials on “the Mandarin Ducks and Butterfly School,”* 747-748.

<sup>37</sup> Singer, *Melodrama and Modernity*, 44-49.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> This idea was emphasized in Lu Xun’s influential article “A Glimpse of the Literature and Art in Shanghai” (*Shanghai wenyi zhi yipie* 上海文藝之一瞥), in Wei, *Research Materials on the*

inherited certain features of the scholar-beauty romance, but also the criticism such texts tended to receive. While scholars of classical literature have never reached complete consensus on the definition of the scholar-beauty romance, some contend that it dates back to before the Tang Dynasty (618-907), and culminated in the “fiction in chapters” (*zhanghui xiaoshuo* 章回小說) of the Qing Dynasty. Its protagonists are young scholars and beautiful girls who fall in love with each other. The repetitive plot development and character types of these stories were often ridiculed and parodied by other writers and literati. One typical example was Cao Xueqin’s ridicule of the scholar-beauty romance in *Dream of the Red Chamber* (*Honglou meng* 紅樓夢), in which Grandmother Jia (*Jia Mu* 賈母), the oldest and most authoritative female in the family, makes fun of the repetitive structure of this kind of fiction. In the 54<sup>th</sup> chapter, the Jia family invites a female raconteur to tell a story. Just as she begins to tell the story of a man courting a woman, Grandmother Jia interrupts her and claims to know the entire story already:

“These stories are all the same,” said Grandmother Jia, “– so tedious! Always the same ideally eligible young bachelors and the same ideally beautiful and accomplished young ladies- at least, they are supposed to be ideal, but there’s certainly nothing ideal about their behavior – in fact there’s nothing very ladylike about them at all. Invariably, we are told how well-born they are. Their father has been a Prime Minister, or a First Secretary at the very least. They are always their father’s only child and the apple of his eye. They are always amazingly well-educated, a model of decorum, a regular paragon of all the virtues – that is, until the first presentable young man comes along. As soon as he appears on the scene – it doesn’t matter who or what he is – all their book-learning and the duty they owe their parents fly out of the window and the next moment they are ‘making their plans for the future’ and generally carrying on in a way that would bring blushes to the cheek of a cat-burglar – certainly not in the least like respectable, educated young ladies... The people who make up these stories give themselves the lie every time they open their mouths.”<sup>40</sup>

Cao was definitely not alone in his ridicule of the scholar-beauty romance, as many

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“*Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School*,” 2-5.

<sup>40</sup> Cao Xueqin. *The Story of the Stone*. Vol. 3. Trans. David Hawkes. Bloomington, London: Indiana University Press, 1980. p. 30.

other literati, both before and after his time, maintained a critical view of this kind of fiction by pointing out its often repetitive structure. It seems that the supporters of “new literature” carried on the legacy of traditional criticism of scholar-beauty romance to assail their successors, the popular love stories of the early twentieth century. Now, more than one hundred years after their publication, it is necessary to examine these stories in a more balanced way, without presumptions and value judgments. The significance of Zhou’s melodramatization of the source texts can only be revealed once we moderate our stance in this way.

### **3.3.3 How the Framework of Melodrama Fits the Study of Zhou Shoujuan’s Creative Translation**

Although few scholars until quite recently have adopted the framework of melodrama to study modern Chinese literature, I contend that this framework offers us important insights into the fictional narratives, particularly the love stories of the Republican period. Compared with literary terms such as “sensational fiction,”<sup>41</sup> or the Chinese term “sentimental fiction” (*yanqing* 言情),<sup>42</sup> the term melodrama has an established relationship with social ruptures, which better fits the social, cultural, and historical reality of the turn of the twentieth century, a period that was marked by social upheavals, encounters with modernity, and moral chaos.

As mentioned earlier, both in the West and in East Asia, the emergence and popularity of melodrama can be regarded as a response to social and cultural ruptures, and to

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<sup>41</sup> Huang, “From *East Lynne* to *Konggu Lan*,” 48-84.

<sup>42</sup> Yuan, “On the Influence of Early Modern Translated Fictions on Chinese Love Stories,” 206-233.



historical moments when the public was faced with startling new inventions and high-speed lifestyles in an industrial age. Writing in the 1920s, Ortega Y Gasset aptly describes the anxiety felt by modern people: “The tempo at which things move at present, the force and energy with which everything is done, cause anguish to the man of archaic mould, and this anguish is the measure of the difference between his pulse-beats and the pulse-beats of the time.”<sup>43</sup> Under such circumstances, the modern subject can find release from anxiety by reading or writing melodramatic fiction that is full of sensational plots which mirror his or her own predicament.

Although Western societies anticipated Japanese and Chinese societies in their encounters with modernity by more than a hundred years, many of their experiences shared significant commonalities. In a Republican Shanghai where people experienced “modernity” for the first time, feelings of uncertainty and shock were fully reflected and represented in popular fictional narratives. They were appealing to readers because they resembled - in melodramatically heightened form – new lifestyles in which previously unimaginable scenes and sights became parts of quotidian reality.<sup>44</sup> In a short story by Zhou Shoujuan entitled “The Automobile’s Complaint” (*Qiche zhi yuan* 汽車之怨, 1922), an automobile imported from the U.S. and purchased by a rich Chinese merchant files a bitter complaint against the cruelty of its owner and his family members. It tells of how it has killed many a poor man and woman, whose families are paid off by the rich merchant. The automobile tries to curb irresponsible driving by telling people that in Chicago speeding drivers are made to watch a film in which children are killed by automobiles. As a result, these drivers

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<sup>43</sup> Jos é Ortega y Gasset. *The Revolt of the Masses*. Authorized translation. New York: Norton & Company, Inc., 1993. p. 28.

<sup>44</sup> For a detailed discussion of the changing lifestyle in the Republican era, see Henrietta Harrison. *The Making of the Republican Citizen: Political Ceremonies and Symbols in China, 1911-1929*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. pp. 49-83.

suffer severe guilt and promise never to speed again. The story concludes with the automobile wondering whether rich men in Shanghai are too hard-hearted to be controlled by this form of punishment.<sup>45</sup> Here, the automobile as a Western import was overwhelming for Chinese urban dwellers due to its destructive power.<sup>46</sup> This and other fears of the unknown and unfamiliar which modernity inevitably entails helped to entrench the popularity of melodramatic fiction.

Therefore, I argue that the term melodrama is highly pertinent to the discussion of early twentieth-century Chinese popular literature. As mentioned earlier, recent years have seen a small number of studies which point out the suitability of this framework for the analysis of Republican films and literature. Paul Pickowicz, in a discussion on the film industry, points out that the melodramatic genre dominated the film industry in Republican Shanghai. He contends that even leftist filmmakers were overwhelmed by the melodramatic genre and “thereby doomed to failure any chance they had to introduce complex May Fourth ideas.”<sup>47</sup> He further points out that “although Perry Link does not use melodrama as an analytical category, something closely resembling melodrama was clearly central to the imagination of the ‘Mandarin duck and butterfly’ writers who were popular in urban China in late Qing and early Republican times.”<sup>48</sup> David Derwei Wang uses “farce” and “melodrama” to describe the fiction of Lao She 老舍 (1899-1966),<sup>49</sup> and Jiang Jin also uses the term melodrama to

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<sup>45</sup> Zhou Shoujuan. “The Automobile’s Complaint” (*Qiche zhi yuan* 汽車之怨), originally published on *Saturday* (*Libailiu* 禮拜六) 157 (1922), in Zhou, *An Anthology of Zhou Shoujuan’s Works* Vol. 1, 39-42.

<sup>46</sup> Ben Singer discusses the traffic hazard which was also a major source of stress and anxiety for turn-of-the-century Western societies. See Singer, *Melodrama and Modernity*, 59-100.

<sup>47</sup> Paul G. Pickowicz, “The ‘May Fourth’ Tradition of Chinese Cinema,” *From May Fourth to June Fourth*, 301.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 302.

<sup>49</sup> David Der-wei Wang. *Fictional Realism in Twentieth-Century China: Mao Dun, Lao She, Shen Congwen*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992. pp. 111-156.

describe Chinese literature at the beginning of the twentieth century. In her article “Modernity East and West: Melodrama and *yanqing* in Shanghai’s Popular Culture,” she notes that there is no easy counterpart for the English word “melodrama” in Chinese; yet two commonly used Chinese terms, *chuanqi* 傳奇 and *yanqing* 言情 can usefully describe the popular culture of Republican Shanghai. Jiang points out that despite the obvious similarities between the Chinese situation and the Western one, there are profound differences, one of which is that the Chinese were not just “frightened” by modern changes, but to a large degree welcomed them. Being aware of the differences, she still finds it acceptable to apply the English term to the Chinese situation, pointing out that “the most common form of melodrama in Republican Shanghai was the love story.”<sup>50</sup>

While the above-mentioned scholars have noticed the similarity between Western melodrama and Republican-era popular literature, few have taken note of the fact that Republican-era writers not only created melodramatic fiction, but also translated a significant amount of foreign melodramatic fiction, even rendering the texts they translated demonstrably more melodramatic. If Brook’s “melodramatic imagination” refers mainly to that of the writers, I contend that the same can be applied to the translators. If the act of translation is a kind of creation in itself and if, as argued in the “Introduction” of this dissertation, the creativity inherent in the act of translation can be even more intense than that in literary creation, then the translator’s melodramatic imagination is likely to be a fertile ground for scholarly study. In China’s early twentieth-century literary market, a major portion of fictional narratives published or

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<sup>50</sup> Jiang Jin. “Modernity East and West: Melodrama and *yanqing* in Shanghai’s popular culture.” *Frontiers of History in China* 2. 2 (2007): 234-253.

serialized in literary journals were translated from foreign literatures.<sup>51</sup> Even many of the indigenously created fictional narratives were significantly influenced by foreign melodramatic fiction.<sup>52</sup> Hence, in order to understand fully the melodramatic features of these fictional narratives, it is essential that translations are taken into account. By analyzing some of Zhou Shoujuan's creative translations, I intend to show that the concept of melodrama can be a powerful one for understanding how his creative translations were produced. While I remain aware of the profound differences between the Western and Chinese contexts in which melodrama has been debated and discussed, I contend that if the Western framework is used prudently and thoughtfully, it can emerge as a fresh and incisive analytical category.

### **3.3.4 Selection Criteria in Zhou Shoujuan's Creative Translations of Foreign Melodramatic Short Stories**

As a prolific translator, Zhou Shoujuan translated from a wide range of foreign writers. Besides a significant number of patriotic short stories, he also translated a large number of melodramatic love stories that were popular in the West.<sup>53</sup> His choices of source texts reveal an obvious preference for foreign writers whose stories exhibited

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<sup>51</sup> For a study of the impact serialization has on eager readers, see Deborah Wynne. *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine*. New York: Palgrave, 2001. pp. 4-5. Also see Alexander Des Forges. "Building Shanghai, One Page at a Time: The Aesthetics of Installment Fiction at the Turn of the Century." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 62. 3 (2003): 781-810.

<sup>52</sup> For instance, Zhou Shoujuan's short story "The Empty Tomb" (*Kong mu* 空墓) was obviously inspired by his translation of Elisabeth Gaskell's "The Sexton's Hero." Chen Jianhua also notices the work's imitative nature and discusses it in his thesis, see Chen Jianhua, "A Myth of Violet," 285-286.

<sup>53</sup> It seems that patriotic passion was for Zhou Shoujuan a major emotion, which always unquestionably superseded romantic passion whenever there were conflicts. In the summer of 2012, with the help of Miss Zheng Xinxian 鄭心閑 who studies at Princeton University and her parents who live in Su Zhou, I had the fortune of interviewing Mr. Zhou Lian 周連, the eldest son of Zhou Shoujuan. When asked what the strongest impression of his late father was, Mr. Zhou Lian told us that it was his patriotism. Zhou Lian 周連. Personal Interview. 5 July, 2012.

melodramatic features. Due to spatial limitations, I only briefly discuss the melodramatic features of Henry Rider Haggard and Robert Louis Stevenson, the two writers whose translations by Zhou are discussed in this chapter.

Though often categorized as adventure stories,<sup>54</sup> or imperial romances, Haggard's novels such as *King Solomon's Mines* (1885), *She* (1887) and *Allan Quatermain* (1887) have distinctly melodramatic features. The enormous popularity of these novels in late-Victorian England has been attributed to their successful catering to the psychological needs of Victorian readers. "Late-Victorian fears and desires found expression in their pages with the action set in faraway lands. The distance between domestic England and exotic Empire enabled a safe immersion in the frequently blood-drenched, thrilling tales Haggard told."<sup>55</sup> Africa was at the time the "biggest, the most blank" space of "the many blank spaces" on the map, to borrow Joseph Conrad's (1857-1924) famous metaphor – a space not yet colonized.<sup>56</sup> In Haggard's novels, thrilling adventures took place in Africa, where "the beasts which Victorians feared to encounter in themselves could be contemplated at a safe remove."<sup>57</sup> Even in Haggard's stories that do not directly describe African life, such as "Blue Curtains" discussed later in this chapter, Africa serves as a backdrop for the separation of lovers, and as a trigger for deaths caused by unfulfilled desires. The thrills, blood, conflicts between civilization and primitiveness, and romance amidst them all helped to create powerful melodramatic effects in Haggard's fictional narratives.

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<sup>54</sup> Laura Chrisman. "Empire and Opposition: Literature of South Africa 1830-1920." Diss. Oxford University, 1992. p. 15.

<sup>55</sup> --. "Introduction." *Lives of Victorian Literary Figures, Vol. 2: H. Rider Haggard*. Ed. Lindy Stiebel. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009. p. x.

<sup>56</sup> Joseph Conrad. *Heart of Darkness*. Richmond: Oneworld Classics Ltd, 2009. p. 8.

<sup>57</sup> Norman Etherington. *Rider Haggard*. Boston, MA: Twayne Publishers, 1984. p. 50.

Similarly, Robert Louis Stevenson was also viewed primarily as a writer of popular literature, known for writing stories that are pleasant to read, but not “genuinely profound.”<sup>58</sup> It is only in recent decades that he has been accepted into the hall of fame of “serious literature.”<sup>59</sup> Many of his novels, such as *Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1886) and *Treasure Island* (1883), demonstrate an often vigorously melodramatic imagination. No wonder his good friend Henry James once praised him for having “a whole province of one’s imagination.”<sup>60</sup> His short stories are often full of sensational plots, particularly those inspired by the French Revolution, and the melodramatic features of his short stories arguably contributed to his great popularity.

The melodramatic stories of these authors appealed to Zhou for various reasons. For a sustained period of time in his literary career, he had to sell his stories to make a living to support his family.<sup>61</sup> Therefore he knew very well how to attract readers by creating suspense and dramatic effects. For instance, Zhang Pinzhen 章品鎮 mentions an anecdote which relates how Zhou helped him to establish a new literary journal in 1956. Zhou expressed his disapproval at the dullness of magazine covers at the time and brought out a pile of issues of *Saturday* to show Zhang how they used to design materials of this sort. On the cover of one issue, a football player kicks a football, half of which is already outside the cover page. Then on the cover of the next issue, the football falls and hits an old man who falls on his back.<sup>62</sup> This detail

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<sup>58</sup> Henry L. Mencken. “Tusitala.” *American Mercury* 3. 2 (1924): 378-379. Quoted from Richard Ambrosini and Richard Dury, eds. *Robert Louis Stevenson: Writer of Boundaries*. Madison, Wis.; London: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006. p. xv.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., xiii-xiv.

<sup>60</sup> John Hampden. “Robert Louis Stevenson,” in R. L. Stevenson. *The Stevenson Companion*. London: Phoenix House, 1950. p. 1.

<sup>61</sup> Zhou Shoujuan. “Recollections of My Experience of Translating Short Stories from Western Masters” (*Wo fanyi xifang mingjia duanpian xiaoshuo de huiyi* 我翻譯西方名家短篇小說的回憶), *Research Materials on Zhou Shoujuan*, 253.

<sup>62</sup> Zhang Pinzhen 章品鎮. “Always People amongst Flowers and Trees” (*Huamucongzhong ren*

indicates Zhou's keen awareness of how popularity relies on dramatic incidents, because readers of *Saturday* looked for fun and excitement above all else.<sup>63</sup> As Singer points out, "after all, hue and cry and thrills, not uneventful quotidian realism, sold copies."<sup>64</sup> It has been generally established that the majority of readers of *Saturday* and other popular magazines were "the emerging middle class and new-style urbanites."<sup>65</sup> They would no doubt have been attracted to melodramatic stories capable of eliciting pathos, thrills and excitement in their otherwise uneventful life. Zhou doubtless saw the potential for popularity in the stories of Haggard and Stevenson, among others, both because they were thrilling and dramatic, and also because of a feeling of comfort which stemmed from the fact that these unsettling plots typically occurred in foreign lands. Geographical and fictional distance created the feeling of security in Chinese middle-class readers.<sup>66</sup> This perhaps explains the appeal melodramatic fiction retained for translators like Zhou, as well as for Republican Chinese readers.

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*chang zai* 花木叢中人常在), *Research Materials on Zhou Shoujuan*, 191.

<sup>63</sup> The magazine was named *Saturday* to indicate readers can read it for fun during the weekend. Dungen 鈍根. "A Few Redundant Words on the Publication of *Saturday*" (*Libailiu chuban zhuiyan* 《禮拜六》出版贅言). *Saturday* (*Libailiu* 禮拜六) 1 (1914), in Chen and Xia, *Materials on Twentieth-Century Chinese Fiction Theory* Vol. 1, 483-484.

<sup>64</sup> Singer, *Melodrama and Modernity*, 90.

<sup>65</sup> Mao Peijie. "The Saturday: Popular Narrative, Identity, and Cultural Imaginary in Literary Journals of Early Republican Shanghai". Diss. Stanford University, 2009. p.14. Zhou Shoujuan even published a letter from a twelve-year-old girl from an apparently well-off family who claims to be a zealous fan of his short stories. Zhou, *An Anthology of Zhou Shoujuan's Works* Vol. 1, 297-303.

<sup>66</sup> Put a little differently, Link notes that the popular fictional narratives served a "testing function" for their readers, because while they depicted Western lifestyle, they relished virtues valued by Confucian ethics such as filial piety. In this way, "from identification with pro-Western tendencies one could enjoy the stylishness associated with elite opinion and behavior, whereas (eating one's cake, too) rejection of the West at the deeper level reserved the security of tested and familiar life patterns." See Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, 20. To further Link's argument, I posit that not only were Western values considered a threat to Republican Chinese readers, but also modern technologies and unprecedented destructive force posed as imminent threat to urban citizens.

### 3.4 Textual Analysis

#### 3.4.1 The Omission of Details about Cause-and-Effect Relationships

While Zhou Shoujuan presumably chose texts which were already melodramatic in tone, it appears that in the process of translation he pushed the plots further away from reality, making the stories still more implausible. This is achieved in part by omitting many details which contribute to cause-and-effect relationships within the overall structure of emplotment. His creative translation of Robert Louis Stevenson's *The Sire de Mal éroit's Door* is one telling example. The story is about a young man named Denis who falls into a trap set by the tyrannical uncle of a girl named Blanche to force the two to get married. If Denis does not agree to marry her, he will be killed by the uncle's order. The reason behind this drama is that Blanche has fallen in love with another man and is meeting him secretly, which makes her uncle fear that if he does not marry her off quickly, she will ruin the honour of their family. The subtlety lies in the fact that in Stevenson's original story, the uncle does make an effort to look for Blanche's lover so that he can force them to get married soon even though when he knows he has failed to find the right man, he does not care, so long as he can find someone to marry his niece. The reasoning behind his seemingly absurd actions is expressed in the following passage:

“When you took it into your head to dishonour my family and the name that I have borne, in peace and war, for more than three-score years, you forfeited, not only the right to question my designs, but that of looking me in the face.”<sup>67</sup> If your father had been alive, he would have spat on you and turned you out of doors. His was the hand of iron. You may bless your God you have only to deal with the hand of velvet, mademoiselle. It was my duty to get you married without delay. Out of pure goodwill, I have tried to find your own gallant for you. And I believe I have succeeded. But before God and all the holy angels, Blanche de Mal éroit, if

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<sup>67</sup> Here and in the following quotations, the underlined parts in the original texts indicate that they were omitted in Zhou's translations.



I have not, I care not one jack-straw. So let me recommend you to be polite to our young friend; for upon my word, your next groom may be less appetising.”<sup>68</sup>

From the underlined parts in the above quotation, it is obvious that while the uncle is extremely despotic, his behaviour is not entirely without reason according to the social norms of the day. While Stevenson did create an implausible story, he made an effort at plausibility by allowing the old man to state his reasons. Though his words undoubtedly sound authoritative, they nevertheless harbour a certain level of reason, as readers might well imagine an elderly, old-fashioned gentleman infuriated by an intractable niece whose behaviour threatens to tarnish his reputation. Yet Zhou's translation eliminated this element of reason by having the old man say to his niece:

白朗希特瑪萊脫勞，到此我也沒有什麼旁的話，單有一句話兒，當著上帝和天上神聖向你說，即使你反抗我的意旨，拒絕這少年，我也決不聽你嫁那賤夫。<sup>69</sup> 你倘知理的，就該好好兒待我這小友，你可記取了？”<sup>70</sup>

Blanche de Malétoit, I have nothing else to say, but one sentence, which I will say in front of the God and all the gods on high: even if you oppose my wishes and refuse this young man, I will never let you marry that inferior man. If you are smart enough, you should treat my little friend nicely. You remember well?”

By including the words “even if you oppose my wishes and refuse this young man, I will never let you marry that inferior man,” and by eliminating the part about having looked for Blanche's own gallant, Zhou made the old man a great deal more autocratic. He is depicted as an egoistic and eccentric old man, more akin to a Chinese parent who has absolute authority over his child, than to an old gentleman whose pride has been hurt, who is tyrannical yet not entirely without good will for his niece.

By omitting the underlined words of the old man, Zhou increased the implausibility of

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<sup>68</sup> Robert Louis Stevenson. *The Sire de Malétoit's Door*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1913. pp. 30-31.

<sup>69</sup> Here and in the following quotations, the underlined parts in Zhou's translations indicate that they have been added by Zhou, with no corresponding original texts.

<sup>70</sup> Zhou Shoujuan. “Unexpected Liaison” (*Yiwai yuanyang* 意外鴛鴦). *Anthology of Short Stories by European and American Masters* (*Oumei mingjia duanpian xiaoshuo congke* 歐美名家短篇小說叢刻). Changsha: Yuelu chubanshe, 1987. p. 144.

the plot, and thus dramatized the plight of the female protagonist.

The omission of details which indicate a cause-and-effect relationship also creates sharp contrasts between the beginning and the ending of the story. At the opening of the narratives, Blanche says she would rather die than be forced to marry, but by the end of the story, she seems to forget the man she has loved for three months, and willingly loves and marries the stranger forced on her by her uncle. Her uncle congratulates the pair, brimming with delight. The compromise seems too easily reached and appears suspiciously beyond a reasonable course of events. In fact, Stevenson's original work made ample preparations for this turn of events. For instance, at one point Blanche confesses to Denis that she only has a passing infatuation for the other man. This significant detail presages her eventual change of mind, making it easier for readers to understand her decision. In his translation, Zhou omitted these nuances which naturalize the course of events, sharpening the contrast between the beginning and the ending of the text. This omission is coherent with a significant feature of melodrama, namely, non-classical narrative structure: "compared with the classical narrative's logical cause-and-effect structure, melodrama has a far greater tolerance, or indeed a preference, for outrageous coincidence, implausibility, [and] convoluted plotting."<sup>71</sup> Inconsistency and incongruity are often prominent in melodramatic plays, films and fictional narratives. This is because instead of crafting convincing stories consisting of sustained plot elaboration, writers of melodramatic stories rely on "appalling peril and heroic rescue" and "startling situations" to create feelings of shock.<sup>72</sup> As one critic has put it, melodramatic literary and artistic works comprise many "shockers," and "each shocker obliterates its

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<sup>71</sup> Singer, *Melodrama and Modernity*, 46.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

predecessor, and it is precisely this brevity of perspective that makes a series of unrelated episodes more facile of interpretation.”<sup>73</sup>

Zhou's translations also tend to omit narrative elements in the source text which foreshadow future plot developments, as a result of which the shock of the story's ending is increased, which further helps to create a melodramatic emotional effect in the story. For instance, Haggard's "The Blue Curtains" tells the love story of a simple and good man nicknamed Bottles, whose vain lover, a woman named Madeline, abandons him to marry a rich man while Bottles is working for the army in Africa. Yet many years later, when the husband dies and Bottles returns from Africa, Madeline pledges her love for him and easily regains his love. However, Bottles has a rich brother, Sir Eustace, an incisive lawyer who intuits that Madeline's love is far from constant. In order to prove this point to his disbelieving younger brother, Sir Eustace pretends to have feelings for Madeline and offers his own hand to her. As expected, she changes her mind about marrying Bottles at once. The agonized Bottles, who has hidden behind the blue curtains in Madeline's house to eavesdrop on the conversation, commits suicide the same evening out of disillusion and disappointment.

In Haggard's story, there are numerous nuanced details which foreshadow the eventual turn of events. For instance, when Madeline is first mentioned in the story, Haggard wrote:

It was evident even from that badly-coloured photograph that Miss Madeline Spenser had the makings of a lovely figure and a pair of wonderful eyes. It was said, however, that she had not a sixpence; and as our hero had but very few, the married ladies of the battalion used frequently to speculate how Mr. Peritt<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Rollin Lynde Hartt. *The People at Play: Excursions in the Humor and Philosophy of Popular Amusements*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1909. pp. 187-188.

<sup>74</sup> John George Peritt is the real name of Bottles.

would ‘manage’ when it came to matrimony.<sup>75</sup>

These words imply that there is more to be learned about Madeline than simply her good looks, and that financial difficulty may eventually pose a threat to the marriage of Madeline and Bottles. This would prepare readers psychologically for their first breakup, as well as for Madeline’s second betrayal of Bottles which leads to his suicide. The foreshadowing would have dampened the reader’s sense of shock as the story unfolds; therefore it was omitted in the translated version.

In Zhou’s other translations, for instance his translation of Alexandre Dumas *père*’s (1802-1870) short story “Solange” (1849),<sup>76</sup> he also omitted material in the original work that would have implied the eventual ending of the story.<sup>77</sup> Zhou’s omission of these details created endings which were more surprising, and therefore more shocking than those of the original works. Compared with readers of Haggard’s or Dumas *père*’s stories who would have been prepared for the turn of events, readers of Zhou’s translations would have been caught unawares. In a way, stories without much foreshadowing generate a heightened dramatic intensity which makes them sensational, gripping, and melodramatic.

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<sup>75</sup> Henry Rider Haggard. *Smith and the Pharaohs and Other Tales*. Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith Ltd., 1920. p. 96.

<sup>76</sup> Zhou in fact translated two episodes, “Solange” and “Albert,” from Dumas’ anthology *Les Mille et un Fantômes* (One Thousand and One Ghosts) which form a complete story. Alexandre Dumas *père*. *Les Mille et un Fantômes* (One Thousand and One Ghosts). Paris: Calmann Lévy, Éditeurs Ancienne Maison Michel Lévy Frères, 1881. pp. 67-97. For the sake of brevity, they will be referred to as “Solange” in the rest of this chapter.

<sup>77</sup> This story deals with the horrors of the French Revolution. In Dumas’ original story, there was at one point an indication of danger that lurked in the background: especially the protagonist felt “more depressed because a letter which had arrived from her father appeared to have been tampered with.” (*D’autant plus que Solange exprimait quelque inquiétude: une lettre qu’elle avait trouvée à sa pension en y rentrant, et qui venait de son père, lui paraissait avoir été décachée.*) (Dumas *père*, *One Thousand and One Ghosts*, 92.) Yet Zhou omitted this foreshadowing of danger. See Zhou Shoujuan. “Head of a Beauty” (*Meiren zhi tou* 美人之頭). *An Anthology of Zhou Shoujuan’s Works* Vol. 3, 30.

### 3.4.2 The Omission of Psychological Complexity

Zhou Shoujuan not only omitted details about cause-and-effect relationships, but also a degree of psychological complexity. To an extent, the first kind of omission overlaps with the second one, but psychological depictions which do not necessarily contribute to cause-and-effect relationships were also omitted. The reduction of psychological complexity is a very salient feature of Zhou's creative translations, as well as those of others, and it therefore deserves to be considered as a separate category. Indeed, although psychological depiction became a much more developed and vigorous aspect of early modern Chinese literature – partly due to the influence of foreign detective stories and love stories – psychological details are often omitted in many creative translations of earlier translators such as Lin Shu and Zhou Shoujuan.<sup>78</sup> I contend that one of the reasons for this was the drive to produce melodramatic emotional effects: specially, the simplification of characters' psychological activities in order to present a more unified emotional flow. For instance, in Stevenson's *The Sire de Mal ároit's Door*, Denis and Blanche go through a series of discussions, during which they reveal to each other what they truly feel. Having found out that Denis has feelings for her but is unwilling to marry her just to get himself out of danger, Blanche is moved and grows fond of him as well. She tries to encourage him to marry her, but at first, Denis is reluctant to accept her offer, because he believes she asks him to marry her out of pity rather than love:

“You are very good,” he said; “but you cannot make me forget that I was asked in pity and not for love.”

“I am not so sure of that,” she replied, holding down her head. “Hear me to an end, Monsieur de Beaulieu. I know how you must despise me; I feel you are right to do so; I am too poor a creature to occupy one thought of your mind, although, alas! You must die for me this morning. But when I asked you to marry me,

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<sup>78</sup> Guo, *A Survey of Early Modern Literary Translations in China*, 28.

indeed, and indeed, it was because I respected and admired you, and loved you with my whole soul, from the very moment that you took my part against my uncle. If you had seen yourself, and how noble you looked, you would pity rather than despise me. And now,” (she went on, hurriedly checking him with her hand, “although I have laid aside all reserve and told you so much, remember that I know your sentiments towards me already. I would not, believe me, being nobly born, weary you with importunities into consent. I too have a pride of my own: and I declare before the holy mother of God, if you should now go back from your word already given, I would no more marry you than I would marry my uncle’s groom.”

Denis smiled a little bitterly.

“It is a small love,” he said, “that shies at a little pride.”)

She made no answer, although she probably had her own thoughts.

“Come hither to the window,” he said, with a sigh. “Here is the dawn.”<sup>79</sup>

Here is Zhou’s translation:

但臬司道：“你一片好意，使人生感。只我但求你可憐見我，已很滿足，萬不敢妄想你芳心中可貴的愛情。”白朗希低垂著粉脖子，低聲說道：“麥歇特蒲留，請你聽我說下去。我料想你一定小覷我，我只也不敢抱怨你。可是我自問下賤，萬萬不值君子一顧。但爲你今天便須爲我而死，可不得不趁這當兒，掬心相示。要知我也很願意嫁你，因爲你是個勇敢義俠的好男子。委實說，我不但是慕你敬你，且還瀝我靈魂中的誠意愛你，剛才承你助著我反抗伯父，聲色俱厲的，寫出你滿腔俠氣，已足使人感激涕零。況且你又可憐見我，並不小覷我，也懷著大君子一片惻隱之心。”但臬司笑著，歎了口氣道：“你快到這窗前來瞧，天明咧。”<sup>80</sup>

Denis said: “I am very grateful to you for your kindness. Yet I am already extremely content to have your pity. I can never be so bold as to seek the precious love inside your fragrant heart.” Blanche lowered her pink neck, and murmured: “Monsieur de Beaulieu, please hear me out. I guess you must look down upon me, and I have no complaint, because I know I am a depraved girl, not worthy of one glance from a gentleman. It is only because you will die for me today that I have to show you my heart while there is still time. You should know that I am willing to marry you too, because you are a brave and chivalrous man, a good man. To be honest, I not only admire and respect you, but love you truly, with all my soul. A moment ago, when you helped me defy my uncle, you looked so upright and fearless, revealing a chivalrous soul. I was so grateful for that. Then you pitied me, and did not look down upon me, revealing the compassion of a true gentleman.” Smiling, Denis uttered a sigh and said: “Come to the window quickly. Dawn has come.” (My translation)

In Zhou’s translation, although Denis initially seems to refuse Blanche’s offer, he is not doing so out of self-esteem. Rather, he seeks Blanche’s pity and feels content to

<sup>79</sup> Stevenson, *The Sire de Malétroit’s Door*, 49-50.

<sup>80</sup> Zhou, “Unexpected Liaison,” 153.

have it. This forms a sharp contrast with Stevenson's Denis. Moreover, the section in brackets above was entirely omitted in Zhou's translation. The conflict between love and pride, echoing Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, disappears in the translation, together with the layered psychological complexity, leaving only Blanche's sincere and passionate love and Denis' happy acceptance of her love. By adding the words "then you pitied me, and did not look down upon me, revealing the compassion of a true gentleman," Zhou rendered Blanche more resigned and humble, which may have catered better to Chinese readers' expectations of docile women.

By omitting psychological activities which forewarn readers of about the likely workings of the plot, Zhou kept his readers in suspense until the very end of stories. In Haggard's "Blue Curtains," the two former lovers – Bottles and Madeline – encounter each other again many years later, after the woman has been widowed for more than a decade. Bottles yields to his love for Madeline and declares himself to her again. Haggard described Madeline's psychological state vividly:

The great strong man was down--yes, down on his knees before her, one trembling hand catching at the arm of her chair, and the other clasping her tapering fingers. There was no hesitation or awkwardness about him now, the greatness of his long-pent passion inspired him, and he told her all without let or stop--all that he had suffered for her sake throughout those lonely years, all his wretched hopelessness, keeping nothing back.

Much she did not understand; such a passion as this was too deep to be fathomed by her shallow lines, too soaring for her to net in her world-straitened imagination. Once or twice even his exalted notions made her smile: it seemed ridiculous, knowing the world as she did, that any man should think thus of 'any' woman. Nor, when at length he had finished, did she attempt an answer, feeling that her strength lay in silence, for she had a poor case. At least, the only argument that she used was a purely feminine one, but perfectly effective. She bent her beautiful face towards him, and he kissed it again and again.<sup>81</sup>

In Zhou's translation, the paragraph becomes much abridged:

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 116-117.

頃之，瓶遽屈其雙膝，長跽于羅裙之下，一手扶椅背，一手則把梅蒂玲削玉之纖指，滔滔然述其十四年來相思之苦。語至懇摯無倫。述竟，梅蒂玲嫣然微笑，俯其如花之面，以向瓶。瓶乃仰而吻之，久久弗已。<sup>82</sup>

A moment later, Bottles was on bended knees and stayed kneeling for a long time before her dress. He held the back of her chair with one hand, and her slim, jade-like fingers with another, telling her of his sorrowful longing for her over fourteen long years. His words were candid beyond match. When he had finished, Madeline smiled a lovely smile, lowering her flower-like face towards him. Bottles raised his head and kissed her again and again. (My translation)

The entire underlined section in the original work is missing from Zhou's translation. Using an omniscient point of view, Haggard depicted the psychological processes of Madeline, presenting her thoughts as cynical and vain, albeit cunning enough to charm a simple army man like Bottles. In Zhou's translation, he adopted a limited point of view, deleting all the descriptions of Madeline's vanity, and maintaining the illusion of her love for Bottles.<sup>83</sup> The irony in Haggard's work was omitted in the translation, as a result of which readers would have been more shocked when they eventually discovered Madeline's betrayal. The tragic ending of Bottles was foregrounded, and the melodramatic feature of the story was reinforced.

### 3.4.3 Heavy-Handed Depiction of Beauty

The above two kinds of omissions in Zhou Shoujuan's creative translations all concern narrative structures. By omitting details about cause-and-effect relationships and complex psychological states, Zhou transformed the original works into more melodramatic stories, which allowed for the articulation of emotion in melodramatic

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<sup>82</sup> Zhou Shoujuan. "Bottles" (*Ping 瓶*), *Anthology of Short Stories by European and American Masters*, 165-166.

<sup>83</sup> For a detailed discussion of the narratorial modes in Zhou Shoujuan's translations, see Li Dechao. "A Study of Zhou Shoujuan's Translation of Western Fiction." Diss. The Hong Kong Polytechnic University, 2006.



modes. The following two categories of addition, namely, the addition of highly-coloured depictions of female beauty, and the insertion of depictions of strong emotions, created emotional effects such as pathos, sorrow and fear in more melodramatic ways.

Like his literary creations, Zhou's translations were almost always fraught with excessive descriptions of female beauty. For instance, the following comparison between Stevenson's *The Sire de Malâroit's Door* and Zhou's translation reveals how he added florid descriptions of female beauty with vivid details. Stevenson's original work describes Denis' secret observation of Blanche, during which he finds her very charming:

Oftener and oftener, as the time went on, did his glance settle on the girl herself. Her face was bowed forward and covered with her hands, and she was shaken at intervals by the convulsive hiccup of grief. Even thus she was not an unpleasant object to dwell upon, so plump and yet so fine, with a warm brown skin, and the most beautiful hair, Denis thought, in the whole world of womankind. Her hands were like her uncle's; but they were more in place at the end of her young arms, and looked infinitely soft and caressing. He remembered how her blue eyes had shone upon him, full of anger, pity, and innocence.<sup>84</sup>

In Zhou's translation, he exaggerated the physical beauty of Blanche according to Chinese criteria of female beauty:

一會，但臬司已把滿室裡所有的東西，都瞧了個遍，再也沒有什麼瞧了，只得把眼光注在白朗希身上，見她低鬟蹙黛的坐在那裡，把玉手兒掩著素面，不住的宛轉哀啼，哭得那嬌軀也瑟瑟地顫動起來。然而啼後殘妝，卻益發嬌媚動目。玉膚上不施脂粉，自然柔美。鬢髮如雲，更覺不同尋常。那雙纖手，自然比他伯父加上幾倍白嫩。任把春綿柔荑那種字面去形容她，都覺不稱。又記得她剛才兩道似怨似嗔似媚的眼波，看在自己面上時，也足使人銷盡柔魂，連身子都軟化了。<sup>85</sup>

A moment later, Denis had already finished staring at every object in the room and there was nothing left to stare at. He had no choice but to set his eyes on

<sup>84</sup> Stevenson, *The Sire de Malâroit's Door*, 42-43.

<sup>85</sup> Zhou, "Unexpected Liaison," 150.

Blanche. He saw her sitting here, lowering her head and her eyebrows, her jade-like hand covering her unadorned face. She could not help weeping melodiously and sorrowfully, her delicate body shuddering like a leaf. Yet her face, with the tear-washed traces of her make-up, was more beautiful and touching than ever. Her jade-like skin was not powdered, and therefore was natural, soft and beautiful. Her thick hair was like a cloud, and looked extraordinarily good. Her delicate hands were of course several times whiter and finer than her uncle's. Even words such as spring cotton or budding leaf were not sufficient to depict their beauty. He then remembered her gaze at his face, as if full of blame, annoyance and longing, sufficient to soften the soul. Even his body was softened. (My translation)

Zhou seldom merely used the words “hands” (*shou* 手), “body” (*qu* 軀) or “skin” (*fu* 膚). Instead, he showed a marked preference for terms such as “jade-like hands” (*you shou* 玉手), “delicate body” (*jiao qu* 嬌軀) or “jade-like skin” (*yu fu* 玉膚). Zhou invoked images of traditional Chinese beauty through these familiar comparisons, attracting his readers with female protagonists of radiant beauty, conventionally construed. Zhou's invocation of traditional Chinese depictions of beauty in his translations can also be seen as an intertextual activity. Phrases such as “jade-like hands,” and “delicate body” carried with them rich implications of the imagery of classical Chinese beauties with which many readers were familiar. As Chen Jianhua has noted, “familiarity” was a crucial factor in Zhou's popularity. Many of Zhou's stories contained elements that were familiar to his contemporary readers, such as names of female characters which resembled well-known tragic heroines and so on.<sup>86</sup> Chen quotes Philip Fisher's comments on *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, especially Fisher's point that “often the popular forms, while stale in detail and texture, were massing small patterns of feeling in entirely new directions.”<sup>87</sup> Whereas Chen and Fisher are more concerned with extra-textual details, their arguments can also be applied to intratextual and intertextual ones. In Zhou's choice of vocabulary for the translation of

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<sup>86</sup> Chen Jianhua, “A Myth of Violet,” 39.

<sup>87</sup> Philip Fisher. *Hard Facts: Setting and Form in the American Novel*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985. p. 19.

foreign love stories, fragments and pieces from classical Chinese literature on romantic love are frequently used. These phrases and sentences carry with them established poetic feelings, and can be regarded as what Riffaterre called “hypogrammatic” texts. By using them in his translations, Zhou simultaneously brought a familiar feeling to readers, allowing them to draw links between these stories and traditional love stories, and also invested the foreign texts with a different kind of emotional tenor. As a result, his translated foreign texts enjoyed a remarkable popularity among Chinese audiences.

Other instances of these heavy-handed depictions of beauty abound throughout Zhou’s translations. Another example occurs when Blanche asks Denis whether he finds her beautiful:

“...Pray, do you think me beautiful?” she asked, with a deep flush.  
“Indeed, madam, I do,” he said.<sup>88</sup>

“且慢，你瞧我可很美麗麼？”說時粉靨倏的一紅，連那眉梢鬢角，也都暈做了玫瑰之色。但臬司悄然答道：“我瞧你不但是人間凡豔，簡直是天上安琪兒呢。”<sup>89</sup>

“Wait, do you think me beautiful?” Her pink cheeks suddenly flushed, even the tips of her eyebrows and her temples were dyed the color of roses. Denis answered quietly: “I find you not only a radiant beauty in this mundane world, but almost the angel of heaven.” (My translation)

This example shows Zhou’s typical exaggeration of female beauty, which heightened the dramatic effect and emotional intensity of the story, and thus made it more melodramatic. In Zhou’s elaboration, he intertextualized the “imported” images of “rose” and “angel.” As these two images were absent from Stevenson’s original text, Zhou was clearly intertextualizing other foreign texts which he had likely encountered

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<sup>88</sup> Stevenson, *The Sire de Mal ároit’s Door*, 48.

<sup>89</sup> Zhou, “Unexpected Liaison,” 152.

elsewhere. Besides these two words of Western origin, Zhou also intertextualized from traditional Chinese texts, using expressions such as “pink cheeks” (*fenye* 粉靨) and “the tips of eyebrows and temples” (*meishao binjiao* 眉梢鬢角). This reflects Zhou’s attempts to highlight the beauty of the female protagonist using a hybrid vocabulary, consisting of both indigenous and foreign sources.

Although Stevenson also foregrounded feminine beauty, it is obvious that Zhou’s version had a more potent depiction of female physical charm. The heavy-handed depiction of female beauty which characterizes the works of many Butterfly School writers has, in fact, a rich tradition in classical Chinese literature, and can be traced back to the beginning of the scholar-beauty romance.<sup>90</sup> In *Miscellaneous Records of the Western Capital* (*Xijing Zaji* 西京雜記, ca 300 ?), an anthology of anecdotes from the Western Han (202 BC-9 AD), there is a famous description of the beauty of Zhuo Wenjun which runs as follows: “the colour of her eyebrows is the colour of distant mountains, her face is often like the lotus flower, her skin is as soft and smooth as lard”(眉色如望遠山，臉際常若芙蓉，肌膚柔滑如脂).<sup>91</sup> After many centuries of development, the depiction of female beauty reached new heights in *Dream of the Red Chamber*, where not only major heroines, but also minor female characters had their beauty described in vivid ways.<sup>92</sup> “The practice of using ‘*jiaren*’ to refer to beautiful

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<sup>90</sup> Some scholars believe the origin of the scholar-beauty romance dates back to as early as pre-Qin period. See Su Jianxin 蘇建新. *The Evolution History of Chinese Scholar-Beauty Romance* (*Zhongguo caizi jiaren xiaoshuo yanbian shi* 中國才子佳人小說演變史). Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2006. p. 1.

<sup>91</sup> Quoted from Chen Jie 陳節. *A Complete History of Chinese Human-Emotion Fiction* (*Zhongguo renqing xiaoshuo tongshi* 中國人情小說通史). Nanjing: Jiangsu jiaoyu chubanshe, 1998. p. 19.

<sup>92</sup> Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹 and Gao E 高鶚. *Dream of the Red Chamber* (*Honglou meng* 紅樓夢) 3 vols. Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1982.

girls remained for a very long period, until as late as late Ming early Qing Dynasty.<sup>93</sup> Here Zhou Shoujuan melodramatically embellished descriptions of female beauty. In other words, he was drawing on well-attested Chinese literary antecedents to reconstruct foreign literary works.

The foregrounding of female beauty, insofar as it lays a foundation for the eventual depiction of a damsel in distress, also helps increase a sense of pathos in readers.<sup>94</sup> Zhou's short stories have been often labeled as "sorrowfully flamboyant" (*aiyan* 哀艷).<sup>95</sup> This term describes two aspects of Zhou's stories which are closely linked: the sorrow which they express and the flamboyant vocabulary they adopt. It seems that the flamboyant depiction of female beauty contributes to the pathos generated by the unfortunate fates which Zhou's female protagonists often endure. This perhaps echoes the traditional Chinese superstition that "beautiful girls have unfortunate fates" (*hongyan boming* 紅顏薄命), or may simply suggest that the perils of fair ladies usually prove more heart-rending for their readers, as the title of Li Dingyi's pseudotranslation – *Perils of Fair Ladies* – makes very clear.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> Zhou Jianyu 周建渝. *Study of Scholar-Beauty Romance (Caizi jiaren xiaoshuo yanjiu 才子佳人小說研究)*. Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1998. p. 11.

<sup>94</sup> "A damsel in distress" usually refers to the imperiled heroine in melodramatic stories, who is thrown into various predicaments before finally being saved by the hero. Michael Booth points out that "most of the necessary sentimentalism and pathos attaches to the heroine, who is the emotional core of melodrama and very often the storm centre of its action." Michael R. Booth. *English Melodrama*. London: Herbert Jenkins, 1965. p. 30.

<sup>95</sup> In a reader's letter to Zhou, it is stated that "sorrowfully flamboyant" is the greatest merit of Zhou's fiction writing. Chen Huaizu 陳懷祖. "Letter from a Reader" (*Yige duzhe de laixin 一個讀者的來信*). *Violet (Ziluolan 紫羅蘭)* 1. 2 (1925), *Research Materials on Zhou Shoujuan*, 300-301.

<sup>96</sup> See Chapter 2, 101.

### 3.4.4 The Insertion of Depictions of Strong Emotions

The last feature of melodramatization in Zhou Shoujuan's creative translation is the insertion of strong emotional expressions in his translated works. This is a direct engagement with the emotional effects of the love stories. Although melodramatic stories by their very nature exhibit overwrought emotions, Zhou increased the emotional intensity still further by using rhetorical devices such as hyperbole and metaphor. For instance, in "Blue Curtains," Madeline writes a farewell letter to Bottles when they part for the first time, ending with the following words:

"Good-bye, dear! If you only knew what I suffer! It is all very well to talk like aunt does about settlements and diamonds, but they can't make up to me for you. Good-bye, dear, I cannot write any more because my head aches so."<sup>97</sup>

“嗟夫吾愛，行再相見，郎當知儂作斯言，心乃彌痛，似有巨杵搗之成爲粉碎。嗟夫吾愛，行再相見，今茲吾首岑岑欲裂，此筆不能久把，從此與郎長別矣。”<sup>98</sup>

"Oh! My love, farewell! My lad, you should know that when I am telling you this, my heart hurts tremendously, as if smashed into pieces by a huge stick. Oh! My love, farewell! Now my head is sweating so as if it were about to explode. I cannot hold this pen for long. I am going to be separated from my lad for a long time." (My translation)

Zhou's translation omitted the underlined section of the original work, which implied the realistic causes of Madeline's change of mind, and which would have undermined the overblown emotional tone Zhou sought to build up. In Zhou's translation, instead of talking about settlements and diamonds, the woman is entirely mired in her own emotions. This vivid hyperbole intensifies the pain she is supposed to be feeling and is arguably intended to solicit sympathy from readers. This seemingly insignificant alteration – the omission of practical external causes and the addition of excessive emotionality – is in fact crucial in that it reveals how Zhou's romantic inclinations

<sup>97</sup> Haggard, *Smith and the Pharaohs and Other Tales*, 99.

<sup>98</sup> Zhou, "Bottles," 158.

diverged from Haggard's relatively rational melodrama. Zhou's works embraced an emotional extravagance which had its roots in "the lyrical tradition of Chinese literature," to quote David Derwei Wang.<sup>99</sup> As discussed earlier in this thesis, the emphasis on inner emotions reached a new peak in the works of the Butterfly School writers. The shift of focus from the outside world to the inner world of human feelings marks a significant feature of Zhou's creative translation of Western melodramatic short stories.

From time to time, Zhou also generated heightened emotion from an originally restrained and emotionally balanced writing style. One of the most telling examples might be his rendering of Bottles' letter in response to Madeline. The original letter was a sorrowful one, for obvious reasons, but one can easily infer that Haggard had intended to depict a Bottles who did not wallow in sentiment but strove hard to maintain his pride and honour even when he was heartbroken.

"My dear Madeline,--I have got your letter putting an end to our engagement. I don't want to dwell on myself when you must have so much to suffer, but I must say that it has been, and is, a great blow to me. I have loved you for so many years, ever since we were babies, I think; it does seem hard to lose you now after all. I thought that when we got home I might get the adjutancy of a militia regiment, and that we might have been married. I think we might have managed on five hundred a year, though perhaps I have no right to expect you to give up comforts and luxuries to which you are accustomed; but I am afraid that when one is in love one is apt to be selfish. However, all that is done with now, as, of course, putting everything else aside, I could not think of standing in your way in life. I love you much too well for that, dear Madeline, and you are too beautiful and delicate to be the wife of a poor subaltern with little beside his pay ... It is a hard trial--very; but it is no good being weak and giving way, and it consoles me to think that you are 'bettering yourself' as the servants say. Good-bye, dear Madeline. May God bless you, is now and ever my earnest prayer."<sup>100</sup>

<sup>99</sup> See Wang Dewei 王德威. *Four Remarks on Modern "Lyrical Tradition"* (Xiandai "shuqing chuantong" si lun 现代"抒情传统"四论). Taipei: Guoli Taiwan daxue chuban zhongxin, 2011.

<sup>100</sup> Haggard, *Smith and the Pharaohs and Other Tales*, 100-101.

In Zhou's translation, Bottles becomes much more lavish in his articulation of emotion:

“吾親愛之梅蒂玲愛鑒。今日吾已得卿決絕書矣。才一展誦，心爲之碎。良以吾二人剛在扶牆學走之時，便植此情愛之根。此根經二十稔之灌溉，已至深固。比來已於軍中略露頭角，滿擬遄歸與卿偕老，年得五百磅，亦足度此蕭閑之歲月。然今則已矣。情根既斬，情絲亦絕。以後孤棲之光陰，將如何過者？嗟夫吾親愛之梅蒂玲，吾愛卿之情，實臻其極。高者其希馬拉耶山耶，吾愛卿之情乃在希馬拉耶山之巔；深者其太平洋耶，吾愛卿之情，乃在太平洋之底。而今情夢已醒，尙複何言。念吾一介武夫，慣于腥風血雨中討生活，原不足以儷天人……”<sup>101</sup>

My dear Madeline, today I have received your letter of severance. The moment I opened and read it, my heart was broken. We planted the root of our love at the time when we still were learning to walk by leaning against the walls. This root has been irrigated for twenty years and has grown deep and strong. Recently I have slightly improved my standing in the army, believing that I would return home soon to grow old together with you. With five hundred pounds a year, we would have had enough to live a leisurely life. But all is over now. You have cut off the root of our love and destroyed the affection that lingered between us. How will I spend my lonesome years after this? Oh my dear Madeline, my love for you has been extreme. The Himalaya Mountains are high, yet my love for you is at the summit of those peaks; the Pacific Ocean is deep, yet my love for you is at the bottom of that sea. Yet now my love is awakened from its dream and there is no more to say. Thinking of myself, I am just a soldier who is used to begging for a living in fierce battlefields. I am not good enough for an angel like you... (My translation)

Here Zhou's Bottles expresses his passionate love for Madeline, comparing his love to the peak of the Himalayas and to the bottom of the Pacific Ocean. The uses of hyperbole, metaphor and parallel all help to amplify the emotional strength of the letter, just as the more realistic concerns and the self-composure of the original Bottles are omitted. Zhou's Bottles appears somewhat less masculine than Haggard's, because the latter talks of how "it is no good being weak and giving way" whereas the former has only excessive lamentations. This is reminiscent of what Rey Chow termed the "feminization" of Butterfly School writers,<sup>102</sup> as well as the tendency of

<sup>101</sup> Zhou, "Bottles," 158-159.

<sup>102</sup> Rey Chow. "Rereading Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies: A Response to the 'Postmodern' Condition". *Cultural Critique* 5 (1986-1987): 69-93.



popular melodramatic culture to “feminize” national cultures, as noted by Ann Douglas. Douglas contends that throughout the nineteenth century, ministers and women wrote works which were significantly more popular than the work of “serious male authors” such as James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851), Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-1864), and Walt Whitman (1819-1892). She criticizes the effects of popular literature written by ministers and women, and the way it feminized American culture, believing that popular culture came to possess an “excessive feminine sentimentalism.”<sup>103</sup> Interestingly enough, like Douglas, Lu Xun was also critical of the weakening impact popular literature could exert on its readers. In order to combat the corrupting effects of popular literature, Lu Xun proposed in a famous article that it was necessary to cultivate a kind of literature that was masculine and unadorned.<sup>104</sup>

Yet Zhou, like many of his contemporary writers, tried hard to augment the emotional level of his translated works. To do this, he eliminated the sarcasm embedded in the original work and inserted potent descriptions of sorrowful feelings. For instance, in dealing with Bottles’ suicide at the end of the story, he made a bold turn towards the more melodramatic:

This, then, was the woman whom he had forgiven and loved and honoured for all the years. This was the end and this the reward of all his devotion and of all his hopes. And he smiled in bitterness of his pain and self-contempt... But tonight he said no prayers. He could not pray. The three angels, Faith, Hope, and Love, whose whisperings heretofore had been ever in his ears, had taken wing, and left him as he played the eavesdropper behind those blue velvet curtains.

So he swallowed his sleeping-draught and laid himself down to rest.

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<sup>103</sup> Ann Douglas. *The Feminization of American Culture*. New York: Avon. 1977. pp. 1-13.

<sup>104</sup> “We all believe that it is necessary to cultivate literature and art that are masculine and unadorned.” (我們都以爲應該扶植一點剛健質樸的文藝。) Lu Xun 魯迅. “The Memorial for the Sake of Oblivion” (*Weile wangque de jinian* 爲了忘卻的紀念). *Complete Anthology of Lu Xun’s Works* (*Lu Xun quanji* 魯迅全集). Vol. 4. Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1961. p. 369.

When Madeline Croston heard the news at a dinner-party on the following evening she was much shocked, and made up her mind to go home early. To this day she tells the story as a frightful warning against the careless use of chloral.<sup>105</sup>

一念彼十四年息息不忘之情人，遂然靦然而笑。嗟夫讀吾書者，須知此一笑者，直以淚泉中萬斛眼淚醞釀而成，其痛苦實什百倍於哭也。剎那間胸中思潮澎湃，不能自抑。念日後如何者，寸心已死，萬念都灰……向例瓶每晚睡時，必為梅蒂玲祈禱，而是夕則不復禱，其心田中十餘年之愛情，已為彼紅樓翠幙所掩沒。少選，即狂飲其安神藥水，登床而眠。翌日之夕，梅蒂玲克洛司登在一宴會中聞人言，瓶死矣。<sup>106</sup>

Thinking of his lover whom he had never forgotten for one second over the past fourteen years, he smiled. Oh readers of my book, you should know that his smile was laden with ten thousand *zhen* of (unshed) tears, which had welled up from the fount of sorrow, and whose agony was one hundred times greater than weeping.<sup>107</sup> In that instant his bosom was flooded by countless sentiments. He could not help himself. Thinking of the future, his heart was dead, his hopes burnt to ashes... In the past, every night when Bottles went to bed, he would always pray for Madeline. This night he no longer prayed. The love which had remained in his heart for more than ten years was buried by the blue curtains inside that red mansion. A moment later, in a maddened state, he swallowed calming potion and then went to bed to sleep.

On the following evening, Madeline Croston heard the news during a banquet: Bottles was dead. (My translation)

Eliminating the religious sophistication hinted at by Haggard (the three angels of Faith, Hope and Love abandoning Bottles because he eavesdropped on Madeline's conversation with his brother), Zhou focused instead on Bottles' deep sorrow. He described Bottles' bitter smile as "laden with ten thousand *zhen* of (unshed) tears, which had welled up from the fount of sorrow, and whose agony was one hundred times greater than weeping," and he stated that "his heart has died, his hopes burnt to ashes." Zhou undoubtedly intensified many times the agony expressed in the original work. Moreover, Zhou adopted an ending for the story which is drastically different from Haggard's approach. Whereas Haggard implied Bottle's suicide by the phrase "laid himself down to rest," Zhou's implication, if any, was weaker, since the phrase

<sup>105</sup> Haggard, *Smith and The Pharaohs and Other Tales*, 137.

<sup>106</sup> Zhou, "Bottles," 174.

<sup>107</sup> *Zhen* 斛: a Chinese measurement.

“went to bed to sleep” (*deng chuang er mian* 登床而眠) sounds relatively normal, without any intimation of suicide. What makes the story more melodramatic is Zhou’s last sentence: “on the following evening, Madeline Croston heard the news: Bottles is dead.” This marks a very different tone from Haggard’s ending, in which his irony about the selfishness and stupidity of Madeline is very conspicuous: not even realizing that Bottles had committed suicide because of her own callousness and vanity, Madeline was so heartless as to believe his death to be the result of careless use of chloral. The tragedy of the story is weakened emotionally in Haggard’s version, though it is strengthened artistically. Moreover, by ending the story in a more abrupt way, Zhou made the ending more shocking and sensational. Like Bao Tianxiao and Yang Zilin’s translation of *Joan Haste*,<sup>108</sup> Zhou also chose to leave a blank space – what in Chinese art history is called “leaving a blank space” (*liubai* 留白) – at the ending of “Blue Curtains.” The note of cynicism that Haggard typically included at the end of his stories was usually omitted by these Chinese writer-translators to foreground the sense of tragedy elicited by the unfortunate fate of the protagonists.

In several of Zhou’s other translations, he also increased the intensity of the emotion contained in the original story. For instance, in his translation of Elizabeth Gaskell’s short story “The Sexton’s Hero,” he foregrounded the deep and indelible sorrow of the Sexton, who relates an unfortunate incident in which his rival sacrifices his own life

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<sup>108</sup> In Yang and Bao’s translation of *Joan Haste*, they omitted the ending in Haggard’s work, in which emotional shock of Joan’s self-sacrificial death was dampened by the callous comments of Henry’s selfish sister Ellen. In consoling Henry’s mother, Ellen said that although Henry was sad at the moment, he would forget about this tragedy soon and move on with his own life. Yang and Bao chose to end the story with the moment of Joan dying in the arms of Henry, with the hypogrammatic sentence “a fragrant soul thus enters the heaven of parting sorrow.” [H.R.Haggard. *Joan Haste*. Trans. Panxi Zi and Tianxiao Sheng, 124.] In this way, they increased the pathos that the story would have elicited in the readers. For a more detailed discussion of the effect of this omission, see Liu Qian, “On the Creative Treason in Yang and Bao’s Translation of *Joan Haste* and Related Issues,” 51-61.

to save that of the Sexton and the woman whom they both adore.

“Do not hate me, gentlemen. I often wish that night was a dream. It has haunted my sleep ever since like a dream, and yet it was no dream.”<sup>109</sup>

“嗟夫先生，吾滋願是夜所經，幻爲夢境。迄今縈吾心魂，尙覺無限感慨。惟是夢非真夢，境實真境。雖欲付之淡忘，亦不可得。”<sup>110</sup>

“Oh, gentlemen, I wish that what I experienced that night would become a dream. Yet to this day it still haunts my heart and soul. I still feel infinite sorrow. Yet the dream was not a dream, and the circumstance was a real circumstance. Though I wish to forget about it, I cannot.” (My translation)

Though the general tone of Zhou’s wording does not depart very conspicuously from that of Gaskell, by adding words that depicted potent emotions such as “I still feel infinite sorrow” and “though I wish to forget about it, I cannot,” Zhou stretched the emotion and gave it fuller play. Similarly, in Zhou’s translation of Alexandre Dumas *père*’s short story “Solange,” he added profuse lamentations about the death of the female protagonist Solange at the end of the story, writing:

如花美眷，似水流年，遽斷送於斷頭臺上。嗟夫。玉樓人去，化鶴何年？予棖觸舊事，輒複心痛。而最難堪者，則爲彼英倫三島上之白頭老父，尙日日危立海濱，翹首盼愛女之至。孰知雙眼望穿，不見倩影娉婷來矣。<sup>111</sup>

Such blossoming beauty, such prime time that flows like water, is destroyed by the guillotine. Alas! The person inside the jade pavilion is gone. When will she become a crane? When I recollect the past, I can still feel piercing pain. Yet the most unbearable of all is to think of her white-headed old father in Britain, who still lingers on the coast every day, waiting for his beloved daughter to arrive. However hard he gazes, he will never see the delicate figure of his lovely daughter.

By inserting these lamentations into the story, Zhou endowed the story with an overtone of filial piety which easily appealed to the sentiments of Chinese readers.

While Dumas did not mention Solange’s father waiting for her return, Zhou

<sup>109</sup> Elizabeth Cleghorn Gaskell. “The Sexton’s Hero.” *Cousin Phillis*. Dent: London. Everyman’s Library. 1970. p. 323.

<sup>110</sup> Zhou Shoujuan. “Chivalrous Rival” (*Qingchang xiagu* 情場俠骨). *Chinese Fiction Establishment* (*Zhonghua xiaoshuo jie* 中華小說界) 3. 4 (1916): 62

<sup>111</sup> Zhou, *An Anthology of Zhou Shoujuan’s Works* Vol. 3, 31.

foregrounded the agony that her death would impart to her father, thus increasing the emotional intensity of the story. This insertion can be considered an intertextual engagement with the Chinese tradition in which filial piety constitutes one of the most important emotions. In fact, many creative translations from early twentieth-century China wove filial piety into their narratives to win the compassion of Chinese readers. Lin Shu's rendering of the titles of several foreign novels is a typical example: *Story of the Filial Daughter Nai'er* (*Xiaonv Nai'er zhuan* 孝女耐兒傳, 1907), *The Story of Two Filial Sons Returning Gratitude with Blood* (*Shuang xiaozi diexue chou'en ji* 雙孝子喋血酬恩記, 1907) and so on.<sup>112</sup> In Zhou's translation of "Solange," though the original story was already rich in its emotional expressivity, Zhou heightened the emotional tenor still further by inserting this final lamentation.

### 3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the way Zhou Shoujuan transformed foreign melodramatic short stories into still more melodramatic texts, via the translation strategies of omission and addition. The omission of details about cause-and-effect relationships and psychological complexity increased the implausibility of the narration and the coincidental nature of plot developments. This increased the melodramatic flavour of the stories which, in its due turn, reinforced their emotional appeals. The addition of florid depictions of female beauty and strong articulated emotions pushed the emotional intensity of the stories still further, in part by engaging intertextually with traditional Chinese love stories and by appealing to Chinese structures of feelings

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<sup>112</sup> The former one is a translation of Dickens' *The Old Curiosity Shop* (1841), while the latter one is a translation of David Christie Murray's (1847-1907) *The Martyred Fool* (1895). Both were translated together with Wei Yi 魏易 (1880-1932), *Lin Shu's Translations*, 66, 73.

such as filial piety.

Zhou's creative translation of foreign melodramatic stories allowed him to build on these already emotionally rich short stories and extend their affective scope. As will be discussed in Chapter 4, direct emotional expressions had been relatively rare in traditional Chinese literature.<sup>113</sup> Foreign melodramatic stories which elicit pathos and other overwrought emotions served as a model for many of Zhou's creations and pseudotranslations (all of which can be considered translated creations, as examined in Chapter 2). The creative translation of these foreign stories served as a training ground for a young Zhou Shoujuan at the beginning of his writing career as he sought to write stories with a rich emotional tenor.

Zhou's intertextuality – of traditional Chinese depictions of female beauty and Chinese structures of feelings – was an ingenious step towards making these foreign love stories more palatable and accessible to Chinese readers. By intertextualizing traditional Chinese depictions of beauty and Chinese structures of feeling, often via his use of hypogrammatic words, Zhou excavated the useful elements of traditional Chinese literary resources and creatively transformed them as a means of expressing new emotions, ones that were associated with the fast-changing modern world full of excitement, danger, and the unknown. In a way, Zhou's creative translations of foreign short stories shed light on the role played by melodrama in the evolution and development of modern Chinese literature.

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<sup>113</sup> Chapter 4, 207-208.

## **Chapter 4 The Merging of Traditional Lyricism with Foreign Literary Texts in Su Manshu's Fictional Writing: The Formation of Transcultural Lyricism**

### **4.1 Introduction**

In the previous chapters of the thesis, I discussed the way translators transformed foreign literary works into new pieces of writing, using translation as a conduit to articulate complex, hidden or even subversive emotional states. In Chapter 2, the case studies of Bao Tianxiao's and Li Dingyi's works demonstrate the way writer-translators reworked the emotions expressed in their creative translations and translated creations. The three main chapters following Chapter 2 delve deeper into the two categories of literary texts in early twentieth-century China. In Chapter 3, in the case of Zhou Shoujuan's creative translations, he allowed his indigenously-informed imagination to rework Western melodramatic short stories, creating a kind of sentimental melodrama reminiscent of both the indigenous tradition and Western melodramatic characteristics. In chapters 4 and 5, I explore the other half of the spectrum of literary texts, namely, translated creations (i.e., works composed by Chinese writers who drew their inspirations from foreign texts). If the previous chapter mainly examined the way Chinese translators incorporated indigenous emotional patterns into the target texts and thus achieved a new kind of emotional expression in their creative translations. The following chapters will illustrate how Chinese writers initiated new ways of emotional expression by inserting texts from foreign, mainly Western, literatures into their creations, combining them with traditional lyricism to create new emotional expressions.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The term "lyricism" refers to the way poetry expresses directly the sentiments and thoughts of the poet. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/111676#eid38770866> Accessed 24 Sept. 2013. I am

As discussed in the introduction, intertextuality refers to the quotation or adaptation of texts from pre-existing literary works. Sometimes writers of one culture insert texts produced by writers of other cultures into their works, so intertextuality can be intercultural and/or interlingual. At other times, writers insert texts from literary precedents in their own culture. In both cases, the pre-existing texts are transformed and are given a new life in the new text that they help to constitute. In the next two chapters, I examine these two kinds of intertextual practices that appeared in the literary scene of early twentieth-century China, during the process of which foreign texts clashed with indigenous literary traditions, engendering new modes of expressions. My major focus lies in the expression of emotions generated by love, such as sorrow, longing or admiration. Chapter 4 discusses Su's combination of traditional lyricism with a wide range of foreign literary works to create a unique kind of lyricism for his novellas. Chapter 5 examines Yu's creative incorporation of foreign-language texts, via the form of quotation and imitation, in search of the perfect medium for emotional expression, endowing his works with the tones, ambiance and emotional contexts carried by the quoted texts. I demonstrate that in their fictional works that intertextualized both foreign texts and traditional lyrical legacy, Chinese writers such as Su and Yu appropriated and transposed the inserted texts to create new means of emotional expression.

The following passages begin with a discussion of the overall methodological

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using it in this chapter both as a shorthand for “emotional expression,” and because Su Manshu's fiction closely resembles poetry which makes it more apposite to use the word “lyrical” to describe its emotional expressions. The division of Chinese literary tradition into “the lyrical” and “the epic” is most prominently articulated in the anthology of Průšek's works. See Průšek, *The Lyrical and the Epic*. The Chinese translation of “lyric” is “*shuqing*” (抒情), meaning the expression of emotions.



framework of this chapter, i.e., dynamic intertextuality, and how it pushes the boundaries of traditional influence studies. Then I examine Su's translation of foreign poetry to lay a foundation for the discussion of his incorporation of it into his creative works. Next, I explore the phenomenon of "dynamic intertextuality" in Su Manshu's literary creations. As the phenomenon of dynamic intertextuality was common in almost all the literary genres Su worked with, I look briefly at his poems, and a case of pseudotranslation, before moving on to a more detailed discussion of his short stories. I examine the ways Su Manshu juxtaposed and combined lyricism common in traditional Chinese literature with foreign, mainly Western, romantic expression, so as to infuse a new vigor into the traditional lyrical mode. It is exactly this new vigour that created the unique kind of love stories which gained for Su Manshu the status of a pioneer in modern Chinese romantic literature.<sup>2</sup>

## **4.2 Dynamic Intertextuality: Pushing the Limits of Influence Studies**

### **4.2.1 The Limits of Traditional Influence Studies**

In the "Introduction" chapter, I discussed the major theories and developments of intertextuality studies. The following pages build on that discussion and further probe how a particular kind of intertextuality, namely, dynamic intertextuality can extend the limits of traditional influence studies. The approaches of dynamic intertextuality become even more effective once they are combined with methods of translation studies, as explained in this section.

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<sup>2</sup> Liu Wu-chi seems to share this idea of mine as he asserts in the preface to the biography he wrote for Su Manshu that "what provides his writings with their most exciting and lasting qualities is an aura of exoticism pervading his poems, short stories and the novel, *The Lone Swan*." Liu Wu-chi. "Preface." *Su Manshu*, New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1972. p. 8

In the field of comparative literature, influence studies has been a major approach to examining literary precedents and followers.<sup>3</sup> However, in recent years, the problems inherent in influence studies have been gradually raised. One problem is the difficulty of obtaining convincing proof of influence. Scholars of influence studies used to seek evidence in writers' diaries, letters and writings of an autobiographical nature. This method, at first mainly upheld by the French School – represented by French academics such as Fernand Baldensperger (1871-1958) and Paul Van Tieghem (1871-1948), who advocated the study of international literary influences – and later disseminated to scholars of other backgrounds, has become increasingly scientific and empirical in nature, and in ways which depart from more standard literary criticism.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, identifying influence via extra-textual circumstances does not suffice for a comprehensive understanding of literary relationships. It is still necessary to probe what takes place when one text creatively engages with other others. Yet problems can also occur when scholars discuss intra-textual relationships, particularly when they risk a simplistic identification of influences that may lack firm grounding. Even if when influence is undeniable, it is sometimes analyzed through an over-simplified theoretical language. Besides, the paradigm of influence “tends to suppose an unproblematic transfer of commodities from a ‘creator’ to a ‘receiver.’”<sup>5</sup> Often, an influence is assumed to be an “uninterrupted passage from one thing to another” which is rarely the case in actual literary contacts.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> For a genealogy of influence studies, see Jay Clayton and Eric Rothstein eds., *Influence and Intertextuality in Literary History*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1991. pp. 4-11.

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of the approaches of the French School in comparative literature, see Claudio Guillén. *The Challenge of Comparative Literature*. Cambridge, Mass; London: Harvard University Press, 1993. pp. 46-59.

<sup>5</sup> Karen Thornber. *Empire of Texts in Motion: Chinese, Korean, and Taiwanese Transculturations of Japanese Literature*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009. p. 219.

<sup>6</sup> Claudio Guillén. *The Challenge of Comparative Literature*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993. pp. 56-57.

Another problem with influence studies is its reduction of the agency of the author who is being influenced. The art historian Michael Baxandall points out that by thinking of literary relationships in terms of influence, people inevitably focus on the earlier writer or work as the giver of influence, and hence the active party:

If one says that X influenced Y it does seem that one is saying that X did something to Y rather than that Y did something to X. But in the consideration of good pictures and painters the second is always the more lively reality....If we think of Y rather than X as the agent, the vocabulary is much richer and more attractively diversified: drawn on, resort to, avail oneself of...promote, respond to, transform, tackle...To think in terms of influence blunts thought by impoverishing the means of differentiation.<sup>7</sup>

In order to extend the limits of influence studies, many new theories have risen to prominence, one of which is the theory of intertextuality. In contrast to the assumptions held by traditional influence studies, scholars like Andrew Plaks explore the phenomenon of “passive intertextuality,” using this term to refer to the existence of similar textual features in literatures produced in environments that are temporally and culturally separate. They take this phenomenon to be the result of similar social and economic backgrounds rather than as a proactive “mutual influence.”<sup>8</sup> While this theory rightly explains various facets of some examples of literary similarity, for others they may fail to offer a convincing explanation. The literary world of East Asia at the beginning of the twentieth century is a case in point. Just as Link and many other scholars have argued, the social and economic situation of early twentieth-century China in many ways resembled eighteenth-century England, which resulted in the rise of sentimental literatures in both countries, despite their temporal

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<sup>7</sup> Michael Baxandall. *Patterns of Intention: on the Historical Explanation of Pictures*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985. p. 59.

<sup>8</sup> Andrew Plaks. “Full-length *Hsiao-shuo* and the Western Novel: A Generic Reappraisal.” *China and the West: Comparative Literature Studies*. Eds. William Tay, et al. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1980. pp. 163-176.

and geographical distance.<sup>9</sup> Convincing as this argument may be, it does not account for the many instances of quotation from Western literary texts in the literary works of Chinese writers such as Su Manshu and Yu Dafu, nor can it explain the purposeful borrowing by these writers from the structure, tone or storyline of Western, and for that matter, Japanese writers. Therefore it can be argued that at least in the case of East Asian literatures at the turn of the twentieth century, a more sophisticated approach is required to interpret the literary scene of the period in question.

#### 4.2.2 Dynamic Intertextuality

To this end, I find Karen Thornber's elaboration of dynamic intertextuality a helpful framework.<sup>10</sup> She distinguishes between passive intertextuality and dynamic intertextuality, stating that:

Passive intertextuality points to the continuing relevance of artistic conventions. It is a powerful marker of shared humanity and is a compelling reminder of the ubiquity of coincidence. Yet beyond all these is the more proactive form of dynamic intertextuality... Interpretations allowing for dynamic engagement with previous works, on the other hand, reveal that intertextuality can be a very effective means of negotiation, enabling texts to intervene actively in and transform the legacy of their literary predecessors even as they affirm their authority. Writers often toy with the words and phrases of their predecessors and manipulate them to striking effect.<sup>11</sup>

As Thornber points out, the importance of acknowledging dynamic intertextuality lies in its recognition of the agency of writers. Rather than considering writers as passive recipients of the influence of convention, or as being under the dominion of

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<sup>9</sup> Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies*, 54-55.

<sup>10</sup> Examining the "transcultural interface" of Chinese, Korean, Taiwanese and Japanese literatures, Thornber categorizes the literary "contact nebulae" into three types: writerly contact, readerly contact and textual contact. She uses the bulk of her book to study textual contacts among East Asian nations at the beginning of the twentieth century, particularly among Japan, China, Taiwan and Korea. See Thornber, *Empire of Texts*.

<sup>11</sup> Thornber, *Empire of Texts*, 218.

social-economic circumstances, approaching literary texts via ideas of dynamic intertextuality opens a window for scholars to explore the ways writers proactively engage with existing texts and creatively rework those texts to develop new ways of literary expression. The methodology of dynamic intertextuality is a powerful tool of literary analysis that rids itself of the shackles of traditional influence studies and infuses new vigour into the ways literary precedents and heritage are understood.

One drawback of Thornber's approach, however, is that she mainly focuses on indigenous writers' creative intertextuality of texts written by the writers of the metropole, and she does not examine how indigenous writers engage their own traditions at the same time as they incorporate foreign texts. In his review of Thornber's work, Leo Ching points out that "while we learn much about how colonial and semi-colonial writers interacted with Japanese literature, there is little discussion of how a literary work, for instance, intertexted or transculturated within its own 'tradition.'"<sup>12</sup> This is a common problem for the study of literary influences and intertextuality, because the intertextuality of foreign texts almost always seems more salient for the simple reason that the indigenous conventions are almost too ubiquitous to be noticed. But this only makes it all the more important to study the mutually intertwined intertextuality of foreign texts and indigenous texts. At this crucial moment of transformation, rather than a simple juxtaposition, new and creative ways of literary expression are usually engendered.

Dynamic intertextuality can be a powerful tool of literary innovation and rejuvenation, creating new possibilities of expression in literature. It introduces new modes of

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<sup>12</sup> Leo Ching. "Empire of Texts in Motion: Chinese, Korean, and Taiwanese Transculturations of Japanese Literature (review)." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 70. 2 (2011): 600-602.

narration and new modes of lyrical expression. During this process of transformation, translation usually plays a crucial role as the carrier of new styles and expressive modes. As Theo Herman points out, translations often held great historical importance for the development of national literatures.<sup>13</sup> His argument can be extended to contain dynamic intertextuality as well. While translation may be writers' initial engagement with foreign literatures, dynamic intertextuality often builds on the foundation laid by translation activities. Writers intertextualized their own or others' translation of foreign literary texts in their literary creations, either explicitly or implicitly. For writers of love stories in early twentieth-century China, dynamic intertextuality provided them with a means by which they created a hybrid expression of emotions, combining indigenous modes with foreign ones. This hybrid lyricism marked the fictional narratives of Su Manshu from those of other Butterfly School writers. In what follows, I explore how these new forms of literary expression, engendered by the merging of traditional Chinese lyrical conventions and foreign texts, opened up a space in which writers could explore romantic emotional states.

#### **4.2.3 The Source of Intertextuality: Japan or the West**

It has been generally accepted that modern Chinese literature took much of its inspiration from Japan, as well as from the West in general. Japanese literature featured more prominently in the group of Japan-educated Chinese writers including Yu Dafu, Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892-1978), Cheng Fangwu 成仿吾 (1897-1984), Tian Han 田漢 (1898-1968) and so forth.<sup>14</sup> The relationship between this group of

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<sup>13</sup> Herman, *The Manipulation of Literature*, 8.

<sup>14</sup> For a detailed description of Yu Dafu's borrowing from Japanese writers, see Putin, "Yu Dafu: Explorations of the Self," 74-148.

Chinese writers who established the “Creation Society” and the Japanese writers of the “I-novel”<sup>15</sup> or *shishōsetsu* has been explored in some depth already.<sup>16</sup> Consistent with the mainstream scholarship on this question, while acknowledging the influence of the West on modern Chinese literature, Thornber posits that Chinese borrowing from Japanese literature was on a much greater scale and of much greater consequence. For instance, she points out Su Manshu’s intertextuality of Ozaki Kō yō’s 尾崎紅葉 (1868-1903) *Two Nuns’ Confessions of Love* (*Ninin bikuni irozange* 二人比丘尼色懺悔, 1889) in *The Lone Swan* (*Duanhong lingyan ji* 斷鴻零雁記, 1912) and Yu Dafu’s borrowing from Natsume Sōseki’s 夏目漱石 (1867-1916) novel *Pillow of Grass* (*Kusamakura* 草枕, 1906) in his short story “Late-Blooming Cassia” (*Chiguihua* 遲桂花, 1932) as prominent examples.<sup>17</sup>

While I do agree that these writers borrowed character types, plots, and even a certain tone from Japanese literature, it remains the case that despite their Japanese education and association, many of these writers still frequently inserted translations and original texts from Western-language sources into their own creations, making the study of Western influence equally indispensable. For instance, Su Manshu, born of a Japanese mother, spent years in Japan, but his Japanese level was reportedly not very high<sup>18</sup> and he often quoted from English texts, rather than Japanese ones, in his own

<sup>15</sup> For discussions on the definition and development of the “I-novel,” see Donald Keene. *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature of the Modern Era*, (Fiction). New York: Columbia University Press, 1998. pp. 506-507.

<sup>16</sup> See for example Christopher T. Keaveney. *The Subversive Self in Modern Chinese Literature: the Creation Society’s Reinvention of the Japanese Shishōsetsu*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

<sup>17</sup> Thornber, *Empire of Texts*, 240, 299-306, 317-321.

<sup>18</sup> Liu Wu-chi mentions in his biography of Su Manshu that when Su was reunited with his Japanese mother (or according to other sources, his Japanese adoptive mother) at the age of 24, Su had to enlist a former schoolmate as an interpreter, “for his Japanese had become rusty after long disuse.” See Liu Wu-chi, “Preface,” *Su Manshu*, 8. But this idea contradicts the assumption held

writing. Yu Dafu also spent many years studying and wandering in Japan, yet despite his close relationship with many Japanese writers and his vast reading in Japanese literature, he frequently quoted from English and German texts in his early works, sometimes translating them into Chinese, sometimes leaving them in their original languages.

Why were there so many instances of intertextuality in the works of writers such as Su Manshu and Yu Dafu? There are arguably two major explanations. Firstly, quoting earlier literary works is an important tradition in Chinese literature, as briefly mentioned in the introduction. Classical Chinese literature relied on “quotation and cryptic allusion,” and new texts were always produced out of prior texts.<sup>19</sup> By quoting from and alluding to earlier texts, later works gained authority from earlier works.<sup>20</sup> Secondly, frequent quotation from Western literatures can also be seen as a practice that Chinese writers picked up from the contemporary Japanese literary field. Since the latter half of the nineteenth century, Japanese writers had looked to the West for inspiration, as well as cultural capital, for their literary creations. They very often quoted from or imitated works imported from Western nations. It was natural for Chinese writers such as Guo Moruo and Yu Dafu, who were educated in Japan and had close connections with Japanese writers, to have adopted this practice in their own literary creations. Having spent a much longer time in Japan and having received a more systematic training in traditional Chinese literature, these two explanations are more apposite for Yu Dafu than Su Manshu. Therefore I shall elaborate them in greater depth in the next chapter. For Su Manshu, quoting from both foreign

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by some of Su's friends and biographers that Su wrote vicariously and in Japanese the preface to a collection of his paintings, which was supposed to have been written by his Japanese mother. See Leo Lee, *The Romantic Generation*, 68.

<sup>19</sup> Feuerwerker, *Ideology, Power, Text*, 37.

<sup>20</sup> Thornber, *Empire of Texts*, 215.



literatures and traditional Chinese literature seems to stem from his perception of lyricism as inherently transcultural, making it possible for him to procure a hybrid lyrical expression. His idea of transcultural lyricism can be better understood from his views on the nature of translation and his critical essays discussing a wide range of foreign poets and poems.

### **4.3 Su Manshu: between Butterfly and May Fourth**

#### **4.3.1 The Legend of Su Manshu**

Amongst the myriad of literary figures in early Republican China, either within the cohort of Butterfly School writers, or within the group of May Fourth writers, perhaps no one aroused such enormous curiosity and interest in the public imagination as did the monk-writer Su Manshu. His appeal resulted in part from the fact that he was born of a Chinese father and a Japanese mother, and it was only enhanced by the apparently mutually exclusive pursuits of his life. He has been hailed in the history of modern Chinese literature as a writer of poetry and romantic love stories. And as was simply normal for traditional Chinese literati, he frequented brothels and formed emotional bonds with quite a few prostitutes. He was also, at one time in his life, quite keen on revolutionary affairs.<sup>21</sup> What is rather more surprising is the fact that he was ordained as a monk when he was a teenager, out of his own free will to live a life independent of his indifferent and unfeeling family. A monk was not often expected to be seen at brothels, or to be associated with revolutionary affairs, at least not a monk in the traditional Chinese imagination. Therefore people jokingly nicknamed Su

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<sup>21</sup> See Liu Yazhi 柳亞子. "The Real Story of Su Xuanying" (*Su Xuanying zhengzhuàn* 蘇玄瑛正傳). Ed. Liu Wuji 柳無忌. *Studies on Su Manshu* (*Su Manshu yanjiu* 蘇曼殊研究). Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1987. p. 43.

Manshu “the monk of sentiment” (*qing seng* 情僧), and “the revolutionary monk” (*geming seng* 革命僧).<sup>22</sup> The interesting combination of these seemingly irrelevant personal traits in the single figure of Su Manshu obtained for him lasting fame and unabated curiosity both from the general public and intellectual circles alike.

Yet this fame might not have occurred had it not been for Su Manshu’s own successful attempt at autobiographical writing, in the form of poetry and novellas. As I will elaborate later in this chapter, Su Manshu was an ardent admirer of the British romantic poet Lord George Gordon Byron (1788-1824), who was himself both a great poet and a legendary figure. Studies of Byron reveal that the tremendous interest in Byron’s personal life and the sizable quantity of biographies of Byron after his death were in a significant way precipitated by Byron’s own continuous attempts at writing about the spectacular aspects of his own private life, including his lameness which caused him life-long regret and self-pity, his incestuous love affair with his half-sister, and his fascinating adventures in foreign lands, often represented in his narrative poems, such as *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage* (1812-1818) and *Don Juan* (1819-1824).<sup>23</sup> Though there is little evidence to suppose Su Manshu was inspired to by Byron, what Su did in his writing, in fact, closely resembles the autobiographical writing of Byron himself. Su lamented the sorrows of his life in his poems, with

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<sup>22</sup> In fact, Su invented a third nickname for himself: “the monk of candy” (*tang seng* 糖僧). This is because he was incredibly fond of sweet food. Once he received lots of sweets as a gift from a friend and he was so tempted that he ate those sweets as his daily meals. He was also extremely fond of cold desserts. It was said that there was one time when he was in Japan that he drank 3 kilograms of iced beverages in one day. When evening came he could barely move. People thought he was dead, but he was still breathing. The next day, he woke up to continue drinking iced beverages as if nothing happened. People teased him about his predilections and he also self-mockingly signed off some of his letters by the name “the monk of candy.” See Zhang Binglin 章炳麟, “Preface to the Posthumous Paintings of Manshu” (*Manshu yihua bianyan* 曼殊遺畫弁言), Su, *A Complete Anthology of Su Manshu’s Works*, 77.

<sup>23</sup> For a discussion of the way Byron actively fostered his public persona which brought about his popularity, see Richard Hishmeh, “Hemingway’s Byron: Romantic Posturing in the Age of Modernism.” *The Hemingway Review* 29. 2 (2010): 91.

emotional lines such as “I return thee an alms bowl of callous tears. I regret that I had not met thee before I was ordained” (還卿一鉢無情淚，恨不相逢未剃時)，<sup>24</sup> expressly indicating the conflict between his identity as a monk and his ability to love and desire just like any ordinary man. His fictional narratives were also unapologetically autobiographical, particularly his early and most renowned work *The Lone Swan*. All these contributed to the creation of a legend about Su Manshu, a monk who loved like normal people, a monk who cared about the revolution, and most importantly of all, a monk who wrote beautiful poems and heart-breaking love stories.

Indeed, almost all of Su’s novella and short stories are about romantic love between young men and women, though more often than not the young men are monks as well, just like Su himself. The conflict between romantic love and religious asceticism forms the major tension of his tragic love stories. The other tension is between young lovers and their imperious parents who force them into unhappy arranged marriages. As a result, many regard Su Manshu as one of the forefathers of the Butterfly School, whose writers wrote love stories with profuse emotional expressions of sorrow and longing.<sup>25</sup> However, what is special about Su is that he alone, amongst these writers, was considered in a favourable light by supporters of “New Literature.”<sup>26</sup> Yu Dafu praised Su’s poems as possessing “a refreshingly modern sensibility” (一脈清新的近

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<sup>24</sup> Su Manshu, “本事詩十首.” *An Anthology of Su Manshu’s Fictional and Poetic Works (Su Manshu xiaoshuo shige ji 蘇曼殊小說詩歌集)*. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1982. p. 220.

<sup>25</sup> Yang, *From Late Qing to May Fourth*, 218.

<sup>26</sup> Su was said to have been friends with Liu Bannong 劉半農 and Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀, although his works were not viewed in a positive light by Hu Shi 胡適. See Leo Lee, *The Romantic Generation*, 78, 308.

代味).<sup>27</sup> Another member of the Creation Society, Tao Jingsun 陶晶孫 (1897-1952), proclaimed that “Manshu’s art and literary works made a great leap and connected to the Romantic movement of the Creation Society” (曼殊的文藝，跳了一個大的間隔，接上創造社羅曼主義運動) and that “before the May Fourth movement, the (only) person who initiated Romantic art and literature in early modern China through old forms, was Manshu.” (五四運動之前，以老的形式始創中國近世羅曼主義文藝者，就是曼殊。)<sup>28</sup> This view has been shared and supported by many contemporary scholars. For instance, Yang Lianfen contends that Su was a pioneer of the romantic literary trend of 20<sup>th</sup> century Chinese literature. His translations of Byron and Shelley as well as his literary creations became important resources for romantic writers of the May Fourth period; and the bond between Su and the romantic writers of the May Fourth remains a crucial topic for understanding the romantic thread of modern Chinese literature.<sup>29</sup> In his seminal work *The Romantic Generation of Modern Chinese Writers*, Leo Lee also points out that it was Su, together with Lin Shu before him, who initiated the lyrical and romantic trend of modern Chinese literature.<sup>30</sup> Why was Su accepted by the “elite” writers, even though he wrote in classical Chinese about rather old-fashioned love affairs between young men and women? What made his literary creations so distinct among writers of popular love stories? I contend that it is largely due to Su’s intertextuality of both foreign literatures and the Chinese literary tradition that he was able to create a transcultural lyricism which separated his

<sup>27</sup> Yu Dafu 郁達夫. “Miscellaneous Remarks on the Works of Su Manshu” (*Za ping Manshu de zuopin* 雜評曼殊的作品), in Su, *A Complete Anthology of Su Manshu’s Works* Vol. 5, 116.

<sup>28</sup> Tao Jingsun 陶晶孫. “Three Hastened Sentences about Manshu” (*Jimang tan sanju Manshu* 急忙談三句曼殊). *The Anthology of Cow Bones* (*Niu gu ji* 牛骨集). Shanghai: Taiping shuju, 1944. p. 81.

<sup>29</sup> Yang Lianfen. “Su Manshu and Romantic Literature in the May Fourth Period” (*Su Manshu yu wusi langman wenxue* 蘇曼殊與五四浪漫文學). *Journal of Shaanxi Normal University* (Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition) 33. 3 (2004): 22-27.

<sup>30</sup> Leo Lee, *The Romantic Generation*, 76-78.

works from those of Butterfly School writers.

To a large extent, Su initiated a kind of lyrical fiction that was distinctly different from late Qing fiction such as *Flower in a Sea of Sin* (*Niehai hua* 孽海花, 1903) or *A Tale of Heroic Sons and Daughters* (*Ernü yingxiong zhuan* 兒女英雄傳, 1878), which were either highly plot-driven, or fraught with didactic teachings.<sup>31</sup> The intense lyrical tone of Su's fictional writing derives from a hybridization of many factors. As Su was at the same time a novelist, poet, painter, essayist, as well as translator, we might argue that the multi-dimensional character of his literary productions resulted from the multiplicity of his identities. His fictional narratives often drew inspiration from foreign literary works, sometimes translated, and sometimes quoted in the original languages; at the same time, their lyrical atmosphere benefited from his adept use of traditional Chinese lyrical expressions, including the quotation of classical poetry and the merging of painting with poetry. It is this hybrid lyricism that constituted what Yu Dafu called the “refreshingly modern sensibility” of Su's literary works.<sup>32</sup>

#### 4.3.2 Su Manshu's Activities as a Translator

Su Manshu first started to learn English when he was 13 years old. In 1896, he went to Shanghai with his aunt and uncle to study English in the British concession. Later,

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<sup>31</sup> For a convincing delineation of the lyrical turn of modern Chinese fiction, see Yang Lianfen, *The Lyrical Tendency of Modern Chinese Fiction* (*Zhongguo xiandai xiaoshuo zhong de shuqing qingxiang* 中國現代小說中的抒情傾向). Beijing: Beijing shifan daxue chubanshe, 1996; ---, *From Late Qing to May Fourth*, 239. For a discussion of the lyrical nature of Lu Xun's fictional writing, see *Ibid.*, 150-156. For a discussion of Shen Congwen's lyricism, see Wang, *The Lyrical Tradition and Chinese Modernity*, 98-131.

<sup>32</sup> Yang Lianfen posits that the love poems of Su combine late Tang poetic style with Percy Bysshe Shelley. Yang, *Introduction to Modern Chinese Fiction*, 61.

in 1898, he went to Japan to study at the School of Universal Harmony (*Da Tong School* 大同學校),<sup>33</sup> where he continued to be exposed to foreign literatures as the translation of European and American literatures was at its peak in Japan at the time.<sup>34</sup> In the winter of 1903-1904, he briefly sojourned in Hong Kong and studied English with the British missionary and scholar George T. Candlin, whom Su later referred to as “my teacher.”<sup>35</sup> It is believed that Su knew at least five languages: Chinese, Japanese, English, French and Sanskrit.<sup>36</sup> Yet as I mentioned in Footnote 18 of this chapter, just like many other details of Su Manshu’s life, little hard evidence is extant and we are left with mostly conjectures.<sup>37</sup> Su also received education in the Chinese classics when he was seven, which was typical of the rudimentary education provided at the village school in Lixi 瀝溪, a village in Xiangshan 香山 county, Guangdong province, where he grew up.<sup>38</sup> Little was known about his classical education either, yet according to Chen Duxiu who claimed to have helped Su with his classical Chinese, he was a fast and competent learner.<sup>39</sup>

Like his literary creations, Su Manshu’s literary translations were not abundant, yet they are of a sufficient quantity and quality to be worthy of thorough study.<sup>40</sup> As early

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<sup>33</sup> The Da Tong School was a private institution established by the Chinese community in Yokohama for the education of their children. For a more detailed introduction of the school, see Liu, *Su Manshu*, 20.

<sup>34</sup> For a discussion of Japanese translation of Western literatures after the Meiji Restoration, see Keene, *Dawn to the West*, 60-71.

<sup>35</sup> Liu, *Su Manshu*, 57.

<sup>36</sup> Leo Lee, *The Romantic Generation*, 62.

<sup>37</sup> For English biographies of Su Manshu, see Henry McAleavy. *Su Manshu (1884-1918): A Sino-Japanese Genius*. London: The China Society, 1960. See also Liu, *Su Manshu*.

<sup>38</sup> Leo Lee, *The Romantic Generation*, 59.

<sup>39</sup> Liu Wujie. “Su Manshu and his Friends” (*Su Manshu jiqi youren* 蘇曼殊及其友人), *A Complete Anthology of Su Manshu’s Works* Vol. 5, 9, 10, 22, 23.

<sup>40</sup> It was believed for a long time that Su Manshu translated 6 stanzas (stanzas 179 to 184) of the 4th canto of Lord Byron’s *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage*, into a long poem with the Chinese title “Ode to the Ocean” (*Zan dahai* 贊大海), that he translated the 13th stanza, titled “My Native Land - Good Night”, of the 1st canto of the same poem into “Leaving My Homeland” (*Quguo*

as 1903, he translated parts of Victor Hugo's (1802-1885) *Les Misérables* (1862) with Chen Duxiu.<sup>41</sup> He was also the earliest Chinese writer to discover the important

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xing 去國行), and that he translated the famous poem "The Isles of Greece" from *Don Juan* into "Elegy for Greece" (Ai Xila 哀希臘). There have, however, always been doubts about the authorship of these poems. First of all, these poems were translated into very archaic classical Chinese. "My Native Land - Good Night" and "The Isles of Greece" were translated into five-word "classical style" (guti 古體) poems, while "Ode to the Ocean" was translated into the even more archaic form of the four-word "classical style" poem. The language used in these translations was extremely abstruse and pedantic, often employing lexicon derived from very early texts such as *The Book of Songs* or *The Book of Changes* (Yi jing 易經). It was unlikely for Su Manshu to be able to translate poems into such archaic language. The second and more puzzling doubt emerged from an article Huang Kan 黃侃 (1886-1935) wrote after Su Manshu's death. Huang Kan is known as a writer of poetry and a revolutionist, but particularly for his significant achievements in phonology, philology and exegesis. He was Zhang Taiyan's 章太炎 (1869-1936) prize student and was well-known for the way that he refashioned high classical style in his poems, especially five-character ones. He had been Su Manshu's close friend and even shared accommodation with Su while they were both in Japan. In an article titled "Talking about Poetry in the Room of Autumn Flowers" (Xieqiu hua shi shuo shi 繡秋華室說詩), Huang Kan wrote about his own translations of "The Isles of Greece" and "Ode to the Ocean" which were collected in Su's *Voices of the Tide* anthology. From what Huang wrote, it is highly likely that it was Huang himself who translated Su Manshu's works. However Liu Yazhi 柳亞子 (1887-1958) and his son, Liu Wuji 柳無忌 (1907-2002) disagreed with the idea. [Liu Wuji, "Su Manshu and his Friends," Su, *A Complete Anthology of Su Manshu's Works* Vol. 5, 24.]

In recent years, however, the mystery has been gradually unveiled, beginning with the research done by a student of Huang Kan, Pan Chonggui 潘重規, and the new materials he discovered while sorting out Huang Kan's works. Pan is a professor at Chinese Culture University in Taiwan. After discovering the manuscripts of Huang Kan's translations of Byron's poems, he wrote an article in which he provided proof that the original titles of Huang's translations bore the words "translated on behalf of Su Xuanying" (dai Su Xuanying yi 代蘇玄瑛譯), such as "Six stanzas of Byron's 'Ode to the Ocean' translated on behalf of Su Xuanying" (Dai Su Xuanying yi Bailun 'Zan dahai' shi liu zhang 代蘇玄瑛譯拜倫贊大海詩六章). [Pan Chonggui 潘重規. "On Reading the Translation Manuscripts of Byron's Poems by Mr. Huang Jigang of Qichun" (Qichun Huang Jigang Xiansheng yi Bailun shigao duhouji 蕪春黃季剛先生譯拜倫詩稿讀後記). *Festschrift of Huang Kan* (Huang Kan jinian wenji 黃侃紀念文集). Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 1989.] This supports the argument that Huang was the real translator of the poems. Other evidence has eventually emerged supporting this belief. [See Zhong Xiang 鐘翔 and Sui Hui 蘇暉. "On Reading Huang Kan's Essay 'Talking about Poetry in the Room of Autumn Flowers'" (Du Huang Kan wen "Xieqiu hua shi shuoshi" 讀黃侃文《繡秋華室說詩》). *Studies on Foreign Literatures* 3 (1994): 27-31; Hu Cui'e 胡翠娥. "Identifying the Translators of Three Poems Written by Byron including 'Ode to the Ocean'" (Bailun "Zan dahai" deng san shi yizhe bianxi 拜倫《贊大海》等三詩譯者辨析). *Journal of Nankai University* 6 (2006): 132-136.] I tend to believe this point of view and posit that the very fact that Su Manshu's other translations differ remarkably from these three is further proof that Huang Kan was the translator.

<sup>41</sup> Patrick Hanan identifies the respective contribution of these two translators in his article "Early Chinese Translators of *Les Misérables*" (*Beican shijie de zaoqi Zhong yi zhe* 《悲慘世界》的早期中譯者). See Patrick Hanan. *The Rise of Modern Chinese Novel* (*Zhongguo jindai xiaoshuo de xingqi* 中國近代小說的興起). Trans. Xu Xia 徐俠. Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 2010. pp. 210-231.

Indian playwright Kālidāsa (ca. 1BCE-4CE).<sup>42</sup> He translated quite a few poems by foreign romantic poets. These poems include his translation of Lord Byron's "To a Lady Who Presented the Author with the Velvet Band Which Bound Her Tresses," "Live not the Stars and the Mountains," Robert Burns' (1759-1796) "A Red, Red Rose," William Howitt's (1792-1879) "Departure of the Swallow," Percy Bysshe Shelley's (1792-1822) "A Song," a translation of the English translation of Goethe's 1791 poem "Sakontala" and a translation of "Sonnet," a poem by a Hindu poetess Toru Dutt (1856-1877). A remarkable feature of these translations is that their theme in each case centres on either love or natural beauty. "To a Lady Who Presented the Author with the Velvet Band Which Bound Her Tresses," "A Red, Red Rose," and "Sakontala" are mainly expressions of adoration for a female, while the rest are depictions of nature, though some harbour a political message.<sup>43</sup>

Su Manshu made various efforts to publish these poems. In 1908, he published a collection of translations of Byron's poems, titled *Selected Poems of Byron* (*Bailun shixuan* 拜倫詩選, 1908). In 1911, some of these translations were published again in an anthology entitled *Voices of the Tide* (*Chaoyin* 潮音, 1911).<sup>44</sup> He also collected

<sup>42</sup> Wang Xiangyuan 王向遠. "Chinese Translation and Research of Classical Indian Literature over the Last One Hundred Years" (*Jin bainian lai woguo dui Yindu gudian wenxue de fanyi he yanjiu* 近百年來我國對印度古典文學的翻譯和研究). *Journal of Beijing Normal University* (Humanities and Social Sciences) 3 (2001): 61-69. The dates of Kālidāsa have not been identified with certainty. It is only speculated that he lived in the first century B.C. See K. Krishnamoorthy. *Kālidāsa*. New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1994. p. 12.

<sup>43</sup> For instance, Su Manshu wrote in the preface to Toru Dutt's "Sonnet" that this poem expressed the poetess' longing for the beauty of India that was now the past due to the British colonialization. See Liu Sifen 劉斯奮. *Annotated Poems by Su Manshu* (*Su Manshu shi jianzhu* 蘇曼殊詩箋注). Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1981. p. 169.

<sup>44</sup> Ueda Bin 上田敏 (1874-1916), a professor of Kyoto University, published an anthology of translations of Western poems in 1905. The title of the anthology was *Kaichoon* 海潮音 (Sound of Ocean Tides). It is possible that Su Manshu was inspired by this title and therefore called his own anthology *Voices of the Tide*. See Su Manshu. *Works Translated, Edited and Annotated by Manshu* (*Manshu waiji* 曼殊外集). Ed. Zhu Shaozhang 朱少璋. Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2009. pp. xii-xiii.



various poems, either translated into Chinese or from Chinese, into an anthology titled *Literary Relationships* (*Wenxue yinyuan* 文學因緣, 1908), and another entitled *Samādhi Anthology of Chinese and English Poems* (*Han-Ying sanmei ji* 漢英三昧集, 1914). These anthologies were all first published in Japan and were out of print for a long time until they were anthologized in 2009.<sup>45</sup>

Su Manshu's translations of Western poems were as a rule highly regarded by his contemporaries. Zhou Shoujuan highly valued Su's translation of British poems by Byron and Burns, stating that they were "profound, grand and extremely elegant, worthy of the original works" (沈博絕麗，無媿元作).<sup>46</sup> Yu Dafu proclaimed that generally speaking, Su's poetry translations were better than his own poems. His own poems were better than his paintings, which were again better than his fiction.<sup>47</sup> Although one might query Yu's evaluation of the different types of literary works produced by Su, it is arguably fair to say that Su's translations reveal both a real effort at semantic loyalty and a lexical beauty that matches the original poems.

#### 4.3.3 Lyricism that Crosses Boundaries

The most important feature of Su Manshu's literary works – their uniquely hybrid lyricism – seems to stem from his ideal of a universal lyricism, a perception that emotions expressed in literary works are capable of crossing the boundaries of

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., xix.

<sup>46</sup> Zhou Shoujuan. "Preface to the Remaining Manuscript of Yanzi kan" (*Yanzi kan cangao bianyan* 燕子龕殘稿弁言), Su, *Complete Anthology of Su Manshu's Works* Vol. 4, 101.

<sup>47</sup> "籠統來講，他的譯詩，比他自作的詩好，他的詩比他的畫好，他的畫比他的小說好。" Yu Dafu. "Miscellaneous Remarks on the Works of Su Manshu", *A Complete Anthology of Su Manshu's Works* Vol. 5, 115.

language and culture. This perception is reflected both in his views on translation and in his other critical essays.

In the “Preface” to *Selected Poems of Byron*, Su expressed his opinions on poetry and the translation of poetry, stating that:

嘗謂詩歌之美，在乎氣體，然其情思幼眇，抑亦十方同感，如衲舊譯《炯炯赤牆靡》，《去燕》，《冬日》，《答美人贈束髮氈帶詩》數章，可爲證已。<sup>48</sup>

I used to say that the beauty of poetry resides in its style and form,<sup>49</sup> yet subtle feelings and sentiments are equally universal.<sup>50</sup> For example, several stanzas from my previous translations entitled “The Red Rose,” “Departure of the Swallow,” “A Winter Day,” and “A Poem Written to Thank a Pretty Lady Who Presented Me with A Velvet Band that Bound Her Hair” can testify to this idea.

Su emphasized that the emotions conveyed by poetry can be universally appreciated, therefore only those translations which can best convey the emotions can be deemed fitting translations. It is apparent that in his translation activities, he aimed at conveying the emotions carried by the original texts. The idea that emotions can cross boundaries is also reflected by his English preface to *Voices of the Tide*, in which he expressed a “highly emotional rather than intellectual” opinion of the Romantic poets, Byron and Shelley:<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Su, *A Complete Anthology of Su Manshu's Works* Vol. 1, 125-126. I have transformed the original underlined curvacious line into book mark, and the original single inverted comma into double one, to be consistent in punctuation throughout the thesis.

<sup>49</sup> “Qi” 氣 as a technical term in classical Chinese literary criticism has multiple layers of meaning, including “vital force,” “individual talent based on temperament,” and “style,” etc., whereas “ti” 體 usually refers to “style” or “form.” As Su juxtaposed these two terms, I thought it best to translate them as “style and form.” For a detailed discussion of these two terms and their derivative terms, see James J. Y. Liu. *Chinese Theories of Literature*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1975. pp. 184, 196.

<sup>50</sup> “Shifang” 十方 is a Buddhist term, referring to the ten directions of space. See Chen Guansheng 陳觀勝 and Li Peizhu 李培榮 eds. *A Chinese-English Dictionary of Buddhist Terms*. Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2005. p. 296.

<sup>51</sup> Leo Lee, *The Romantic Generation*, 75.

*Byron's poems are like a stimulating liquor - the more one drinks, the more one feels the sweet fascination. They are full of charm, full of beauty, full of sincerity throughout.*

*Shelley, though a devotee of love, is judicious and pensive. His enthusiasm for love never appears in any strong outburst of expression. He is a "Philosopher-lover". He loves not only the beauty of love, or love for love, but "love in philosophy" of "philosophy in love". He had depth, but not continuance: energy without youthful devotion. His poems are as the moonshine, placidly beautiful, somnolently still, reflected on the waters of silence and contemplation.*<sup>52</sup>

Indeed, Su's response to these foreign poets was a subjective one, at the same time one of homage and one of resonance. The belief that emotions can easily cross the boundaries of language and culture led him to translate poems by Byron and Shelley, as well as Goethe's poem which paid homage to *Šakoontalá*. By translating foreign poems, Su attempted to transfer the emotions of the foreign texts into the translated texts. This gesture is explicitly expressed in one of the poems he wrote which paid homage to Byron. In 1909, the daughter of a Spanish priest visited him and gave him an anthology of Byron's poems, which prompted Su to write this poem on the first page of the book:<sup>53</sup>

秋風海上已黃昏，獨向遺編吊拜輪。  
詞客飄蓬君與我，可能異域為招魂？<sup>54</sup>

The Autumn wind blows across the ocean. It is already dusk.  
I alone mourn Byron by reading the anthology he left behind.  
You and I are both poets drifting about.  
Is it possibly for me to call back your spirit in a foreign land?

These last two lines suggest Su's literary ambition to revive the emotions carried by Byron's poems in a foreign land, namely, China, either by translating them, or by intertextualizing them. What made such a revival possible was their common

<sup>52</sup> Since Su Manshu's Chinese language texts are often mixed with English words and sentences, I use italics for the parts that he wrote in English. Su, *A Complete Anthology of Su Manshu's Works* Vol. 1., 130-131.

<sup>53</sup> For a discussion of Su's relationship with Lopez and his daughter, see Liu, *Su Manshu*, 75-77.

<sup>54</sup> Su, *An Anthology of Su Manshu's Fictional and Poetic Works*, 224.

circumstances, i.e., the fact that they were both poets, drifting about on foreign lands. Therefore the “subtle feelings and sentiments” could be brought back to life. The degree to which Su held to the belief that emotions can cross boundaries is perhaps best reflected by a story told by his friend, a Japanese monk Hishaku (whose Chinese name was Fei Xi 飛錫).<sup>55</sup> Around 1906, Su Manshu was staying with his mother in Japan and lived the life of a hermit. One evening, he was sailing on a lake bathed in moonlight when he started to read aloud “The Isles of Greece” and began to weep. After crying for a while, he started to read out aloud again. The boatman beside him was much shaken, believing that Su Manshu was having a mental breakdown.<sup>56</sup> Here, Su’s gesture of “reading out” Byron’s poem indicates a literal expression of emotion. To be exact, he was expressing his own previously suppressed emotions via the conduit of Byron’s poems. Reading a foreign poem out as a gesture of emotional expression is to an extent analogous with Su’s using foreign poems in literary creations to convey various emotional states. By contrast, the external factors that accompanied Su’s reading of Byron’s poem, in particular the alarm and fascination of the boatman, serve as a kind of microcosm for the impact of Su’s intertextuality on the contemporary Chinese literary milieu.

It might be apposite to refer to Su’s ideal of emotions that freely cross the boundaries of language and culture as a kind of “transcultural lyricism.” This transcultural lyricism is further demonstrated by his critical essays on foreign and classical Chinese

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<sup>55</sup> Liu, *Su Manshu*, 82. Doubts remain as whether this Japanese monk Feixi was a conjecture of Su. See Liu Yazì. “Empirical Studies on the *New Biography of Su Xuanying*” (*Su Xuanying xinzhuàn kǎozhèng* 蘇玄瑛新傳考證), *A Complete Anthology of Su Manshu’s Works* Vol. 4, 282.

<sup>56</sup> Fei Xi 飛錫. “Preface to *Voices of the Tide*” (*Chaoyin ba* 潮音跋), *Su, A Complete Anthology of Su Manshu’s Works* Vol. 4, 41.

poems. Written in the classical style of poetry annotation,<sup>57</sup> Su moved freely between Chinese poems and foreign ones, exploring the universal sentiments that can be found in poems written in different languages. It seems that for Su Manshu, there were few barriers between Western poetic expressions and their Chinese equivalents, or indeed, between those of any cultures. For instance, in *Swallow Niche Essays* (*Yanzi kan suibi* 燕子龕隨筆, 1913), a collection of prose and poetic works, Su wrote:

春序將謝，細雨廉纖，展誦裴輪集：“What is wealth, as it to me, may pass in an hour,”即少陵“富貴於我如浮雲”句也。“Comprehend for, without transformation, Men become wolves on any slight occation [sic].”即靖節“多謝諸少年，相知不忠厚，意氣傾人命，離隔復何有”句也。“As those who dote on odours pluck the flowers, and place them on their breast, but place to die.”即李嘉祐“花間昔日黃鸝嚶，妾向青樓已生怨，花落黃鸝不復來，妾老君心亦應變”句也。末二截詞直怨深，十方同感。<sup>58</sup>

Spring is coming to an end and a drizzling rain is falling. I open Byron's anthology and read it out aloud. "What is wealth, as it to me, may pass in an hour" is just like Shaoling's "wealth is like a floating cloud to me." "Comprehend for, without transformation, Men become wolves on any slight occasion" is just like Jingjie's line "remember you young lads, the ones you befriend may not be loyal to you. While you can risk your life for him, he will no longer remember you after his departure." "As those who dote on odours pluck the flowers, and place them on their breast, but place to die" is just like Li Jiayou's "in the olden days the orioles were singing among the flowers, and I already bore sorrow, facing the brothel. Just as when the flowers fell the orioles no longer returned, when I grow old your heart must change as well." The last two sentences are direct in wording and deep in sorrow. They are capable of arousing universal sentiments.

"Universal sentiments" (*Shifang tonggan* 十方同感) seems to be a frequent term that Su adopted to describe foreign and Chinese poems. Buddhist ideas such as these may have precipitated his understanding of emotions as free from the limits of space and time. They may have even helped foster the idea that lyricism needed to be universal, and that it is only when emotions can be felt universally that they carry real force.

<sup>57</sup> Compare for example the various "remarks on poetry" (*Shi hua* 詩話) written by poets of classical Chinese literature. See Stephen Owen. *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 1992. pp. 359-390.

<sup>58</sup> Su, *A Complete Anthology of Su Manshu's Works* Vol. 2, 43.

Indeed, Su not only compared Western poems to Chinese ones, but also compared Indian poems to British ones. For instance, he noted that while poets in ancient India liked to compare their love to lotus flowers, similarly, in “A Red, Red Rose” Robert Burns compared his love to a red rose.<sup>59</sup> He also compared Byron to Li Bai 李白 (701-762) and Shelley to Li He 李賀 (790-816), believing Byron to be more akin to the romantic Li Bai and Shelley to the quieter and more mysterious Li He.<sup>60</sup> It seems that Su Manshu endeavoured to understand Western poetry by formulating connections with Chinese poetry, and vice versa, as a means of demonstrating the extent to which lyricism can and should be understood in transcultural terms.

#### 4.4 Intertextuality in Su Manshu’s Translated Creations

As a result of the ideal of transcultural lyricism, Su often intertextualized a wide range of literary texts in his poems and fiction writing. These literary texts include his or other people’s translation of foreign literary works, direct borrowing of foreign-language texts, and borrowing of classical Chinese literary works. In the following passages, I examine the way Su’s dynamic intertextuality of previous works initiated a new mode of emotional expression that was both familiar and exotic, a hybrid lyricism that had rarely been observed in romantic love stories of earlier periods.

While I will mainly discuss Su’s dynamic intertextuality in his fiction writing, I begin with a brief discussion of intertextuality in his poetry, as the brevity of the poetic form can serve as a succinct textual example to illustrate the way foreign elements and

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 59.

<sup>60</sup> Su, *An Anthology of Su Manshu’s Fictional and Poetic Works*, 14.

traditional lyricism merge, creating new modes of expression. I move on to discuss a work which can be arguably considered a pseudotranslation, echoing relevant discussions in Chapter 2, which exhibits Su's vigorous endeavour at transcultural intertextuality to bring about a hybrid lyricism. The hybrid nature of the work results from, as well as reinforces its conception as a work of pseudotranslation. The highlight of this section is the discussion of Su's short stories which initiate what might be termed the "lyrical fiction" of modern Chinese literature. Beginning with a general discussion of the features of traditional lyricism and foreign elements in Su's short stories, I focus on the examination of "The Story of the Broken Hairpin," which can only be thoroughly understood once its dynamic intertextuality of foreign texts is taken into consideration.

#### 4.4.1 Poetry

Su Manshu's classical poems often intertextualize both foreign and traditional Chinese literary resources. Written in the form of a quatrain poem, the following poem draws on images which are frequently present in classical Chinese poems, while introducing novelties from artistic resources that Su encountered in Japan. This poem was collected in Su's anthology *Swallow Niche Essays*. He first explained the circumstance under which he gained inspirations for the poem:

日本“尺八”，狀類中土洞簫，聞傳自金人。其曲有名《春雨》，陰深淒惻。  
余《春雨》絕句云：  
春雨樓頭尺八簫，何時歸看浙江潮。  
芒鞋破鉢無人識，踏過櫻花第幾橋。<sup>61</sup>

The Japanese *shakuhachi* (end-blown flute) looks like a *dongxiao* (bamboo flute) of the Middle Kingdom. It is said to have been introduced by the Jurchens. There

<sup>61</sup> Su, *A Complete Anthology of Su Manshu's Works* Vol. 2, 46.

is one song (performed by the *shakuhachi*) named *Spring Rain* which is gloomy and forlorn. My quatrain poem titled “Spring Rain” goes like this:

In Spring drizzle, outside the mansion, the *shakuhachi* is heard. When shall I return to watch the tides in Zhejiang?  
Wearing straw sandals, holding a broken alms bowl, I am recognized by nobody.  
How many bridges with cherry blossoms have I stepped upon?

This poem contains many hypogrammatic words which bear established poetic atmosphere, such as “straw sandals” and “broken alms bowl.” These words seem to echo previous poems with similar images which were widely known in China. For instance, a relatively well-lettered reader might be reminded of the renowned poem “Settling Wind and Waves” (*Ding fengbo* 定風波, 1083) by Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101), the Northern Song poet:

Pay no heed to those sounds,  
    piercing the woods, hitting leaves –  
why should it stop me from whistling or chanting  
    and walking slowly along?

With my bamboo cane and sandals of straw  
    I move more free than on horse.  
Who’s afraid?  
Let my life be spent with a raincoat  
    in the misty rain.

A biting chill in the spring breeze  
    blows me sober from wine.  
A bit cold,  
but the sunshine that sinks on the hilltop  
    comes back to welcome me.  
Turn your head to where you just were,  
    where the winds were howling,  
go back –  
on the one hand, it’s not a storm;  
    on the other, not clear skies.<sup>62</sup>

In both poems, there are the images of drizzling rain in spring and a lone traveler who wears straw sandals. Straw sandals were largely worn by Buddhist monks; therefore

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<sup>62</sup> Su Shi 蘇軾. “Settling Wind and Waves” (*Ding fengbo* 定風波). Trans. Stephen Owen. *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911*. New York; London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1996. pp. 578-579.



they implied a sense of detachment and aloofness. There is also the action of listening, only that the first narrator is listening to music whereas the second narrator listens to the sound of raindrops falling on the woods. Here the similarity is clear to see. It reminds us that Su Manshu was reviving a literary precedent for his lyrical purpose.<sup>63</sup> The only difference is that the “spring rain” in Su Manshu’s poem is not the spring rain in Su Shi’s poem. The “spring rain” in Su Manshu’s poem is probably an imagined rain inspired by listening to the Japanese song, played by a Japanese instrument. Moreover, something alien to the literary precedent, and not typically seen in classical Chinese poetry, appeared in Su Manshu’s poem: *shakuhachi* and cherry blossoms. These two objects, which are quintessentially Japanese, provide the poem with an abruptly exotic touch, abrupt yet at the same time quite naturalized. The abruptness comes from the fact that these exotic objects did not appear very often in Chinese poetry, while the naturalness derives from their delicate juxtaposition alongside eloquent and familiar traditional lyricism. This combination of both elements that are at once foreign and domestic embodies precisely the work of intertextuality, which widens the readers’ experience as both new and familiar.

If the above example reveals a rather random intertextuality of exotic elements into traditional lyrical poetry, the following example represents an active effort at intertextualizing foreign poem, which is facilitated by translation. One of the poems Su translated from Byron – “To a Lady Who Presented the Author with the Velvet Band Which Bound Her Tresses” – contains the following stanza:

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<sup>63</sup> Whether or not Su actually read Su Shi’s poem, or any of the many other poems which mentioned straw sandals and relevant images is not of great importance here. Harold Bloom posits that a new poet may best (mis)interpret earlier poems even though he has never read them. See Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence*, 135. This seemingly paradoxical argument in fact points to “passive intertextuality,” or the power exerted on individual poets by literary conventions.

The dew I gather from thy lip  
Is not so dear to me as this;  
That I but for a moment sip,  
And banquet on a transient bliss.<sup>64</sup>

Su translated it as:

朱唇一相就，沟液皆芬香；  
相就不幾時，何如此意長！<sup>65</sup>

When I touch your red lips, I gather fragrant dew from them;  
The touch is transient, yet the memory is long!

This reasonably faithful rendering of the original meaning is in fact quite bold, particularly for Su's era, yet Su made an even bolder move by composing a poem titled "On Appreciating Plum Blossoms in Mito" (*Shuihu guan mei you ji* 水戶觀梅有寄, 1910) in which there is a line that goes: "I once secretly tasted the dew on the lips of a fairy; more than once I wiped away my tears in the wind" (偷嘗天女唇中露，幾度臨風拭淚痕). Needless to say, the title of this poem "On Appreciating Plum Blossoms in Mito", comprising the name of the Japanese city Mito and the activity of viewing plum blossoms – a familiar activity to Chinese readers – constitutes another juxtaposition of the indigenous and the foreign. More importantly, it seems plausible that Su Manshu borrowed the image and expression from Byron's poem for the first part of the line, and integrated it with the second part which has nothing demonstrably foreign to it. The first part of the poem seems daring when compared with conventional poems that eulogize love, because in such poems descriptions of kissing and hugging were rarely seen. This chaste tradition continued in the novels of Butterfly School writers, for whom sex was a "taboo subject."<sup>66</sup> Therefore Su

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<sup>64</sup> George Gordon, Lord Byron. *The Complete Works of Lord Byron*. Vol. 2. Paris: Baudry's European Library, 1835. p. 221.

<sup>65</sup> Liu, *Annotated Poems of Su Manshu*, 157.

<sup>66</sup> Haiyan Lee. "All the feelings that are Fit to Print: the Community of Sentiment and the Literary Public Sphere in China, 1900-1918." *Modern China* 27. 3 (2001): 291-327.

Manshu's bold poetic statement about tasting the dew on the fairy's lips may have struck his contemporary readers as both shocking and refreshing. By contrast, the second part of the line is reminiscent of a traditional image of the sentimental poet who weeps profusely whenever he encounters a melancholic situation. Here, the description of kissing adapted from Byron's love poem endows the otherwise conventional sentimental poem with a refreshing vigour, one that is familiar to readers of British Romantic poetry written by Byron's coterie. Yet Su Manshu in a way dampened the heated passion of Byron's line by adding the descriptive word "secretly" (偷) before "taste" (嘗), and as a result created a shyness and tentativeness that differed from the untrammelled passion expressed by Byron's poem. This illustrates the way Su creatively intertextualized Byron's poem. Instead of taking the latter's poetic line as it is, Su transformed it into a love poem full of feelings of melancholy and tentativeness.

#### 4.4.2 Pseudotranslation

The novella *The Story of Entering into Seclusion on the Beach of Sala* (*Suoluo haibin dunji ji* 娑羅海濱遁跡記) first appeared in July and August of 1908 in *People's Paper* (*Minbao* 民報), published in Tokyo.<sup>67</sup> It was serialized in the 22<sup>nd</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup> issues of the newspaper and was left unfinished. The title at the time of publication was *The Story of Entering into Seclusion on the Beach of Sala* (娑羅 (Sala) 海濱遁跡記), the author was "Huo Sha" 瞿沙 (Ghōcha) of Southern India, and the translator who worked on an English translation of the original work was "A Passerby

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<sup>67</sup> *Suoluo* 娑羅 is the Chinese transliteration of Sala, which refers to the grove of Sala trees (Latin: *Shorea robusta*) near Kushinagara, the reputed place where the Buddha entered nirvana under the twin Sala trees. See Chen, *A Chinese-English Dictionary of Buddhist Terms*, 322.

in the Southern Land” (*Nanguo xingren* 南國行人), which was one of Su Manshu’s pen names.<sup>68</sup> Yet there have always been doubts as to whether it was a genuine translation. For instance, Liu Yazhi doubted its authenticity because the novella contained a poem written by Byron. Liu wrote: “Manshu liked to create enigmas. Maybe this book was his own creation which pretended to be a retranslation. It is not known. This issue became another unresolved case.” (曼殊好弄玄虛，或者此書竟是自撰，而託名重譯，也未可知。此事又成疑案了。)<sup>69</sup> Ding Fusheng 丁富生 posits that Su Manshu wrote this story himself, because there are lengthy passages of direct borrowing from Chinese-language Buddhist sutras.<sup>70</sup> This is a strong argument and it seems reasonable to assume that this work is a pseudotranslation. In fact, the form of pseudotranslation provided Su with a creative space to intertextualize literary texts from Britain, India, and various works from classical Chinese literature. As I argued in the “Introduction” of the thesis, pseudotranslation denotes literary compositions inspired and constructed by translating and intertextualizing foreign literary works. This novella serves as an apposite case study of the ways in which a work of pseudotranslation builds its emotional or lyrical tone by transforming the various intertexts with which it creatively engages.

The novella tells the story of a man who accidentally enters an unearthly realm in India inhabited by a reclusive band of people who went there to escape from war and upheaval. He wants to live the life of a hermit himself, therefore he decides to sojourn in that realm, the tranquillity of which forms a sharp contrast with the chaos and

<sup>68</sup> Su, *A Complete Anthology of Su Manshu’s Works* Vol. 2, 307.

<sup>69</sup> “曼殊好弄玄虛，或者此書竟是自撰，而託名重譯，也未可知。此事又成疑案了。” Ibid., 307.

<sup>70</sup> See Ding Fusheng 丁富生. “Su Manshu: Creator of *The Story of Entering into Seclusion on the Beach of Sala*” (*Su Manshu: Suoluo haibin dunji ji de chuanguo zhe* 蘇曼殊: 《娑羅海濱遁跡記》的創作者). *Journal of Nantong University* (Social Sciences Edition) 25. 4 (2009): 72-76.

muddiness of the outside world. Eventually, however, he and his hosts in this secluded realm can no longer bear the suffering imposed on the Indian people by the “big robbers” (*dadao* 大盜), implying the British colonialists. So they decide to fight against colonization. Much of the novella consists of lengthy descriptions of the origins of the world from the Buddhist perspective, retellings of various kinds of Indian folklore, and accounts of Indian history and its experiences of colonization. This unfinished novella can be seen as an eccentric combination of political novel and Buddhist text, but the beginning pages stand out from the rest because they quote several poems both in classical Chinese and in English. These quoted texts open up the potential for a very different interpretation of the novella, and they endow it with a highly mysterious, even idyllic ambience.

At the very beginning of the story, the protagonist loses his way and wanders into a strange land with scenic views. Suddenly, he hears a song from inside a cave:

星耶峰耶俱無生，浪撼沙灘岩滴淚。  
圍範茫茫寧有情，我將化泥冥海出。<sup>71</sup>

Do the stars and mountains have no lives?  
The waves are shocking the shore and the flint is weeping tears.  
Does the vast universe have feelings?  
I shall turn into clay and merge with the sea. (My translation)

*Live not the stars and mountains? Are the waves  
Without a spirit? Are the dropping caves  
Without a feeling in their silent tears?  
No, no; - they woo and clasp us to their spheres,  
Dissolve this clog and clod of clay before  
Its hour, and merge our soul in the great shore.*<sup>72</sup>

<sup>71</sup> The same Chinese translation, done by Su Manshu himself, also appeared in an anthology of translated poems compiled by Su Manshu in 1908. The anthology, entitled *Literary Relationships*, contains some Chinese translations of English poems, as well as English translations of classical Chinese poems that Su Manshu collected from various sources. Quoting his own translation as well as the original English poem by Byron in a story about Indian revolutionaries might give less credit to Su's claim that he translated this story from an Indian writer.

<sup>72</sup> Su, *A Complete Anthology of Su Manshu's Works* Vol. 2, 276-277.

At first glance, this poem seems very consistent with the atmosphere that the author is creating, highlighting the spirituality incarnated in the natural environment that surrounds the narrator. However, a closer look raises doubts as to why the unnamed singer inside the cave would sing a Chinese poem first, and then the English version. It turns out that this poem is part of the 16<sup>th</sup> stanza of Canto 2 of *The Island; or, Christian and his Comrades* (1823),<sup>73</sup> written by Lord Byron.<sup>74</sup> *The Island* is one of the later verse-romances by Byron, and one which has not received as much critical attention as more well-known pieces such as *Don Juan*. It is about the mutiny on the *Bounty* which took place on April 28<sup>th</sup>, 1789. The British Royal Navy ship HMS *Bounty* was sent on a trip to transplant the breadfruit tree from the Pacific island of Tahiti. Having spent six months on the idyllic island, eighteen sailors, led by Fletcher Christian, revolted against commanding officer Lieutenant William Bligh just when the ship was about to embark on its return journey. The cause of the mutiny has generally been attributed to the fact that the sailors were attracted to the idyllic life on the island, and also to the harsh rule of the captain. Byron depicted this incident in his poem, starting from the breakout of the mutiny and moving on to lengthy descriptions of the romance between one British sailor, Torquil, and a Tahitian girl named Neuha. Critics have sometimes read this poem as a Romantic idealization of the Noble Savage, or as “a deliberately unrealistic narrative, a ‘prophecy’ in the manner of Shelley’s *Prometheus Unbound*.”<sup>75</sup> In more recent years, scholars have started to acknowledge that the poem’s relationship with the Romantic vogue for the primitive

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<sup>73</sup> Ding Fusheng argues it is a translation of a stanza from Canto 2 of *Don Juan*, which is a mistake. See Ding, “Su Manshu: Creator of *The Story of Entering into Seclusion on the Beach of Sala*,” 72-76.

<sup>74</sup> Lord Byron. *The Island, or Christian and his Comrades*. London: John Hunt, 1823.

<sup>75</sup> James C. McKusick. “The Politics of Language in Byron’s *The Island*.” *English Literary History* 59. 4 (1992): 839-856.

“state of nature” is more complex than it seems.<sup>76</sup> Catherine Addison, by reminding us of the frequent appearance of “islands” as a secluded garden in literature, and hence an object of male desire, points out the link between colonialist writing and writing about women.<sup>77</sup> Here, what is intriguing is the fact that Su Manshu chose a section from a poem which was considered an idealization of colonialism and used it in a story with a conspicuous ethos of anti-colonialism. Unlike Byron’s lovers – a British man and an indigenous girl – Su Manshu depicted as his couple an Indian man and a godly woman of aristocratic blood whose tears turn into pearls, subverting the gender relationship in Byron’s work.

Translating Byron’s poem into a seven-word quatrain (*jueju* 絕句) with irregular rhyme and without parallelism, Su Manshu reworked the original poem by merging the two separate lines describing the waves and the caves into one. Then, probably in an effort to compensate for the loss of clarity in meaning, he wrote the third line about the feelings of the universe, which Byron’s lines implied but did not articulate. Byron’s invocation of the Christian idea that humans were born of clay is rather lost in Su Manshu’s translation, in part perhaps because it conflicted with Su’s Buddhist belief of human origin. Nevertheless, because Byron’s stanza originally depicted the serene island as an earthly paradise, Su’s intertextuality of the stanza serves to foreshadow the unearthliness of the realm that the protagonist was about to enter. This emphasis on the spirituality of nature, as well as Su Manshu’s depiction of a secluded garden, are reminiscent of the hermit tradition in classical Chinese literature, the most well-known instance of which is Tao Yuanming’s 陶淵明 (ca 365-427) famous

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Catherine Addison. “‘Elysian and Effeminate’: Byron’s *The Island* as a Revisionary Text”. *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 35. 4.(1995): 687-706.

depiction of a secluded garden in an article titled “Story about the Peach Blossom Source” (*Taohuayuan ji* 桃花源記, ca 406-408):

During the T'ai-yüan period [376-96] of Chin a man of Wu-ling, who made his living as a fisherman, ascended a stream, forgetful of the distance he traveled. Suddenly he came upon a grove of peach trees in blossom. They lined the banks for several hundred paces: among them were no other kinds of tree. The fragrant herbage was fresh and beautiful; fallen blossoms lay in profusion. The fisherman, in extreme wonder, again went forward, wishing to go to the end of the grove. The grove ended at the stream's source, and there he found a hill. In the hill was a small opening from which a light seemed to come. So he left his boat and went in through the opening. At first it was very narrow, barely allowing a man to pass, but as he went on for some tens of paces, it came out into the open air, upon lands level and wide with houses of a stately appearance. There were fine fields and beautiful pools, clumps of mulberries and bamboos. The field dykes intersected; cocks crowed and dogs barked to each other. The clothes of the men and women who came and went, planted and worked among them were entirely like those of people outside. The white-haired<sup>78</sup> and the children with their hair in tufts<sup>79</sup> happily enjoyed themselves.<sup>80</sup>

There are several implicit parallels between Tao's text and that of Su. Like “Story about the Peach Blossom Source,” Su's novella depicts a male protagonist who has lost his way and finds himself in a picturesque natural environment with beautiful grasses and flowers. Then he sees a cave, is drawn towards it either by the elusive light that shines from it, or by the mysterious bilingual poem that can be heard in the cave. He then finds himself in an idyllic paradise unlike the world from which he comes. The interesting thing here is that while Su explicitly intertextualized an English poem and its translation in his novella, he implicitly intertextualized the images associated with “Story about the Peach Blossom Source,” which was familiar

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<sup>78</sup> The translation of “*huang fa*” into “the white haired” is not very accurate. Though it does refer to old people, “*huang fa*” refers to the change of hair colour of the old people from white to yellow. This was believed to be a sign of longevity in ancient China. See Wang Shumin 王叔岷, *Annotated Anthology of Tao Yuanming's Poetry* (*Tao Yuanming shi jianzheng gao* 陶淵明詩箋證稿). Taipei: Yiwen chubanshe, 1975. p. 512.

<sup>79</sup> This translation is not correct. “*tiao*” refers to children's hair that hangs loosely from their forehead. See *Dictionary of High Frequency Words in Classical Chinese* (*Guhanyu changyongzi zidian* 古漢語常用字字典). Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1979. p. 242. Although “*chui tiao*” does refer to children here, it does not refer to children whose hair was in tufts.

<sup>80</sup> Albert Richard Davis. *T'ao Yüan-ming: His Works and Their Meaning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983. pp. 196-197.



to the Chinese reading public. The lyrical effect of this combination is both familiar and exotic to a Chinese reader. By merging the almost otherworldly atmosphere of Byron's poetry with the secluded garden created by Tao, Su achieved his purpose of describing the land of "Sala." Why does Su use English and Chinese poetic fragments to convey the essence of an *Indian* nirvana? It brings back the point that Su is trying to create a lyrical republic of letters perhaps because only when lyricism is made textually and culturally hybrid can its true essence be approached.

Su's intertextuality practice does not stop at combining works from British Romantic poetry with traditional Chinese lyrical tradition, but goes further to combine literary resources from India. Soon after the protagonist leaves the singing cave, he finds himself on a seashore, where he comes across a small boat with a man and a woman in it. Now another bilingual poem appears.

The man sings:

腕勝柔枝唇勝蕾，華光圓滿斯予美。<sup>81</sup>

Your wrist is softer than the soft twig and your lips prettier than a bud,  
The radiant glow is falling upon this beautiful lady of mine. (My translation)

Then the woman sings:

最好夜深潮水滿，伴郎搖月到柴門。<sup>82</sup>

It is best in the depths of night when the tide is high, to accompany my lad to the wooden gate, pulling the oars in a pond that reflects the moon. (My translation)

The above two Chinese stanzas are directly followed by the following English verse:

*Her ruddy lip vies with the opening bud;*

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<sup>81</sup> Su, *A Complete Anthology of Su Manshu's Works* Vol. 2, 278.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

*Her graceful arms are as the twining stalks;  
And her whole form is radiant with the glow  
Of youthful beauty, as the tree with bloom.*<sup>83</sup>

Whereas the two lines sung by the couple might appear to form one single poem, since the Cantonese pronunciations of *mei* 美 and *men* 門 are quite similar and can seemingly rhyme with each other,<sup>84</sup> this is actually not the case. In fact, the song of the woman derives from a poem written by a monk named Xi Yan 晞顏 (ca. 1120) who lived during the Northern Song.<sup>85</sup> The original poem was titled “The Pu-he Temple” (*Puhe si* 普和寺, dates unknown) and goes like this:

朱樓紺殿半江村，石壁深藏佛影昏。  
最好夜深潮水滿，櫓聲搖月到柴門。<sup>86</sup>

Among the villages along the river, half are temples of reddish or greyish blue.  
Deep inside the niches on stone walls are hidden the vague shadows of Buddhist statues.  
It is best in the depths of night when the tide is high, to row the boat to the wooden gate, pulling the oars in a pond that reflects the moon.

While the original poem has a strong Buddhist ethos and depicts the serenity of country life at night, Su Manshu transformed the fourth line to endow it with an amorous tone and romantic connotations, so as to make it a love poem, thus diverging significantly from the original poem. Needless to say, the derivative usage of a classical Chinese poem suggests once again that this work is a pseudotranslation. What is worth noting here is that Su made use of his extensive knowledge of Buddhist poetry to transform the original theme of this poem. Despite the fact that he was himself a monk, instead of keeping the poem’s Buddhist ethos, he omitted the first

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> As Su Manshu was Cantonese, he might have chosen the rhyme according to its Cantonese pronunciation. I owe Dr. Yang Junjie 楊俊傑 of Beijing Normal University for his insight.

<sup>85</sup> Ding Fusheng also notices this in his article Ding, “Su Manshu: Creator of *The Story of Entering into Seclusion on the Beach of Sala*,” 72-76.

<sup>86</sup> Wu Zonghai 吳宗海. “Addendum to the *Complete Poems of Song Dynasty*” (Quan Song shi yizhu 《全宋詩》遺珠). *Journal of Jiangsu University (Social Sciences)* 4. 2 (2002): 54-60.

half of the poem, which is replete with Buddhist connotations and altered the second half so that it reads like a poem written by a young woman to her lover.

Regarding the man's song, Ding Fusheng admits that its source is unclear. However, by reading the English poem which follows the woman's song, it is not difficult to discover that the man's song is a translation of the English poem, which is a stanza from one of Su Manshu's favourite plays, Kālidāsa's play *Śakoontalā* (dates unknown). In the first act of *Śakoontalā*, the King Dushyanta encounters three girls who are watering plants in a hermitage. He is overwhelmed by the beauty of Śakoontalā, one of the girls. When another girl, Priyamvadā, teases Śakoontalā by commenting that "the Ke S'ara-tree, whilst your graceful form bends about its stem, appears as if it were wedded to some lovely twining creeper," the King overhears this and says to himself:

What Priyamvadā says, though complimentary, is nevertheless true. Verily,  
Her ruddy lip vies with the opening bud;  
Her graceful arms are as the twining stalks;  
And her whole form is radiant with the glow  
Of youthful beauty, as the tree with bloom.<sup>87</sup>

Clearly, Su quoted from the English translation of the Sanskrit play. It was translated by Monier Williams (1819-1899), Boden Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Oxford. According to Williams, this was the first English translation in prose and verse of this play. This translation was reprinted for the seventh time in 1895, so it must have been well-received and well-known at the time, which might explain why Su Manshu managed to get hold of Williams' translation. Exactly which version Su got hold of is unclear. Su Manshu's fascination with *Śakoontalā* is reflected in various

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<sup>87</sup> Kālidāsa. *Śakoontalā, or, The Lost Ring: an Indian Drama*. Trans. Monier-Williams. London: Wm. H. Allen & CO., 1872. p. 17.

texts, one of which is his translation of E.B. Eastwick's English translation of Goethe's 1791 poem, a eulogy to the female protagonist Śakoontalā, titled "Sakontala." Liu Yazhi claims that Su translated the play from Sanskrit, though this translation is no longer extant, if it ever existed.<sup>88</sup> His fascination with this play can be easily understood considering the canonical interpretation of its theme: "the emotion of love." In *The Great Classics of India*, the editors noted: "Emotion, and generally the emotion of love, is the motive in the 'Śakoontalā' of Kālidāsa, and different phases of feeling, rather than the struggles of energetic action, lead on to the *déroulement* of the play."<sup>89</sup> Various well-known scholars have admired the play for its tenderness of emotion and beauty. The German poet and translator Augustus William von Schlegel argues that "notwithstanding the colouring of a foreign clime, [Śakoontalā] bears in its general structure a striking resemblance to our romantic drama."<sup>90</sup> The Prussian explorer and naturalist Alexander von Humboldt observes: "Kālidāsa, the celebrated author of the 'Śakoontalā,' is a masterly describer of the influence which Nature exercises upon the minds of lovers. This great poet flourished at the splendid court of Vikramāditya, and was, therefore, cotemporary [*sic*] with Vigil and Horace. Tenderness in the expression of feeling, and richness of creative fancy, have assigned to him his lofty place among the poets of all nations."<sup>91</sup> Indeed, the tender feeling that this play was capable of awaking in its readers was something that crossed boundaries of language. Su transported the romantic feelings into his fictional text by translating the English verse into Chinese. What is fascinating here is the way that Su combined, or juxtaposed, a derivative version of a Chinese poem with a

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<sup>88</sup> Liu Yazhi. "My Opinion of Su Manshu" (*Su Manshu zhi wo guan* 蘇曼殊之我觀), in Su, *Su Manshu yanjiu*, 345-346.

<sup>89</sup> Epiphanius Wilson. *The Great Classics of India*. Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1985. p. 310. See also Liu, *Su Manshu*, 80.

<sup>90</sup> Kālidāsa, *Śakoontalā*, xi.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, xi-xii.

Chinese translation of an English poem. The decision to give these two couplets to a pair of lovers, which through the mutuality of admiration implies an equality of the status of the poems, reflects the salient feature of transcultural lyricism in Su's literary creations.

More importantly, by fusing traditional lyrical convention with foreign romantic expression, Su Manshu managed to create an emotional climax which could not have been achieved in either expressive mode alone. This emotional climax is reflected by the protagonist's decision to commit suicide by plunging into water right after hearing the songs of the couple. Having heard their bilingual songs, the protagonist is struck simultaneously by sorrow and delight and he decides to drown himself at that very moment. The next instant he jumps into the sea only to be rescued by the couple in the boat a moment later. When he regains his consciousness he wants to commit suicide again, until the man informs him that the realm in which he finds himself is not the mundane world, but the realm of *Sala*. The protagonist is extremely shocked on hearing this, exclaiming: "Is this real? I used to hear that in the heavenly realm of *Sala*, the deities dwell. Am I in a dream now?"<sup>92</sup> The consolation of knowing himself to be now in the heavenly realm of Buddhism leads him finally to abandon his suicidal attempt.

Obviously Su created an emotional climax which was reflected by the suicidal attempt of the protagonist. How did he create this emotional climax? Arguably, the key to understanding the emotional expression of this novella is Su's use of intertextuality and translation. Byron's *The Island* depicts a world of purity and serenity that forms a

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<sup>92</sup> Su, *A Complete Anthology of Su Manshu's Works* Vol. 2, 279.

sharp contrast to the chaotic, disappointing earthly world. Su creatively combined Byron's lines with the traditional description of an otherworldly land to foreground an unearthly world with spiritual richness. This description foreshadows the intense joy that the protagonist supposedly feels: he has entered an unearthly, spiritual world of *Sala*, the sacred place of Buddhism. While the merging of Byron's lines with Tao's legacy created the feeling of intense joy, the fusion of the lines from the Indian play and those from the Northern Song poem produced the feeling of sorrow. The lines from *Śakoontalā* are originally sung by the enamoured king when he first sees the enchanting girl, therefore these lines are full of romantic implications and the power of passionate love. This heated passion, conveyed by the man's line, is then reciprocated and complemented by the more serene line of the woman, adapted from the placid Buddhist poem but is nevertheless cheerfully romantic. The protagonist's unwitting witness of the emotional expression of such a happy couple caused him deep sorrow. As discussed earlier, most of Su Manshu's protagonists, like himself, are monks who cannot get married but often fall in love despite themselves, which brings themselves and others sorrowful emotions and tragic endings. The name that the protagonist calls himself, i.e. "buhui" 不慧 (the dull one), which was a common self-address for monks, implies that his identity was also a monk.

From these examples, it is clear that Su built on the already intense emotions carried by the foreign works and gave them new momentum when inserting them into traditional lyrical modes. As mentioned earlier, both *Śakoontalā* and *The Island* were known for their expression of powerful emotions. When they were merged with the indigenous tradition of the secluded garden, or the rewritten Buddhist poem, what happened was not necessarily that they became stronger emotions, but that they

became new emotions, ones what were suitable for the very stories Su was telling. In this process, the appearance of a foreign language also played a key role, the significance of which will be discussed after examining Su's fiction writing in the next section, when the explanation becomes more self-evident. It needs to be pointed out that the strategy of pseudotranslation allowed Su to take certain liberties that might not have been possible had he put his own name to the work. As a work of translation is by its very nature a work of intertextuality, Su found in pseudotranslation a larger creative space which allowed him to borrow and transform a wide range of foreign and indigenous literary works both freely and unapologetically. It was by translating and intertextualizing these foreign and Chinese works via pseudotranslation that Su was able to transport the emotions embodied in them into his own texts, so as to create a new form of emotional expression that was both interlingual and transcultural.

#### **4.4.3 Su Manshu's Fictional Writing**

##### **4.4.3.1 Merging Traditional Lyricism with Exotic Elements**

Like his poems and pseudotranslation, Su Manshu's fictional writing exhibits the salient feature of dynamic intertextuality. His ideal of transcultural lyricism was implemented in his intertextuality from both traditional Chinese lyrical expressions and foreign literary texts. His intertextuality of traditional lyrical expressions is often implicit and profound, including the imitation of plots and character types of traditional love novels. It also included the merging of poetry and painting, or in other words, of emotional depiction with scenery depiction. His intertextuality of foreign literary texts is more explicit in comparison, with varying levels of engagement. This

type of intertextuality can be then categorized into two subtypes: the mention of foreign objects such as foreign books, characters with foreign education etc., and the use of untranslated foreign texts as expressions of emotion. When the intertextuality of traditional lyrical expression merged with that of foreign literature, a new, hybrid expression of emotion appeared, which comprised of two major features: 1) the mixture of characters with traditional ethics and those with foreign learning; 2) while the combination of emotion with scenery still existed, a more direct way of emotional expression appeared through the use of foreign texts. The following passages elaborate on these points.

Su's novellas and short stories are at first glance quite "old-fashioned." They are written in classical Chinese, and depict tragic love stories between young men and women. More often than not, the male protagonist is torn between his love for two young ladies, both of whom are wholeheartedly devoted to him. Yet the male protagonist, who is usually an ordained monk just like Su himself, cannot marry either of the two young ladies, which most often results in the eventual demise of one or all of them. The storyline resembles *Dream of the Red Chamber*, in which Jia Baoyu is loved by two females but cannot reciprocate the love of either of them, and in the end Lin Daiyu dies of consumption while Jia Baoyu becomes a monk, leaving Xue Baochai in an empty chamber. This plot similarity has led scholars to conclude that Su was much influenced by *Dream of the Red Chamber*.<sup>93</sup> In "Story of the Broken Hairpin," the male protagonist Zhuang Shi 莊澍 is a sickly young man who falls into

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<sup>93</sup> Leo Lee points out the similarity between *The Lone Swan* and *Dream of the Red Chamber* lies in the fact that both are embodiments of the conflict between Confucianism and Buddhism. See Leo Lee. *The Romantic Generation*, 67. Also see Chang Feng 常楓. "Su Manshu and *Dream of the Red Chamber*" (*Su Manshu yu Honglou meng* 蘇曼殊與《紅樓夢》). *Journal of Dream of the Red Chamber* (*Honglou meng xuekan* 紅樓夢學刊) 2 (1988): 252-258.



a much worse physical condition after learning that the jade hairpin given to him by his beloved has been broken. The way in which Su described the emotional ups and downs of his protagonists is very sentimental. Following the convention of traditional love stories, Su's stories are often told from a male perspective, detailing the sensitive inner world of the male protagonist. The way these sentimental men express their emotions is often through tears, and they vent their sorrows by falling ill. This is in accordance with the lyrical tradition in classical Chinese literature in which men wept profusely and fell victim to various ailments.<sup>94</sup>

Another element of traditional lyricism in Su's works is the way they combine poetry and painting. Throughout Chinese history, the practices of poetry writing and painting have been closely intertwined, which was based on the idea that despite their discrete methods of expression, poetry and painting have the same ability to represent the inner and outside world.<sup>95</sup> It is therefore not surprising that many well-known poets were also painters. One of the most prominent masters of the dual arts of poetry and painting is the Tang poet-painter Wang Wei 王維 (699-759), the merits of whose works became widely known after Su Shi noted that: "When we appraise Mojie's poetry, we see paintings inside the poetry. When we appraise Mojie's paintings, we see poetry inside the paintings." (觀摩詰之詩，詩中有畫。觀摩詰之畫，畫中有詩。)<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Jia Baoyu in *Dream of the Red Chamber* is a typical example. Wei Chizhu 韋癡珠, one of the male protagonists in *Traces of Flowers and the Moon* (*Huayue hen* 花月痕) is another typical example. See Wei Xiuren 魏秀仁, *Traces of Flowers and the Moon* (*Huayue hen* 花月痕). Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1982.

<sup>95</sup> Chang Cunwen 常存文. "On the Relationship between Poetry and Painting in Ancient China" (*Lun Zhongguo gudai shihua guanxi* 論中國古代詩畫關係). *Journal of Inner Mongolia Normal University* (Philosophy & Social Science) 34. 4 (2005): 111-115.

<sup>96</sup> Su Shi 蘇軾. "Writing about Mojie's 'Painting on the Drizzle in Lantian'" (Shu Mojie 'Lantian yanyu tu' 書摩詰藍田煙雨圖), in *Anthology of Su Shi's Works* (*Su Shi wenji* 蘇軾文集). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986. p. 2209. Mojie is the style name of Wang Wei. See Xie Wei 謝巍, ed. *Records of Chronicals of Chinese Personnels of All Generations* (*Zhongguo lidai renwu nianpu*

The idea that poetry and painting follow the same rules dates back to early China, and it became particularly prevalent after the Northern Song, when Su Shi made his famous point: “Poetry and painting originally followed the same rules.” (詩畫本一律。)<sup>97</sup> For Su Shi, poetry and painting are two forms of art that are equally effective in depicting nature and human feelings.<sup>98</sup> Since then, commentators have frequently referred to poetry as “painting without shapes” (無形畫). For instance, the Northern Song painter Guo Xi 郭熙 (ca 1000-1080) said: “Just as earlier scholars have said, poetry is painting without a shape, whereas painting is poetry with a shape. Philosophers have talked about this often and this idea has much to teach us.” (更如前人言，詩是無形畫，畫是有形詩。哲人多談此言，吾人所師。)<sup>99</sup> The inseparable relationship between poetry and painting can also be viewed as a kind of intertextuality between two artistic genres. Being both poet and painter, Su Manshu easily engaged with this kind of intertextuality. Not only his poetry, but also his fictional narratives are characterized by vivid descriptions of scenery. For instance, “Story of the Scarlet Scarf” (*Jiangsha ji* 絳紗記, 1915) has the following description:

明日，天朗無雲，余出廬獨行，疏柳微汀，儼然倪迂畫本也，茅屋雜處其間。……複前行，見一山，登其上一望，周環皆水，海鳥明滅，知是小島，疑或近崖州西南。<sup>100</sup>

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kaolu 中國歷代人物年譜考錄). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992. p. 103.

<sup>97</sup> Su Shi. “Two Poems about Registrar Wang of Yanling’s Painting on Branch Picking” (*Shu Yanling Wang zhubu suohua zhezhi er shou* 書鄢陵王主簿所畫折枝二首), in *Anthology of Su Shi’s Works*. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986. pp. 1525-1526.

<sup>98</sup> Liu Shi 劉石. “The Relationship between Poetry and Painting in the View of the Equality between Poetry and Painting: on Several Issues Surrounding ‘Painting inside Poetry’” (*Shihua pingdeng guan zhong de shihua guanxi: weirao ‘shi zhong you hua’ shuo de ruogan wenti* 詩畫平等觀中的詩畫關係——圍繞“詩中有畫”說的若干問題). *Literature and Art Studies* 9 (2009): 41-52.

<sup>99</sup> Guo Xi 郭熙. “Anthology of the Height of Woods and Brooks: On Painting the Imagery” (*Lin quan gaozhi ji: hua yi* 林泉高致集·畫意), in *Collections of Criticism on Painting (Hualun congkan* 畫論叢刊). Ed. Yu Haiyan 于海晏. Vol. 1. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1960. p. 24.

<sup>100</sup> Su, *An Anthology of Su Manshu’s Fictional and Poetic Works*, 67. Ni Yu 倪迂 refers to Ni

The next day, the sky was clear and no cloud was seen. I went out of the cottage and walked by myself. There were scattered willow trees and small islets, just like in the paintings of Ni Yu. There are thatched cottages here and there... I continued on and saw a hill. Having climbed the hill I looked around. It was surrounded by water, and sea birds were flying around, their wings reflecting the light of the sun. I realized it was a small island and wondered whether it might be close to the southwest of Yazhou.

Here, a few simple words depict the picturesque beauty of the natural surroundings. Such descriptions are common in the novellas of Su Manshu, endowing his melancholic stories with a picturesque beauty and poetic serenity. The fact that Su compared the scenery to that of the paintings of Ni Yu 倪瓚 (1301-1374), is itself a telling evidence of Su's intertextuality of the poetry-painting tradition in Chinese literature. This tradition of China contrasts with that of the West, where the functions of painting and poetry have been considered to be rather different, particularly since the German writer and philosopher Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729 –1781) made his influential argument in *Laocoon* (1766) that poetry is extended in time, while painting is extended in space.<sup>101</sup> Consequently, it has been assumed that painting generally does a better job of describing scenery while poetry, or lyrical writing in general, is more apposite for conveying feelings. But traditional Chinese literati tended to understand this relationship differently.<sup>102</sup> As Wang Guowei 王國維 (1877-1927) pointed out in *Remarks on Lyrics in the World of Men* (*Renjian cihua* 人間詞話, 1908-1909), “All words about scenery are words about feelings” (一切景語皆情

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Zan 倪瓚 (1301-1374), one of the four masters of painting by the end of Yuan Dynasty. He was given the nickname Ni Yu (meaning “Ni the Pedantic”) because of his eccentric character. See Xie, *Records of Chronicals of Chinese Personnels of All Generations*, 238.

<sup>101</sup> Gotthold Ephraim Lessing. *Laocoon*. Trans. Robert Phillimore. London: Macmillan, 1874.

<sup>102</sup> For a detailed analysis of the differences between the Western and the traditional Chinese understanding of the relationship between poetry and painting, see Liu Shi. “Lessing’s Theory and the Relationship between Poetry and Painting in the West” (*Xifang shihua guanxi yu Laixin de shihua guan* 西方詩畫關係與萊辛的詩畫觀). *Social Sciences in China* 6 (2008):160-208.

語),<sup>103</sup> pointing out that the apotheosis of scenic depiction is reached when it draws out the feelings of readers. This tradition was both maintained and developed in Su's fictional writing, as will be explained later.

Besides intertextualizing Chinese lyrical traditions, Su Manshu's fictional narratives vigorously engaged with foreign literatures and cultures. Firstly, his protagonists, both male and female, were often well-versed in the English language. The protagonist in *The Lone Swan* is capable of reading and translating lengthy poems from Byron.<sup>104</sup> The protagonist in "Story of the Scarlet Scarf" happens to find an English book in a garden, titled *The Life of Sappho* (*Shafu jishi* 沙浮紀事). He starts reading it at once, suggesting his proficiency in English, when a young lady appears to claim ownership of the book, again suggesting her own proficiency in the language.<sup>105</sup> Many characters in his stories have studied in Britain or Europe. For instance, the female protagonists in "Story of the Broken Hairpin" have studied in Europe or have a burning desire to do so. Moreover, in "Story of the Scarlet Scarf," not only can most of the young ladies speak English, but one of them, Yu Luan 玉鸞, has studied English literature in London, despite the fact that she is very loyal to her depraved fiancé and so filial as to have cut a piece of flesh from her arm to cure her father's disease.<sup>106</sup> Such examples recur frequently in Su's stories.

Secondly, Su Manshu's characters often spoke in English when they wished to express their adoration to their beloved. For instance, in "Story of the Scarlet Scarf," a

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<sup>103</sup> Jiang Ning 江寧 and Tang Guizhang 唐圭璋 eds. *Collection of Criticism on Song-Poetry* (*Cihua congbian* 詞話叢編). Vol. 5. Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubanshe, 1988. p. 4257.

<sup>104</sup> Su, *An Anthology of Su Manshu's Fictional and Poetic Works*, 14-16.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 60.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 63, 74.

young lady from Suzhou, with the English name of Emma, says in English to her beloved: “*I don’t care for anybody in the whole world but you. I love you.*” Soon afterwards they get engaged.<sup>107</sup> In “Story of the Broken Hairpin,” when the protagonists go for an outing in a park, they hear a lady with blue eyes singing in English: “*Love is enough. Why should we ask for more?*” Then an echo sounds: “*Love is enough. Why should we ask for more?*” A young man replies by singing: “*O you kid! Sorrow is the depth of Love.*”<sup>108</sup> These and other instances reflect Su’s tendency of using foreign language as a direct way of emotional expression.

Having discussed Su’s intertextuality of traditional Chinese lyrical expressions and of foreign literary texts, I now discuss how the fusion of the two created new modes of emotional expression in Su’s works. On the most conspicuous level, Su’s texts include characters who adhere to traditional ethics and also those with foreign education – and these protagonists often fall in love with each other nonetheless. This reasonably self-evident point will be discussed in more detail in the following textual analysis. On the deeper and less conspicuous level, although Su still combined the depiction of scenery with that of emotion, there are more frequent instances of direct emotional expression, often in a foreign language. This practice of Su’s can be regarded as a reaction against the Chinese literary tradition that contained emotions within scenic depiction, rather than expressing them directly. As Wang Guowei observed:

詞家多以景寓情。其專作情語而絕妙者，如……顧夏之“換我心爲你心，始知相憶深。”歐陽修之“衣帶漸寬終不悔，爲伊消得人憔悴”……此等詞，求之古今人詞中，曾不多見。<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 71.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 92-93.

<sup>109</sup> Jiang and Tang, *Collection of Criticism on Song-Poetry* Vol. 5, 4257.

Writers of song-poetry often contain emotions in scenic depictions. Among song-poems written by contemporary and past authors, those that specifically depict emotions and do so brilliantly – such as Gu Xia’s “exchange my heart for your heart, then I know you miss me much,” and Ouyang Xiu’s “the belt of my clothes gradually becomes loose, yet I have no regret; I have pined away for your sake” – are seldom seen.

Wang pointed out the scarcity of good lyrical verse that solely and exclusively expressed powerful emotions. This situation changed dramatically in modern Chinese literature, as writers like Su and Yu Dafu found more forceful ways of emotional expression via their use of foreign languages. Perhaps words spoken in a foreign tongue provided writers with something of a textual mask. It is interesting to note that Su did not always provide a translation of these English lines, which enlarges the distance between these texts and traditional love stories. This sense of security was arguably helpful during a transitional stage of emotional expression. Moreover, the direct quotation of untranslated Western texts is an extreme form of intertextuality. The role of these quotations in Su’s short stories is more important than it may seem. A typical traditional scholar without multilingual ability would have missed many of the connotations carried by those texts, as demonstrated by the following section.

#### **4.4.3.2 Dynamic Intertextuality in “Story of the Broken Hairpin”**

In this section, I further explore the phenomenon of dynamic intertextuality in Su Manshu’s short stories, texts which, contrary to Yu Dafu’s comments quoted earlier, are arguably among his best works and might well have earned him the respect of supporters of so-called New Literature. I argue that Su creatively shaped his plots and the emotional expressions of his characters according to Western literary precedents. At the same time, he combined these Western texts with very traditional lyrical modes so as to produce a unique mode of emotional expression.

Just like in his poems and pseudotranslation, Su Manshu's novellas, which can be considered translated creations, contain many examples of cross-cultural borrowing. Some of these cases seem to consist of straightforward insertion of extracts from Western texts. For instance, in the seventh chapter of *The Lone Swan*, Su Manshu quoted Huang Kan's translation of Byron's "Ode to the Ocean" in full, just to express his admiration of the sea, though one might wonder whether there was really a need to quote such an abstruse poem at such a moment in the story, or whether Su Manshu was simply flaunting his erudition. In other cases, there is a more profound level of reworking and a more active engagement with the inserted texts which suggests that they should be considered as cases of dynamic intertextuality. A case in point is the "Story of the Broken Hairpin." In this novella, authorial intent in borrowing from Western literary precedents seems to be more conspicuous and easier to identify. This novella tells the triangular love story of the male protagonist Zhuang Shi 莊澁, his self-chosen lover Lingfang 靈芳 and the girl Lianpei 蓮佩 who is selected for him by his uncle and aunt, who have brought him up. Both girls love Zhuang dearly, but he has devoted himself to Lingfang before meeting Lianpei, and therefore is determined to marry the former. However, one day, Lingfang goes to visit Zhuang only to find him riding in a rickshaw with Lianpei on the way to see a Western opera. Then she is received by Zhuang's uncle who asks her to give up her love for the sake of Zhuang. She gives in and asks Zhuang's uncle to break the hairpin which she gave Zhuang as a love token. When she goes back home, she hangs herself. On the same evening, having expressed her love for Zhuang openly but knowing that his heart belongs to Lingfang, Lianpei commits suicide by slitting her throat. A day later, Zhuang dies of heartbreak after seeing the broken hairpin and reading Lingfang's

letter which breaks off the bond between them.

There are two intriguing incidences of dynamic intertextuality of Western texts in this novella. The first one is an explicit quotation from a Western text. One scene in the novella describes the time when Zhuang, his friend the “I”-narrator, and Lianpei go to watch a Western drama. Lianpei is undertaking simultaneous interpretation for Zhuang’s aunt, who does not understand English, when she hears a monologue that suddenly robs her of speech:

“What the world calls love, I neither know nor want.  
I know God’s love, which is neither weak nor mild.  
It is hard, even unto the terror of death,  
Its caress is a scourge. What did God reply  
In the olive grove when His Son lay in agony  
And cried, and prayed: ‘Take this cup from me’?  
Did He take the cup of pain from his lips?  
No child; he had to drink it to the depth.”<sup>110</sup>

The I-narrator, who knows English, understands that she has been deeply touched by these moving words, though Zhuang’s aunt thinks some obscenity must have been uttered and demands they leave the theatre at once. Su Manshu gave no mention of

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<sup>110</sup> I have not been able to identify which translation version Su Manshu quoted from, though I have been able to rule out the translations done by Charles Herford (1894), F. E. Garrett (1915), Miles Menander Dawson (1916) and those whose translation published later than 1916, when “Story of the Broken Hairpin” was published. Curiously, one of the most influential and widely-praised translation done by Michael Meyer (1921-2000), first published in 1960, has almost exactly the same stanza as Su’s quotation, excepting changing the last word from “depth” to “dregs.” Meyer in his translator’s note did not acknowledge any borrowing from previous translations and claimed to have “newly translated from the Norwegian.” Henrik Ibsen. *Brand*. Trans. Michael Meyer. London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1960. pp. 52. I discovered that the 1891, 1899, 1906 and 1910 editions of William Wilson’s translations are very similar to the version quoted in Su’s story, but not exactly the same. My current assumption is that Su quoted from the 1894 edition of Wilson’s translation, which I have not been able to find so far. I thank Prof. Fuls & Narve of the Arctic University of Norway for pointing me to the various editions of Wilson’s translations, and Dr. Susan Ang of National University of Singapore for discussing with me various possibilities to account for Meyer’s version. I thank Randi Meyer, senior librarian at the Centre for Ibsen Studies, University of Oslo, for kindly checking the 1891 and 1906 editions of Wilson’s translation and sending me the electronic version. I also thank an anonymous librarian at Leipzig University for sending me the 1910 edition of Wilson’s translation, and Mr. Zhu Shengxin 朱聖鑫 for helping me borrow the 1899 edition of Wilson’s translation from St. Anne’s College Library, University of Oxford.



the source of this text in his story, but it is an excerpt from Henrik Ibsen's (1828-1906) play, *Brand* (1865).<sup>111</sup> Given Ibsen's tremendous popularity in China during the early twentieth century,<sup>112</sup> it is quite normal that Western-educated young men and women should go to see a play written by him. But what is intriguing here is the way that the ethos of *Brand* connects to "Story of the Broken Hairpin." Now recognized as one of Ibsen's most complex verse dramas, *Brand* generated a huge critical uproar in Europe when it was first published in 1865. It depicts "the ideal Man, as Ibsen conceived him, the one whose entire being is concentrated upon one aim which he inflexibly pursues."<sup>113</sup> The protagonist of this play is a young priest named Brand who believes in the will of man. He firmly believes that in order to live a Christian life, man should take the consequences of his choices, even if it means the loss of his beloved or being considered a harsh person. In order to help some poor villagers, Brand sacrifices the life of his own son, who is ill, by not leaving the village and moving away to a warmer region. The passages quoted above appears in a dialogue between Brand and his wife Agnes in which they discuss whether or not Brand should visit his mother who is seriously ill. Because his mother robbed his father when the latter was on his deathbed, Brand considers her sinful and will not go to her unless she repents and then summons him to her. In the previous stanza, having failed to persuade Brand to go to see his mother, Agnes expresses her opinion of Brand's way of loving, saying that:

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<sup>111</sup> In *The World Republic of Letters*, Pascale Casanova examines the varied ways in which Ibsen was appropriated in Paris and London. Su Manshu's appropriation of Ibsen forms an interesting parallel to the European cases. See Pascale Casanova. *The World Republic of Letters*. Cambridge, Mass.: London, Eng.: Harvard University Press, 2004. pp. 97-98.

<sup>112</sup> For a detailed discussion of Ibsen's reception in China, see Wang Ning 王寧. "'Translated' and 'Constructed' Ibsen: Ibsen Metamorphosed in China" ("‘Bei yijie’ he ‘bei jiangou’ de Yibusheng: Yibusheng zai Zhongguo de bianxing ‘被譯介’和‘被建構’的易卜生：易卜生在中國的變形). *Foreign Literature Studies* 6 (2009): 50-59; Li Xuewen 黎學文. "Choices of Utilization: the Advent of 'Ibsenism' in China" (*Yong de xuanze: ‘Yibusheng zhuyi’ zai Zhongguo de fasheng 用的選擇：‘易卜生主義’在中國的發生*). *Drama Literature* 6 (2007): 39-57.

<sup>113</sup> C. H. Herford. "Introduction." Henrik Ibsen. *Brand: A Dramatic Poem in Five Acts*. Trans. C. H. Herford. London: William Heinemann, 1894. xxvii.

And yet your love is hard.  
Where you would caress, you bruise.  
Many have shrunk from us, at your demand  
Of: All or Nothing.<sup>114</sup>

This line, “all or nothing,” has come to epitomize the motto of Brand.<sup>115</sup> The absolute refusal of compromise is further explained in Brand’s reply, as quoted by Su, which stress the hardness of God’s love, implying that God disapproves of meekness of will when it comes to right or wrong. Although Su’s characters do not finish watching this play, Lianpei obviously already receives the most crucial message Ibsen’s play tries to convey: it is essential to have a powerful will, to make decisions according to one’s firm beliefs, either in religion or in love, and to take the consequences of it. It is this strong will that leads her to commit suicide when her love for Zhuang is not returned. Without understanding the message embodied in *Brand*, readers may find Lianpei’s decision to commit suicide very hard to swallow, because given her Western education, the choice of suicide for unfulfilled love might seem too conservative to fit her character.<sup>116</sup> Yet when we consider the impact of Ibsen’s drama on Lianpei, the enormous shock she receives from those words and her sudden decision to take her own life, instantly make more sense. Indeed, we can see much more clearly why Su Manshu constructed the scenario of theatre-going in this novella and why he intertextualized Ibsen’s play. Instead of explicitly explaining Lianpei’s feelings on being rejected by her beloved, Su Manshu uses the words of Brand to highlight Lianpei’s determination to avoid compromise. When she loves but cannot gain the love of the other in return, she gives up her life altogether, instead of attempting to be

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<sup>114</sup> Henrik Ibsen. *Brand*. Trans. Michael Meyer. London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1960. p. 52.

<sup>115</sup> Ann-Mari Hedbäck. “Geoffrey Hill’s Version of *Brand*.” *Studia Neophilologica* 53. 2 (1981): 293-309.

<sup>116</sup> For instance, Leo Lee raises doubts about this incongruity by pointing out that “one wonders why she [Lianpei] should be modern and fashionable in appearance but traditional in her devotional virtues.” Leo Lee, *The Romantic Generation*, 69.

content with a man who loves someone else. By intertextualizing Ibsen's words, Su was able to explore emotional states that would otherwise have been difficult to convey. This intertextuality had an ambivalent effect because for readers who were not acquainted with the play *Brand* and its message, Lianpei's emotional shock and decision of suicide would have been abrupt and unreasonable; but for those who did read *Brand*, the story was easily understandable.

In addition to Lianpei, the fate of the other female protagonist Lingfang is also derived from a Western text, namely *La Dame aux Camélias* by Alexandre Dumas fils. The plot that although Zhuang loves Lingfang dearly, she is not considered by Zhuang's uncle and aunt to be a suitable bride for their nephew, and that she is persuaded by Zhuang's uncle to break bonds with Zhuang for his sake, closely resembles the fate of Marguerite Gautier, the female protagonist in *La Dame aux Camélias*, which has been extensively discussed by various scholars.<sup>117</sup> Su Manshu obviously read Lin Shu's translation of the novel, because he expressed his dissatisfaction with it by publicly announcing his intention to retranslate it.<sup>118</sup> Su was also reputedly fond of a particular kind of candy on which Marguerite Gautier was said to dote.<sup>119</sup> Although the plot that a young protagonist is persuaded to give up his or her love by older relatives closely resembles *La Dame aux Camélias*, the way Lingfang chooses to break off with Zhuang is quite conventional: breaking the love token, the hairpin. What is more, Lingfang's final letter to Zhuang is also fraught with traditional lyrical expression, such as "My wish is that we can be engaged in the next

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<sup>117</sup> Hu, *Tales of Translation*, 100-103.

<sup>118</sup> Liu Yazhi, "Empirical Studies on the *New Biography of Su Xuanying*," *Su, A Complete Anthology of Su Manshu's Works* Vol. 4, 336-337.

<sup>119</sup> Liu Yazhi, "Preface to the Remaining Poems of Yanzi" (*Kan Yanzi kan yishi xu* 燕子龕遺詩序), *Su, A Complete Anthology of Su Manshu's Works* Vol. 4, 82.

world, and enjoy conjugal happiness in our afterlives.” (但願訂姻緣於再世，盡燕婉于來生。)<sup>120</sup>

Whereas the emotions of the two female protagonists are expressed through dynamic intertextualities of both Western texts and traditional lyricism, the emotions of Zhuang are conveyed mainly from a traditional sentimental perspective. For instance, when his close friend, the narrator, asks him which of the two girls he really loves, he says: “If you reflect on the meaning of ‘there are three thousand waters,’ you will know my heart.” (君思“弱水三千”之義，當識吾心。)<sup>121</sup> Here, Zhuang is referring to the 91th chapter of *Dream of the Red Chamber*, in which Jia Baoyu convinces Lin Daiyu that in the vast sea of love, the love for her is his only love. Jia Baoyu says: “Even though there are three thousand waters, I only drink one spoonful.” (任憑弱水三千，我只取一瓢飲。)<sup>122</sup> Thereafter, this expression has become a symbol of the loyalty and exclusiveness of true love in the conventions of Chinese love literature. There is, however, one instance in the text in which Zhuang’s emotions are reflected indirectly by untranslated English lines sung by a group of Westerners in a park. A blonde woman starts to sing in English: “Love is enough. Why should we ask for more?” Then a Western man replies: “Oh! you kid! Sorrow is the depth of Love.”<sup>123</sup> Hearing this, all the passers-by burst into an uproar, while Zhuang only smiles bitterly. The first line is presumably quoted from “Love is Enough” by the American poet Ella Wheeler Wilcox (1850-1919);<sup>124</sup> the second line does not seem to have an original

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<sup>120</sup> Su, *A Complete Anthology of Su Manshu's Works* Vol. 3, 292.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., 271.

<sup>122</sup> Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹 and Gao E 高鶚, *Dream of the Red Chamber (Honglou meng 紅樓夢)* Vol. 2. Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1982. p. 1299.

<sup>123</sup> Su, *A Complete Anthology of Su Manshu's Works* Vol. 3, 258.

<sup>124</sup> This line is part of Wilcox’s poem entitled “Love is Enough,” collected in her anthology *Maurine and Other Poems*. <http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/3665/pg3665.html> Accessed 28

source. Zhuang's feelings are indirectly reflected by the narrator saying "I saw that Zhuang Shi also smiled. But it was a forced, unhappy smile. It only increased my sadness." (余見莊湜亦笑; 然而強笑不歡, 益增吾悲耳。)<sup>125</sup> The reason for Zhuang's unhappiness is no doubt the sorrow that he feels on account of his relatives' disapproval of his love for Lingfang. Rather than expressly conveying his unhappiness, his reaction to the English lines provides the reader with a larger space to imagine and savor his feelings.

The phenomenon of untranslated quotation merits special attention. When this short story was first published in *New Youth*, there were no Chinese translations of any of the English quotations in the novella.<sup>126</sup> Just as Hu Ying points out in *Tales of Translation*, "the real conflict of the story of 'Suizan ji'" resides in a linguistic tug-of-war. For on the one hand, Su Manshu's story is written in classical prose... One might assume that the intended audience therefore consists of members of the literati class, well versed in the classical tradition...on the other hand, untranslated English texts time and again cut into the flow of classical Chinese... For a monolingual reader, a typical traditional scholar, who has not studied abroad like Su and his small circle of friends, these passages are completely opaque."<sup>127</sup> While I agree with Hu that, the meaning of these untranslated quotations was probably opaque to readers with no access to foreign languages, I argue that they are not without their own *raison d'être*, which can be understood from two angles.

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Sept. 2013.

<sup>125</sup> Su, *A Complete Anthology of Su Manshu's Works* Vol. 3, 258.

<sup>126</sup> Su Manshu. "Story of the Broken Hairpin (unfinished)" (*Suizan ji (wei wan)* 碎簪記 (未完)). *New Youth (Xin Qingnian 新青年)* 2. 3 (1916): 22-30; Su. "Story of the Broken Hairpin (continued)" (*Suizan ji (xu qianhao)* 碎簪記 (續前號)), *New Youth* 2. 4 (1916): 36-42.

<sup>127</sup> Hu, *Tales of Translation*, 102-103.

Firstly, the story was not published in any Butterfly School periodicals, but in *New Youth*, which supposedly catered to a more lettered audience than that of the Butterfly School writers. These readers, it might have been expected, would be able to understand the meaning of the English lines, and more importantly, their implications. While the story was published in two installments in 1916, *New Youth* published its renowned “Special Issue on Ibsen” (*Yibusheng zhuanhao* 易卜生專號) in 1918, which contained excerpts of translations from *A Doll’s House* (1879), *An Enemy of the People* (1882), and *Little Eyolf* (1894), and Hu Shi’s famous essay “Ibsenism” (*Yibusheng zhuyi* 易卜生主義). This special issue was said to have promoted the Ibsenian craze in China in the 1920s, during which time many of his plays were translated into Chinese and brought onto the stage. But as early as 1907, Lu Xun had already praised Ibsen in his essays for the dramatist’s insights and courage, and various articles had been published in literary journals before Su’s short story appeared.<sup>128</sup> It might be assumed that Ibsen’s works were already beginning to circulate in China before the “Special Issue on Ibsen” was printed in 1918, and that some readers, particularly those who understood foreign languages, might be able to appreciate Su’s English quotations.<sup>129</sup>

Secondly, even if readers could not understand the untranslated quotations at all, the

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<sup>128</sup> Li, “Choices of Utilization: the Advent of ‘Ibsenism’ in China”, 39-57.

<sup>129</sup> Ironically, in the afterword to “Story of the Broken Hairpin,” written by Chen Duxiu and published on the same issue, he praised the short story mainly for its exposal of feudal family structure and arranged marriage, which was a common theme in many May Fourth fictional narratives. Chen’s interpretation seems to explain the tragedy of Zhuang and Lingfang’s love, but it does not account for Lianpei’s death. This is because Lianpei chooses to die not because she cannot marry the one she loves – she is helped by every means by Zhuang’s aunt and uncle to form a union with Zhuang – but because she cannot be loved in return. Therefore it is highly dubious whether Chen had read *Brand*. But Chen’s understanding of the short story may represent some of the contemporary interpretations of it, which might explain Su’s standing among writers of New Literature. Chen Zhongfu 陳仲甫. “Afterword to ‘Story of the Broken Hairpin’” (“*Suizhan ji*” *houxu* 碎簪記後序), Su, *A Complete Anthology of Su Manshu’s Works* Vol. 4, 49.

very opaqueness of the quotation would have formed a semantic gap which could have added to the “literariness” of the stories. As Riffaterre puts it:

[The awareness of an intertext] may be enough to make readers experience the text’s literariness. They can do so because they perceive that something is missing from the text: gaps that need to be filled, references to an as yet unknown referent, references whose successive occurrences map out, as it were, the outline of the intertext still to be discovered. In such cases, the reader’s sense that a latent intertext exists suffices to indicate the location where this intertext will eventually become manifest.<sup>130</sup>

The appearance of the untranslated quotation in Su’s works created an exotic feeling amongst the otherwise traditional lyrical expressions. Readers were in fact given a wider space within which to conjure up the meaning of the English texts, given the context. From the fact that these untranslated quotations did not prevent Su from having many enthusiastic readers, it can be assumed that these passages may have exerted some sort of appeal on readers, in part, perhaps, because they reinforced the theme of transcultural lyricism which distinguished Su from other writers of popular love stories at the time.

#### 4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has approached the question of literary influence via the framework of dynamic intertextuality. Instead of simply asserting that Su Manshu was influenced by poems of Byron and Shelley, the Indian play *Śakoontalá*, and Ibsen’s play *Brand*, I have identified the ways in which Su translated and intertextualized these foreign literary texts, transforming them to suit his own creative and expressive needs. The emotions articulated by these foreign literary texts were transported by Su into his own works, enabling him to articulate emotional states which would have otherwise

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<sup>130</sup> Michael Riffaterre, “Compulsory Reader Response: the Intertextual Drive,” *Intertextuality: Theories and Practice*, 57.

been difficult to express, or which were new to Chinese readers. Su also intertextualized the Chinese lyrical tradition and many lines from classical Chinese poetry, transforming them, too, to suit his expressive needs. Perhaps most intriguing of all is the way that Su adeptly combined traditional Chinese lyrical modes with foreign literary antecedents to form a new kind of lyricism: what I have termed “transcultural lyricism.” This ideal of transcultural lyricism is reflected in Su’s critical essays and in the preface to his translations, but it finds its most striking articulation in his fictional writing. As a translator, novelist, poet and painter, Su Mansu was well equipped with the aesthetic facilities needed to elaborate this notion of transcultural lyricism. Being a translator allowed him to quote his own translations in his pseudotranslation. The translated texts were then paralleled with his adaptations of classical Chinese poetry, creating a unique emotional atmosphere for the unfolding of the mysterious experiences of his protagonist. In his fictional writing, he combined scenic depiction with emotional depiction, but started to express emotions with more directness than was commonly found in traditional Chinese love stories.

Su’s simultaneous intertextuality of a wide range of previous texts can be considered as a kind of homage to their writers. This practice is, however, as Margaret Hillenbrand describes the director Wong Kai-wai’s 王家衛 (1958- ) filmic homage to Murakami Haruki (1949- ), a “twisted homage,” in which Wong “sets about turning tribute into an expression of independent artistic intent.”<sup>131</sup> Similarly, Su Manshu not only appropriated the works of these writers, but also transformed them to suit his creative and expressive needs. At the same time, his fictional narratives are all steeped in the traditional Chinese lyrical mode. This intriguing hybridity between

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<sup>131</sup> Hillenbrand, “Murakami Haruki in Greater China,” 715-747.



conventional lyrical mode and emotional expression introduced from foreign literatures might best explain the status of Su Manshu as a transitional figure between Butterfly School literature and May Fourth Literature. To those “petty bourgeoisie” who were not able to appreciate the implications of the English lines, Su’s stories were by no means lacking in appeal. They were as sentimental and melodramatic as other stories written by Butterfly School writers, yet more exotic and mysterious because of their scattered, sometimes untranslated lines in a foreign language. Yet for those lettered readers who could garner the larger implications of the English quotations, this use of foreign text might have gone some way towards making Su’s sentimental stories more palatable, as well as helping to create a more affectively powerful text. It is necessary to point out, though, that among the seven major fictional narratives that Su wrote (including the pseudotranslation), the phenomenon of untranslated English paragraphs existed mainly in the two texts discussed in this chapter, as well as briefly appearing in “Story of the Scarlet Scarf.” The English version of Byron’s poem did not appear in *The Lone Swan*, although a lengthy translation of it was included. These works, however, constitute Su Manshu’s best known and most influential fiction writing, and for that reason they stand as solid evidence for the arguments made above.

In short, Su translated and intertextualized both foreign literary texts and Chinese texts in his literary creations, or what can be more accurately called translated creations because his interlingual and cross-cultural borrowings have been the focal point of this chapter. Unlike the writers discussed in previous chapters, who adapted emotions expressed in Western fiction to suit indigenous emotional patterns, Su appropriated emotions articulated in foreign texts and infused them into his love

stories, having transformed them to some degree. Su then combined these affective imports with indigenous emotional modes. This full-blown and varied intertextuality was crucial to Su's literary objectives, and to his commitment to the idea that lyricism is most fruitfully understood in its intercultural dimensions. Just as he stated in his critical essays on Western and classical Chinese poetry, every Western poetic line can find an equivalent in classical Chinese verse. It is only after dissecting Su's literary creations into fragments of borrowed texts, either from other foreign literatures or the Chinese lyrical tradition, that we can begin to appreciate the emotional effects generated by his intensively hybrid works. A similar process occurs in Yu Dafu's literary creations as well, although it differs from Su Manshu's work in certain key ways. These differences and similarities will be explored further in the next chapter.

## Chapter 5 Finding the Right Medium for Emotional Expression:

### Intertextualizing Western Literary Texts in Yu Dafu's Early Short Stories

#### 5.1 Introduction

##### 5.1.1 Yu Dafu and Lyrical Fiction in Modern Chinese Literature

If Su Manshu has been considered as a writer who linked up the “old-style literature” of the Butterfly School and May Fourth literature, then the identity of Yu Dafu as belonging to the latter is without much doubt. Originally named Yu Wen 郁文, he was born into a family of the intelligentsia class in Zhejiang Province. When he was only 17 years old, he went to Japan to attend a preparatory course for college. Afterwards, he studied political economics at the Imperial University of Tokyo.<sup>1</sup> In 1921, together with Guo Moruo and Cheng Fangwu 成仿吾 (1897-1984), Yu Dafu established the Creation Society in Tokyo, which would eventually become one of the most influential literary societies of modern China.<sup>2</sup> In common with many other May Fourth writers, Yu exhibited salient features of Western and Japanese influences in his literary works. However, of all the May Fourth writers, perhaps Yu Dafu was influenced by foreign literatures and thoughts in the most heterogeneous and wide-ranging way. In his short stories readers frequently encounter names of foreign

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<sup>1</sup> For a biography of Yu Dafu in English, see Anna Doležalová. *Yü Ta-Fu: Specific Traits of his Literary Creation*. Bratislava: Publishing House of the Slovak Academy of Sciences; New York: Paragon Book Reprint, 1971. For Chinese biographies of Yu Dafu, see Lim Buan Chay 林萬菁. *Years before Sinking: the Portrait of Yu Dafu in his Autobiographical Sketches (Cong Dafu zizhuan kan Chenlun qian de Yu Dafu 從達夫自傳看《沉淪》前的郁達夫)*. National University of Singapore, Department of Chinese Studies, Occasional Paper Series No. 53, 1987.

<sup>2</sup> For an introduction and analysis of the Creation Society and its relationship with the Literary Association, see Hockx, *Questions of Style*, 68-70.

writers such as William Wordsworth (1770-1850), Ernest Dowson, William Ernest Henley (1849-1903), Oscar Wilde (1854-1900), George Gissing (1857-1903) and so forth. Whereas he promoted British Romanticism alongside other members of the Creation Society, he almost single-handedly introduced German Romanticism and Japanese *shishōsetsu* into China.<sup>3</sup>

Just like Su Manshu, Yu Dafu also intertextualized a wide range of foreign literary texts in his translated creations, i.e., literary texts significantly inspired by foreign texts. Some of these texts formed an integral part of the narrative, creating emotional ambiance and providing a lyrical climax for his short stories, while others possessed a looser connection to the core structure of his stories. In this chapter, I argue that the long-standing tradition in classical Chinese literature of quoting poetic lines or switching to verse form within a work of prose to express powerful emotions underwent a profound change in the early decades of the twentieth century. Instead of quoting from classical poems or writing in verse form to express strong emotions, writers like Yu cited foreign texts to express emotions such as love and sorrow. The quotation of foreign texts can be categorized into three groups in terms of the level of creative transformation: random use of foreign words and phrases, sustained use of foreign lyrical poems, and free translation of foreign literatures to appropriate their emotional ambiance.

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<sup>3</sup> Xu Zidong 許子東. *New Perspectives on Yu Dafu (Yu Dafu xinlun 郁達夫新論)*. Hangzhou: Zhejiang wenyi chubanshe, 1985. p. 236.

I have chosen Yu, among other May Fourth writers, as the subject of this present chapter because his literary creations share some significant commonalities with Su Manshu, as well as with the other “old-style” writers discussed in previous chapters. Yu was so well-versed in classical Chinese literature that his works often exhibit a linkage with the past which can also be found in the work of the Butterfly School writers.<sup>4</sup> More importantly, like the writers discussed in previous chapters, Yu’s works reveal an obsession with excessive emotional expression.<sup>5</sup> Anna Doležalová points out that Yu’s “first prose works are belletrized autobiographies. This fact was influenced also by the Chinese traditional literary thinking refusing fiction, and the then widely-spread *genre* in Japan of *watakushi-shôsetsu*. However, an essential role was probably played here by the spontaneous yearning of the young literate [sic] for self-expression...”<sup>6</sup> She points out that Yu did not describe objective reality as such, but through it attempted to portray the individuality of his self-communicating hero. Although Doležalová’s work mainly focuses on Yu Dafu’s prose work as self-portraits, what she terms a turning away from describing objective reality also indicates Yu’s inclination to explore inner feelings. Leo Oufan Lee compares Yu Dafu to “the Wertherian type of personality with a Rousseauian touch of sensitivity and sincerity,” because in common with Werther, Yu had great capacity for tender emotions and

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<sup>4</sup> Kirk Denton points out that in Yu Dafu’s short story “Sinking,” although the protagonist attempts to live out the view of self offered by the West, he finds himself invariably drawn back to China and the comfort of a traditional community of like minds in a unified moral cosmos. See Kirk Denton. “The Distant Shore: Nationalism in Yu Dafu’s ‘Sinking.’” *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 14 (1992): 107-123.

<sup>5</sup> Guo Moruo and Xu Zhimo were of course also prominent writers with romantic or lyrical inclinations, but they mainly wrote poetry and are therefore not considered in this present research.

<sup>6</sup> Doležalová, *Yü Ta-Fu*, 6.

sought refuge in his inner life.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, in the great majority of Yu's short stories, depictions of powerful emotions abound, whereas plot and social criticism, though they do exist, tend to recede into the shadow of subjective emotions. It is because Yu Dafu's inclination toward excessive emotional expression is so prominent that he has been often associated with European Romanticism.<sup>8</sup> However, the inability of the term "romanticism" to contain his style was noted even in his own time. In an article published in 1927, Zheng Boqi 鄭伯奇 (1895-1979) claimed that the French term "*lyrisme*" (lyricism), or "*shuqing*" 抒情 as its Chinese equivalent, was more apposite than "romanticism" in describing the prevalent literary style at the time, because having been forced to face modernity, Chinese lyrical literature developed very differently from the Romantic literatures of Britain, Germany and France. Zheng further pointed out that among all Chinese writers at the time, Yu Dafu was one of the best representatives of "*lyrisme*."<sup>9</sup>

Why was Yu Dafu such a prominent representative of lyricism in early twentieth-century China? What distinguished his works from those of traditional Chinese love stories? Or were they even that different in the end? I intend to answer these questions by examining the intertextual practices that Yu adopted when creating his short stories. I argue that by transforming (though by no means comprehensively) the classical Chinese tradition of quoting poetry for lyrical expression, and by quoting

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<sup>7</sup> Leo Lee, *The Romantic Generation*, 279-281.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Zheng Boqi 鄭伯奇. "A Critique of the *Anthology of Cold Ash*" (Han hui ji piping 《寒灰集》批評). *Research Materials on Yu Dafu* (Yu Dafu yanjiu ziliao 郁達夫研究資料). Eds. Chen Zishan 陳子善 and Wang Zili 王自立. Hong Kong: Sanlian shudian, 1986. pp. 12-22.

foreign texts with various degrees of appropriation, Yu was able to endow his short stories with an emotional richness that was both powerful and fresh. It is from these intertextual practices that much of Yu's literary creativity is derived.

It should be pointed out that the texts studied in this chapter are mainly Yu's early works, particularly those written before the year 1923. The year 1923 seems to mark a significant turning point in Yu's creative career. Doležalová calls this year a "period of full creative activities," and she dubs the following year, when Yu Dafu stayed in Peking, a "Peking interlude."<sup>10</sup> The reason that I consider this year a watershed in Yu Dafu's writing career is also because he very often incorporated foreign texts, both translated ones and untranslated ones, into his own literary creations written before and up to 1923, while in the works after 1923, the frequency of this phenomenon drastically declined. I argue at the end of this chapter that the decrease in the incorporation of foreign texts marked the development and maturation of Yu's literary style, when he no longer needed to borrow from foreign literary precedents on a large scale to compose his works.

In the following pages, I first provide an overall picture of Yu's contact with and criticism of foreign literatures, before moving onto a discussion of the background to Yu's intertextuality of foreign literary texts. After setting out the classical Chinese tradition of intertextualizing earlier works, I explore in more specific detail one

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<sup>10</sup> Doležalová, *Yü Ta-Fu*, 148, 158.

particular type of intertextuality: namely, that of poetic works quoted in order to articulate emotion. In order to explain the modern transformation of this tradition, I first lay out the larger context of the complicated relationship between language reform and literary movement in the first two decades of twentieth-century China, and suggest why that prompted multi-lingual writers such as Yu Dafu to seek new ways of expression from foreign literary precedents. Then I discuss the influence of the Japanese practice of borrowing from Western literature, a practice which had a profound influence on those Chinese writers who had close ties with Japan. While these two factors largely prompted the modern practice of quoting from Western literatures, we should not overlook the lingering legacy of classical Chinese literary conventions, as has been discussed in relation to Su Manshu in the previous chapter. Following these methodological discussions, I move on to specific textual analyses which are divided into three major categories. The first category is the direct use of foreign languages as a way of emotional expression, which can be quite random and may not seem an integral part of the work as a whole. The second category is the borrowing of Western poems as a touchstone for generating a certain emotional ambiance. The third category is implicit intertextuality of Western works which approaches free translation, in which the emotional ambiance carried by the source text is transferred to the target text. Next I explore the phenomenon of what I call “the anxiety of language,” which refers to the writer’s constant mentioning of the mastery of foreign languages and the implied power associated with it. As a result of this anxiety of language, the writer is often faced with the dilemma of whether or not to



translate the texts from their original foreign languages into Chinese. This then brings us to the question of audiences, touched on already with regards to Su Manshu's intended readership in the previous chapter.

### 5.1.2 Yu Dafu and Foreign Literatures: an Overview

In the following section I will provide a brief overview of Yu Dafu's encounter with foreign literature, examining how he perceived and discussed them in his critical essays. Given the large number of scholarly works which already exist on this topic, I do not aim to exhaust all aspects of Yu's relationship with foreign literature, but rather to point out some of the most significant aspects of it.<sup>11</sup>

Since Yu received much of his formal education in Japan and had close personal relationships with several Japanese writers, the role of Japanese influence in his writing cannot be underestimated. A large number of studies have been carried out by Japanese scholars on the subject of Yu's literary relationship with Japan. Takeuchi Yoshimi 竹內好, in one of the earliest and most comprehensive studies on Yu Dafu and Japan, discusses Yu's relationship with modern Japanese literature, exploring for instance the similarity in theme, methods and social influences between Katai

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<sup>11</sup> For Chinese language works on this subject, see Liu Jiuming 劉久明. *Yu Dafu and Foreign Literatures (Yu Dafu yu waiguo wenxue 郁達夫與外國文學)*. Wuhan: Huazhong keji daxue chubanshe, 2001; Qiu Ling 邱嶺. "A Sino-Japanese Comparative Study of Yu Dafu's Fiction" (*Yu Dafu xiaoshuo de Zhong Ri bijiao yanjiu 郁達夫小說的中日比較研究*). Diss. Shanghai: East China Normal University, 1997. For English language works on this subject, see Leo Lee, *The Romantic Generation*, 110-123; Keaveney, *Beyond Brushtalk*, 117-128.

Tayama's 田山花袋 (1872-1930) narrative *The Quilt* (*Futon* 蒲団, 1907) and Yu Dafu's short stories.<sup>12</sup> Later scholars, including Ito Toramaru 伊藤虎丸, Shōji Inaba 稲葉昭二, and Suzuki Masao 鈴木正夫, together compiled an important source book entitled *Materials on Yu Dafu* (*Iku Tatsufu shiryō* 郁達夫資料, 1969). Takeo Oda 小田岳夫 in his *Yu Dafu: his Poems, Love and Japan* (*Iku Tatsufu den: sono shi to ai to Nihon* 郁達夫伝: その詩と愛と日本, 1975) compares "Sinking" with Sato Haruo's 佐藤春夫 (1892-1964) *Rural Melancholy* (*Den'en no Yūutsu* 田園の憂鬱, 1919). In this discussion Oda points out that the protagonists of the two stories resemble each other, even in their professed tendency to quote foreign texts.<sup>13</sup> This is a very insightful finding, as it reminds us that Yu's very tendency to quote from Western texts may well have been the fact that some modern Japanese writers from whom he intertextualized tended to quote from Western texts.

Not only Yu Dafu's relationship with Japan, but also his relationship with European literatures has also been widely studied in China. Although studies of Yu appeared very early on, scholarship that brought a fresh light on his works began to be published only after the Cultural Revolution. Xu Zidong's 許子東 *A New Discussion of Yu Dafu* (*Yu Dafu xinlun* 郁達夫新論, 1985) raises many fresh points about Yu Dafu's literary style and spirit. One chapter in the book deals specifically with Yu's

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<sup>12</sup> Li Hangchun 李杭春 and Liang Yixin 梁譯心. "A General Review of Overseas Research on Yu Dafu" (*Haiwai Yu Dafu yanjiu manping* 海外郁達夫研究漫評). *Journal of Zhejiang University* (Humanities and Social Sciences) 37. 5 (2007): 169-176.

<sup>13</sup> Takeo Oda 小田岳夫. *Yu Dafu: his Poems and Love and Japan* (*Iku Tatsufu den: sono shi to ai to Nihon* 郁達夫伝: その詩と愛と日本). Trans. Li Ping 李平 and Yan Zhenyu 閻振宇. Hangzhou: Zhejiang wenyi chubanshe, 1984. p. 33.

relationship with foreign literatures. Xu contends that among the myriad of foreign works that Yu read and learned from, the influence of French Romanticism, and particularly Jean-Jacques Rousseau, was by far the most fundamental and decisive.<sup>14</sup> He points out that the confessional writing of Rousseau, and his affirmation of personal feelings such as sorrow, guilt and solitude all found an immediate resonance in Yu.<sup>15</sup> Apart from Rousseau, Yu was also drawn to the works of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) and William Wordsworth.<sup>16</sup> Besides the Romantics, Yu was also intrigued by several writers linked to the controversial magazine in the 1890s, *The Yellow Book*, including Max Beerhohm (1872-1956), Ernest Dowson, George Gissing and Oscar Wilde.<sup>17</sup> Yu quite often mentioned these writers in his works and wrote a critical essay dedicated to them, in which he applauded these authors as a group of extremely talented writers who brought the first ray of modernity to British literature.<sup>18</sup> Yu Dafu also drew inspiration from Turgenev (1818-1883), particularly his characterization of the superfluous individual Roudine. It seems that Yu both identified himself with this character type and also created quite a few characters in his fictional works that fall into this category.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Xu, *New Perspectives on Yu Dafu*, 237.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 243.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 234.

<sup>17</sup> Although Wilde never published anything on this magazine, he was linked with it because he was acquainted with many of its contributors. For an introduction of the rise and fall of *The Yellow Book*, see Fraser Harrison. "Introduction." *The Yellow Book*. Ed. Fraser Harrison. Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1914. pp. 7-32.

<sup>18</sup> Yu Dafu. *Anthology of Yu Dafu's Works (Yu Dafu wenji 郁達夫文集)*. Eds. Wang Zili 王自立 and Chen Zishan 陳子善. Vol. 5, Hong Kong: Sanlian shudian 1982. p. 170.

<sup>19</sup> For a discussion of the influence of Russian literature on Yu Dafu's works, see Wu Maosheng 吳茂生. "Romantic Hero? On the Superfluous Man in the Novels of Yu Dafu" (*Langmanzhuyi yingxiong? Lun Yu Dafu xiaoshuo li de lingyuzhe 浪漫主義英雄？論郁達夫小說裏的零餘者*), *Research Materials on Yu Dafu*, 475-507.

Compared with the earlier writers and translators discussed in previous chapters, Yu's exposure to foreign literatures reached a new level of depth and comprehensiveness. While I agree it is very important both to gather concrete evidence of Yu's encounter with foreign literary works, and also to discuss the general stylistic similarities and differences between Yu and his foreign predecessors, both of these strategies have their limitations. The former method runs the risk of being overly positivistic, while the latter can easily produce unsubstantiated generalizations. I posit instead that a more balanced and persuasive way of studying literary influences is through the application of intertextuality as method, as already discussed in the previous chapter. This notion of intertextuality is predicated on the notion that writers proactively choose to incorporate literary predecessors into their own works, during the process of which creativity is both generated and invigorated. This same basic idea of "dynamic intertextuality" can be twisted into different forms to suit the circumstances of different writers. In my analysis of Yu, for example, I correlate the intertextuality of foreign texts to the transformation of the Chinese tradition of citing poetry for the expression of emotion, as well as to the anxiety of language that accompanies this process. Much of this also applies to Su Manshu, yet it becomes even more conspicuous when Yu Dafu started his literary career in the second decade of the twentieth century.

## 5.2 The Chinese Literary Tradition of Quotation and its Modern Transformation

### 5.2.1 The Tradition of Quotation in Classical Chinese Literature

The literary device of “quotation” is very frequently deployed in traditional Chinese literature. Writers who are able to quote others’ works, particularly ancient works, are considered erudite and convincing. This idea dates back to Lu Ji’s 陸機 (261-303) *The Poetic Exposition of Literature* (*Wen fu* 文賦, ca. 280), one of the most important works on literary theory in early China. When describing the process of literary composition, Lu describes literary composition as: “He gathers unfinished texts of one hundred generations, and picks up remaining melodies of a thousand years.”<sup>20</sup> (收百世之闕文，采千載之遺韻。)<sup>21</sup> These two sentences encapsulate Lu’s proposition that when composing a literary work, one should intertextualize previous literary works, appropriating and at the same time adapting them. Although he was acclaimed as the author of “a work with such originality that it could not have been anticipated from the works that preceded it,” Lu addresses new questions about literature using a vocabulary “drawn from a variety of sources.”<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Stephen Owen proposes a different interpretation of this sentence. He takes “*quewen*” to mean “writing omitted,” referring to “the practice of leaving a blank in a text when the truth of a topic was unknown,” which is mentioned in *Analects* XV. 25. He takes “*yiyn*” to mean “neglected rhymes.” Therefore Owen argues Lu Ji proposes to avoid borrowing from earlier writing. See Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*, 102-103. However, there are different opinions among the annotators of *The Poetic Exposition on Literature* regarding the meaning of these two words. Many of them argue that “*quewen*” refers to unfinished texts, and that “*yiyn*” refers to the melodies that remain of the olden days. See Lu Ji 陸機. *Collected Annotations on The Poetic Exposition on Literature* (*Wen fu ji shi* 文賦集釋). Annotated by Zhang Shaokang 張少康. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1984. pp. 35, 43. Therefore, I take these two sentences to indicate Lu Ji’s opinion that when composing new texts, the author should borrow previous texts as well as transform them, giving them new life.

<sup>21</sup> Lu, *Collected Annotations on The Poetic Exposition on Literature*, 25.

<sup>22</sup> Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*, 73.

The same idea of learning to compose literature by reading and reinvigorating previous texts is articulated in Liu Xie's 劉勰 (ca. 465-521) pivotal work *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* (*Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍, 501). In the chapter titled "Continuity and Mutation" (*Tong bian* 通變), Liu states that in order for literary style to develop healthily, writers should refer constantly to the works of earlier generations. Liu goes as far as to say that the more distant in time a generation is, the greater its literary style. As a result, he advises new writers that "to get the general structure of the unity of the literary tradition, one should give broad consideration to its overall form: first, by wide reading to examine the essentials, then by a synthesis of the general principles in order to unify the work."<sup>23</sup> (是以規略文統，宜宏大體。先博覽以精閱，總綱紀而攝契。<sup>24</sup>) To Liu, reading widely lays the foundation for imitating works of earlier writers, which, quite paradoxically, is the prerequisite for literary innovation. As a matter of fact, in the opinion of his modern annotator, Liu focuses too much attention on continuity rather than on mutation, and the examples Liu provides are more in the nature of imitation than innovation. The reason for this is that Liu intended to correct the frivolous literary style of the time, which he thought could be amended by integrating more ancient literary styles into contemporary writing.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 229.

<sup>24</sup> Zhou Zhenfu 周振甫. *A Modern Translation of The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* (*Wenxin diaolong jin yi* 《文心雕龍》今譯). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986. p. 273.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 268. For an elaborate discussion of the Chinese tradition of "correcting the corrupt practices of the current era by learning from ancient times," see Yuan, *Early Modern Transformations of Chinese Fiction*, 174.

Perhaps we can better understand the reasons for the emphasis on borrowing from ancient literature in classical Chinese literary criticism if we consider the ontological differences which inform Chinese and Western literature. When discussing the influence of Buddhism on vernacular Chinese fiction, Victor Mair argues that ideas of literary “creation” are essentially different in China and in the West.<sup>26</sup> He quotes the arguments of the literary critic Wong Siu-kit, who states that when a Western critic employs the word “create,” he has the “whole background of Christian mythology behind him.” Wong uses Samuel Coleridge’s (1772-1834) *Biographia Literaria* (1817) as an example. By contrast, in the Chinese myth about the origins of the world, as represented in *The Book of the Way* (*Dao de jing* 道德經, ca 600 BC) etc., the process is imagined as “one of *natural* growth, a process, for example, of fertilization between two principles, resulting in birth (生).”<sup>27</sup> This ontological difference may explain the idea inherent in Chinese literature that a new piece of work “grows out of” earlier works, rather than out of the mind of the author. In sum, as Yi-Tsi Mei Feuerwerker rightly notes, intertextuality – the quotation, imitation, adaptation and revision of prior texts in the construction of new texts – has long been a “self-conscious and self-perpetuating exercise” in the Chinese literary tradition. By appropriating and transforming previous literary texts, later writers gave their own texts authority and meaning.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Victor H. Mair. “The Narrative Revolution in Chinese Literature: Ontological Presuppositions.” *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews (CLEAR)* 5. 1/2 (1983): 1-27.

<sup>27</sup> Wong Siu-kit. “Ch’ing in Chinese Literary Criticism.” Diss. Oxford: Oxford University, 1969. pp. 366-367.

<sup>28</sup> Feuerwerker, “Text, Intertext, and the Representation of the Writing Self in Lu Xun, Yu Dafu,

Having elaborated on this important tradition of quoting from earlier texts, I want to probe further one particular kind of quotation, that is, the quotation of pre-existing poems in order to invoke emotional responses from readers. Poetic lines are often the object of quotation because traditionally they were the carrier of inner feelings. One of the most well-known pronouncements on the function of poetry appears in *The Poetic Exposition of Literature*. It states: “The poem follows from the affections and is sensuously intricate.”<sup>29</sup> (詩緣情而綺靡。) <sup>30</sup> Although expressing emotion is by no means confined to the poetic form, it has generally been consented that in traditional Chinese literature, emotion is best reserved for the highbrow genre of poetry.<sup>31</sup> Besides quoting from pre-existing poetic lines as a means of emotional expression, writers of prose also switch to self-penned poetic form when the need for emotional expression arises. This phenomenon frequently appears in pre-modern Chinese literature. For instance, in *Dream of the Red Chamber*, Cao Xueqin frequently switches to verse form when depicting emotional climaxes. Sometimes, he pretends to quote from poems written by anonymous poets, which is essentially the same practice as pseudotranslation. The only difference is that instead of claiming his creation to be a translation, Cao claims it to be a quotation from others’ work. In both cases, the writer borrows someone else’s works to endow his/her work with more authority. For

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and Wang Meng,” *From May Fourth to June Fourth: Fiction and Film in Twentieth-Century China*, 168.

<sup>29</sup> Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*, 130.

<sup>30</sup> Lu, *Collected Annotations on The Poetic Exposition on Literature*, 71.

<sup>31</sup> See for instance the modern commentator’s notes in Lu, *Collected Annotations on The Poetic Exposition on Literature*, 79-80.



instance, in Chapter 26 Daiyu goes to visit Baoyu one evening, only to be kept outside his door by his maid Qingwen 晴雯, who happens to be in a bad mood. Daiyu mistakenly thinks Baoyu is angry with her and starts to weep. The sound of her weeping startles birds from nearby trees. Here Cao writes:

真是：

花魂默默無情緒，鳥夢癡癡何處驚。

因有一首詩道：

顰兒才貌世應希，獨抱幽芳出繡閨；  
嗚咽一聲猶未了，落花滿地鳥驚飛。<sup>32</sup>

[Truly it is the case that:]

Tears filled each flower and grief their hearts perturbed,  
And silly birds were from their nests disturbed.

The author of the preceding couplet has given us a quatrain in much the same vein:

Few in this world fair Frowner's looks surpassed,  
None matched her store of sweetness unexpressed.  
The first sob scarcely from her lips had passed  
When blossoms fell and birds flew off distressed.<sup>33</sup>

While the prose form serves the function of story narration, the poetic form augments emotional intensity. Such instances abound in early modern popular fiction such as Wei Xiuren's 魏秀仁 (1819-1874) *Traces of Flowers and the Moon* (*Huayue hen* 花月痕, 1888). Not only do protagonists announce their love for one another in verse, they speak in the verse form when expressing other kinds of strong feelings. The narrator of the story switches to the verse form after describing a particularly sentimental scene, in order to increase the emotional intensity.<sup>34</sup> Up until even the

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<sup>32</sup> Cao and Gao, *Dream of the Red Chamber* Vol.1, 372.

<sup>33</sup> Cao Xueqin. *The Story of the Stone*. Vol. 1. David Hawkes Trans., Bloomington, London: Indiana University Press, 1973. p. 525.

<sup>34</sup> Wei, *Traces of Flowers and the Moon*. Yuan Jin points out that the use of verse in *Traces of Flowers and the Moon* contributes significantly to its popularity. Yuan, *Early Modern*

first decade of the twentieth century, when Butterfly School stories enjoyed a boom in the Chinese literary market, the phenomenon of switching to the poetic form when expressing strong emotion remained very common. For instance, the love stories of Xu Zhenya 徐枕亞 (1889-1937), although written in *parallel verse* (*pianti wen* 駢體文), contain a large number of quotations from classical poems, which added emotional intensity to an already flamboyant emotional tone. For instance, at the beginning of the story, when Mengxia 夢霞 laments the falling of flowers and imitates the quintessentially Daiyu-like behaviour of burying fallen petals, he chants the verse supposedly once chanted by Daiyu herself: “Let others laugh flower-burial to see: another year who will be burying me?”<sup>35</sup> (儂今葬花人笑癡，他年葬儂知是誰?)<sup>36</sup> By intertextualizing this well-known poetic line from *Dream of the Red Chamber*, Xu invokes the tragic sense associated with Daiyu’s fate, hence initiating the deeply tragic emotional tone of this love story.

The above passages present a general picture of the Chinese literary convention of quoting/writing poetic lines to express powerful emotions. This intertextual practice endows the new text with an emotional intensity rooted in the context of the quoted text. This convention underwent significant changes in the early decades of the twentieth century as numerous foreign love stories made their impact on the Chinese literary landscape, causing a profound shift in the source of quotation, i.e., from

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*Transformations of Chinese Literature*, 294.

<sup>35</sup> Translation quoted from Cao Xueqin. *The Story of the Stone*. Vol. 2. Trans. David Hawkes. Bloomington, London: Indiana University Press, 1977. p. 39.

<sup>36</sup> Xu Zhenya 徐枕亞. *Jade Pear Spirit* (*Yu li hun* 玉梨魂). Nanchang: Jiangxi renmin chubanshe, 1986. p. 5. Cf. Cao and Gao, *Dream of the Red Chamber*, 383.

quoting classical poems to quoting foreign texts. I argue that there are two underlying reasons for this significant shift: the language reform that was ongoing in China at the time, and the practice of quoting Western literatures that had already been adopted by Japanese writers.

### 5.2.2 Language Reform and the Search for New Ways of Emotional Expression

The language reform which took place in China in the late 1910s significantly shook the status of classical Chinese, creating a huge demand for new ways of emotional expression in literary works. Whereas many of the Butterfly School writers still felt comfortable using parallel verse to express their emotions,<sup>37</sup> Yu Dafu, like many other May Fourth writers, stood at the forefront of using the newly-adopted vernacular language to compose literary works. However, many of the literary experiments made by his contemporaries to use the vernacular language have not been immediately successful, and were thus recorded in literary history with ridicule.<sup>38</sup>

In her article “The Meaning of Foreign Text in Yu Dafu’s *Sinking* Collection,” Valerie Levan recounts the debates over language reform in the early years of the twentieth

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<sup>37</sup> Zhou Shoujuan notes that while Butterfly School writers like Xu Zhenya used parallel verse (*pianwen* 駢文) to write, *Saturday* School writers wrote both in classical Chinese (*wenyan* 文言) and in vernacular (*baihua* 白話), but not in parallel verse. Zhou Shoujuan for instance published in both languages at the same time. Zhou, “Some Casual Words about *Saturday*” (*Xianhua Libailiu* 閒話《禮拜六》), *Research Materials on “the Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School,”* 182.

<sup>38</sup> The author of this present thesis still remembers how as late as 2004, in a lecture on modern Chinese literature at Beijing Normal University, when a professor introduced Hu Shi’s poem “Two Butterflies” (*Liangzhi hudie* 兩隻蝴蝶, 1917), written in awkward vernacular, it caused a roar of laughter among almost 200 undergraduates, who derided the writer’s inability to make sensuous and profound poems like the classical ones.

century, pointing out that the classical language was considered outdated and no longer expressive enough, whereas the vernacular language was not well developed enough at the time to articulate emotions with appropriate nuance. As a result, writers had no choice but to resort to a third option: using foreign language to express their emotions. She states that the “traditional model was viewed as useless for the depiction of contemporary subject matter because, as we have seen in these debates, the classical medium was believed to insufficiently correspond to the modern world. The imagined perfection of the now outdated classical model *and* the alien model of foreign literature served as powerful motivating forces for writers striving for a perfect medium, a search in which Yu Dafu’s early stories certainly participate.”<sup>39</sup> In order to find an effective means of communication, many May Fourth writers turned to foreign literary works. As Levan points out, “the modern Chinese writer who engaged with foreign sources undertook the unenviable task of employing the methods, standards, and even language of the West to achieve a level of simultaneous communication and expression that was no longer available through traditional Chinese poetics *because* of its status as a nonmodern, a status it was reduced to in the course of Chinese reactions to Western encroachment and imperialism.”<sup>40</sup> While I agree that writers such as Yu Dafu did turn to foreign literatures and languages in search of new and effective ways of communication, it is nonetheless necessary to point out that traditional Chinese poetry was by no means eradicated in the works of May Fourth writers. For instance, Lu Xun’s poems written in classical Chinese are

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<sup>39</sup> Valerie Levan. “The Meaning of Foreign Text in Yu Dafu’s *Sinking* Collection.” *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture* 24. 1 (2012): 48-87.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

often considered to embody his most private and personal feelings,<sup>41</sup> and classical Chinese poems still function as a channel of emotional expression in those stories by Yu Dafu which contain the densest concentration of foreign texts.

### 5.2.3 Influence of Japanese Practices

As mentioned earlier, there were close connections between Chinese and Japanese literatures in the early twentieth century. For this reason, the Japanese practice of eagerly appropriating European literatures had a significant impact on Chinese writers, particularly those who went to study in Japan. In Meiji Japan, translations of European literary works constituted an important part of Japanese literature as a whole. In particular, Tsubouchi Shōyō 坪内逍遙 (1859-1935), who was a leading figure in the literary community in Tokyo, published an influential article entitled “The Essence of the Novel” (*Shōsetsu shinzui* 小説神髓, 1885) which advocated a rigorously Western approach to reading and writing fiction.<sup>42</sup> Echoing his call, many Japanese writers saw Western literature as inspiration for self-expression and often paid homage to Western writers in their own creations. As in Republican China, the practices of translation and intertextuality are closely linked in Japan’s absorption of European literatures. Not only did Japanese translators appropriate new literary techniques and new vocabulary from European literary works, they also voraciously imitated them in densely intertextualized adaptations. Scholars of Japanese literature

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<sup>41</sup> See Kowallis, *The Lyrical Lu Xun*.

<sup>42</sup> Marvin Marcus. “The Impact of Western Autobiography on the Meiji Literary Scene.” *Biography* 15. 4 (1992): 371-389.

contend that these adaptations of European literature may have played an even greater role than translation in the development of modern Japanese literature. “By the end of the nineteenth century no Japanese writer of significance remained unaffected by a knowledge of European literature, and before long some writers were insisting that they felt closer to Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, or Stendhal, all read in translation, than they did to any work of the Japanese tradition.”<sup>43</sup>

The imprint of Western literatures was clearly visible in many important literary works of Meiji Japan. For instance, the trilogy of short stories by Mori Ōgai 森鷗外 (1862-1922) – *The Dancing Girl* (*Maihime* 舞姫, 1890), which is considered to have brought about the advent of the romantic decade in Japanese literature – was set in Germany, and was influenced by Rousseau’s *Confessions* (1782). Moreover, Donald Keene claims that some Japanese authors borrowed from half a dozen European sources even when writing a short story.<sup>44</sup> This practice reminds us of Su Manshu’s pseudotranslation, and also anticipates my discussions later in this chapter of how Yu Dafu borrowed from several foreign texts to compose his short stories.

Besides implicitly intertextualizing foreign literary works, many Japanese writers also directly quoted foreign language texts in their literary creations. Indeed, Japanese writers frequently cited works of Maupassant, Flaubert and Iben in their works.<sup>45</sup> As

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<sup>43</sup> Keene, *Dawn to the West*, 71.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Marvin Marcus, “The Impact of Western Autobiography on the Meiji Literary Scene,” 371-389.

mentioned briefly earlier, Takeo Oda in his *Yu Dafu: his Poems, Love and Japan* points out that Yu's "Sinking" and Sato Haruo's *Rural Melancholy* have several salient resemblances, one of which is that Sato Haruo quoted Edgar Allen Poe's English poetic stanza and its Japanese translation at the very beginning of *Rural Melancholy*, and Yu quoted Wordsworth's stanzas both in the original and in Chinese translation.<sup>46</sup> This conspicuous similarity suggests the possibility that Yu was inspired by his Japanese counterparts to intertextualize Western-language texts in his own creations.

#### 5.2.4 The Modern Transformation of Emotional Expression

As a result of the ongoing language reform and the influence of the Japanese practice of quoting from Western languages, the Chinese tradition of quoting poetic lines or using the poetic form to express emotion underwent a significant transformation. This shift was most prominently reflected in the writing of love stories since the expression of strong emotion was an inevitable prerequisite for literature of this kind. The change was undeniably a gradual one. But in the first two decades of the twentieth century, when more and more Chinese writers went abroad to receive their formal education, or encountered foreign literatures via other means, while at the same time traditional lyrical devices was beginning to seem outdated, these writers started to treat foreign, and particularly Western, romantic texts as a new source of inspiration. Just like Su Manshu, Yu Dafu also turned to Western languages and literary texts when expressing

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<sup>46</sup> Oda, *Yu Dafu: his Poems, Love and Japan*, 33.

powerful emotions, because classical poetry, at times at least, seemed unable to match the romantic ambiance or emotional intensity that Western texts were capable of achieving. It is interesting to note that, although Su Manshu and Yu Dafu seem to belong to two distinctly different eras of literary development, in this aspect of quoting foreign texts and using foreign languages as a means of emotional expression, they were surprisingly similar. That said, it remains the case that the level of assimilation and appropriation, the range of foreign writers and texts they incorporated, and the ways in which they conducted these textual borrowings differ significantly. In the following sections, I divide Yu Dafu's appropriation of foreign literatures into three categories according to the level of creative engagement. The first is the relatively random use of Western languages as a means of emotional expression. The second is the quotation of lyrical components from Western Romantic poetry. The third is intertextuality of the deepest level – what is called “free translation” or “imitation” – that is, to use the plot, characters, and most important of all, emotional tone of foreign literary texts to construct a Chinese-language text. If the first category is the most explicit and hence most superficial kind of intertextuality, the third category is often implicit and profound, engaging with one or several foreign texts forcefully, so much so that it verges on translation. I will use several textual examples to analyze how Yu Dafu creatively appropriated sources from Western literatures to accommodate his lyrical and expressive needs, and also discuss the implications of this practice. It needs to be pointed out that while Yu vigorously engaged with foreign, mainly Western, literary texts, he also constantly went back to



classical Chinese poetry for ways of emotional expression. Like Su Manshu, Yu often juxtaposed foreign and Chinese literary antecedents in the same fictional text.

### 5.3 Textual Analysis

#### 5.3.1 The Random Use of Western Languages for Emotional Expression

The loosest level of intertextuality in Yu Dafu's early short stories is the random use of foreign words, particularly English, and occasionally German. In the early short stories of Yu Dafu, one of the most conspicuous features is that his protagonists – those languid, melancholic young men not unlike himself – often make exclamations in a foreign tongue at moments of intense emotion. For instance, in “Chenlun” 沉淪 (Sinking, 1921), after the Chinese protagonist encounters two female students and fails to speak to them, he blames himself by saying in English:

*“You coward fellow, you are too coward!”*<sup>47</sup>

Then after reproaching himself in Chinese for some time, he switches to English again, blaming himself once more:

*“Oh, coward, coward!”*<sup>48</sup>

While the above examples may suggest a quite random use of a foreign language, there are other instances which indicate a tenuous link to certain poetic sources. For instance, in the first story of the *Sinking* collection, “Silvergrey Death” (*Yinhui de si*

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<sup>47</sup> Yu, *Anthology of Yu Dafu's Works* Vol. 1, 23.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

銀灰色的死, 1920), the protagonist Y studies in a university in Tokyo and suffers constant economic hardship. His wife in China passed away recently but he has no money to return home. After bumping into a classmate who is ready to go back to China for the New Year, he murmurs to himself:

“他們都回家去了。他們都是有家庭的人。 *Oh! home! sweet home!*”<sup>49</sup>

They have all gone home. They are all people with families. Oh! Home! Sweet home!

It is hard to verify whether this exclamation is borrowed from John Howard Payne’s (1791-1852) poem “Home, Sweet Home” (1822) in which the sentence “home, home, sweet, sweet home!” is repeated in every stanza.<sup>50</sup> But it is plausible to suppose that Yu Dafu had heard of this poem or was familiar with this repeated poetic line, therefore when he was searching for floridly emotional poetic lines, he easily found these in his memory. Here the three exclamation marks suggest the intensity of the protagonist’s longing for home.

### 5.3.2 Quoting Western and Classical Chinese Poems for Emotional Expression

The medium level of intertextual engagement in Yu Dafu’s works is the quotation of Western and classical Chinese poems. In “Sinking,” the protagonist quotes two stanzas from William Wordsworth’s poem “The Solitary Highland Reaper” in English,

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<sup>49</sup> In accord with the previous chapter, I italicize the foreign-language texts that appeared in a Chinese literary work. Ibid., 11.

<sup>50</sup> For an introduction of Payne’s composition of this song, see Gabriel Harrison. *John Howard Payne, Dramatist, Poet, Actor, and Author of Home, Sweet Home! His Life and Writings*. New York, London: Benjamin Blom, 1969. pp. 108-113.

before translating them into Chinese one page later. And in the final suicide scene of “Sinking,” Yu Dafu draws on the image of the “mountain spirit” (*shangui* 山鬼), which is an allusion to a poem of the same name in “Nine Songs” (*Jiuge* 九歌) of *Songs of the South* (*Chuci* 楚辭, 4 Century BC-2 Century BC).<sup>51</sup>

Also in “Sinking,” the protagonist, holding an anthology of Wordsworth’s poetry, insouciantly wanders off while walking in the countryside. When he notices some light smoke wafting above the roof of some village houses, he suddenly bursts out saying:

“Oh, you serene gossamer! you beautiful gossamer!”<sup>52</sup>

After making this exclamation, tears well in his eyes, and he himself does not understand why. Why does the protagonist suddenly speak about gossamer, and in English? Levan points out that this might be related to the protagonist’s preoccupation with Wordsworth: “Gossamer appears many times in the poetry of Wordsworth, where it refers not to cloth, but rather to the fine webs spun by spiders on grass. See, for instance, ‘The Faery Chasm’ and ‘On Seeing a Needlecase in form of a Harp’...Because Wordsworth’s poem ‘The Solitary Highland Lass’ has such a prominent position in *Sinking*, where Yu’s gossamer exclamation appears, it seems likely that it is a reference to Wordsworth as well...”<sup>53</sup> While I find Levan’s argument

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<sup>51</sup> Denton, “The Distant Shore,” 107-123. Regarding the date of composition of *Song of the South*, see Reinhard Emmerich. *A History of Chinese Literature* (Chinesische Literaturgeschichte). Weimar: J.B. Metzler, 2004. p. 52. I want to thank Elisabeth Forster for her translation of the relevant paragraphs.

<sup>52</sup> Yu, *Anthology of Yu Dafu’s Works* Vol. 1, 17.

<sup>53</sup> Levan, “The Meaning of Foreign Text,” 48-87.

convincing, it is also necessary to note the poetic form of these two sentences, as well as their emotional implications. Yu had been using prose to narrate the wandering of the protagonist before he switched to the poetic form to convey the protagonist's sudden, strong emotions, which were demonstrated shortly after by the action of weeping. Traditionally, a writer might have used a quotation from Chinese poetic sources to serve the function of emotional expression, but in Yu's case, he used the English lines presumably inspired by Wordsworth's poetry. Here, as in other similar instances in Yu's earlier short stories, borrowed foreign texts in the poetic form serve as a carrier of emotions.

When the protagonist leaves Tokyo on a train for the city N, he is struck by a surge of melancholia, and feels tears welling up. However, having wiped his tear-filled eyes, the protagonist starts to laugh at himself, questioning the paradoxical feeling he bears for Tokyo. Since he has neither mistresses nor good friends in Tokyo, he is not supposed to weep at his departure from it. He asks himself: "Maybe it is sorrow for your past life, or residual feelings for the life you've lived over these last two years, yet didn't you used to say that you do not love Tokyo?" (或者是對於你過於的生活的傷感，或者是對你二年間的生活的餘情，然而你平時不是說不愛東京的麼？)<sup>54</sup>

Then, curiously, he switches to classical poetry:

“唉，一年人住豈無情。”

Alas! Having lived here for one year, how can I not have feelings for this place?

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 29.

“黃鶯住久渾相識，欲別頻啼四五聲！”<sup>55</sup>

The nightingale, having lived with me for long, seems as if it recognizes me.  
Bidding me farewell, it utters warbles quickly four or five times!

The first line is excerpted from a poem written by the Tang Dynasty poet Du Mu 杜牧 (803-852). The original poem is titled “Four Lines Written upon Moving to Zhaxi House on August 12<sup>th</sup> after the Transfer of my Position” (*Bayue shi'er ri de ti hou yiju Zhaxiguan yin ti changju si yun* 八月十二日得替後移居雪溪館因題長句四韻, 851), written on the occasion of his departure.<sup>56</sup> The line quoted by Yu Dafu expresses his unwillingness to leave Huzhou 湖州, a place which he loved and had helped to build.<sup>57</sup> The next two lines are excerpted from a poem written by another Tang Dynasty poet named Rong Yu 戎昱 (740-787),<sup>58</sup> titled “Farewell to the Mid-lake Pavilion upon Moving Home” (*Yujia bie hushangting* 移家別湖上亭, date unknown). It expresses the sorrow felt by the poet when he is going to move house and therefore

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Du was appointed Prefect of Huzhou (*Huzhou cishi* 湖州刺史) in the year 850 and a year later he was appointed Secretary of Merit Rating (*Kaogong langzhong* 考功郎中) and Special Decree Official of the Secretariat (*Zhizhigao* 知制誥). At the time of writing this poem, he had just given up the position of Prefect of Huzhou and had moved to his house near Zhaxi, a brook where four smaller creeks merged, to take some vacation, before moving onto his new post in Chang'an 長安. See Du Mu 杜牧, *Selected Poems of Du Mu* (*Du Mu shixuan* 杜牧詩選). Selected and Annotated by Miu Yue 繆鉞. Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1957. p. 71.

<sup>57</sup> According to *Records of the Taiping Era* (*Taiping guangji* 太平廣記, 977-978), when Du was in his early 30s he went to Huzhou for the first time in search of its famed natural scenery. He fell in love with a young maiden little more than 10 years old. He made the mother of the girl promise to marry the girl to him in 10 years, when he vowed he would become the Prefect of the city. Later, Du tried whatever he could to leave the capital and go to Huzhou. When he did become its Prefect it was 14 years later and the girl had been married with 3 children. This dubious anecdote nevertheless reflects to some degree the attraction of Huzhou for Du and explains his unwillingness to leave it for Chang'an. Miu Yue 繆鉞, *Chronical of Du Mu* (*Du Mu nianpu* 杜牧年譜). Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1980. pp. 80-81.

<sup>58</sup> These two dates were first recorded by Wen Yiduo 聞一多 (1899-1946), but have both been questioned by Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮. No exact dates have been agreed on by scholars of Rong Yu so far. See Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮, *A Series of Evidential Examinations of Tang Poets* (*Tangdai shiren congkao* 唐代詩人叢考). Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1980. pp. 341-342.

has to leave his favourite pavilion on the isle at the centre of the lake. The poet feels that the nightingale by the lake has known him during the long time that he lived there, and therefore the bird warbles before he leaves, as if to lament his departure. This poem is considered to contain the most moving and memorable lines of Rong's departure poems (離別詩).<sup>59</sup> Departure constituted a significant theme in classical Chinese poem, particularly during the Tang period, during which numerous poems were written at the point of farewell, usually as a result of the official-poet's promotion or demotion to a new post. Indeed, almost all major poets in imperial times wrote poems on departure.

Yu Dafu read widely in classical poetry and often composed poems in the classical style during his early years.<sup>60</sup> When depicting a protagonist leaving Tokyo, Yu invoked the literary tradition of writing poems on departure, and even quoted classical poems with the theme of departure. However, instead of departing from a place to which he was warmly attached, Yu's protagonist was leaving Tokyo, a place for which he harboured mixed feelings. This ambivalent feeling – behind which lay the complex backdrop of the experiences of an individual who had gone abroad to study and who experiences both the “lure” and the repulsion of the modern – is reflected by the hybrid fusing of the English words “sentimental, too sentimental,” and the quotation

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<sup>59</sup> Xu Zhiyin 許智銀. “Rong Yu's Life and Creations in the Jiangnan Region” (*Rong Yu zai jiangnan diqu de shenghuo yu chuangzuo* 戎昱在江南地區的生活與創作). *Journal of Chinese University of Mining & Technology (Social Sciences)* 3 (2006): 122-126.

<sup>60</sup> Even when he was studying in Japan, he often submitted his classical-style poems to a Japanese newspaper for publication. Between the year 1916 and 1919, he published around 56 classical poems on this newspaper. Yu was nostalgic for the past for sure, yet his classical style poetry often depicted modern life. Oda, *Yu Dafu: his Poems and Love and Japan*, 8, 9.

of classical Chinese poems. These Chinese poetic lines, being widely known, are chosen by Yu to inaugurate a lyrical moment. Harold Bloom points out that “trying to write a poem takes the poet back to the origins of what a poem *first was* for him, and so takes the poet back beyond the pleasure principle to the decisive initial encounter and response that began him.”<sup>61</sup> While the initial encounter with poetry for many Chinese writers of earlier periods might have been that with classical Chinese poetry, the initial encounter with poetry for writers like Yu may have involved a large number of Western poems as well. That is arguably why when Yu expressed intense emotional climaxes in his short stories, he quotes classical Chinese poems as well as foreign poetry, such as Wordsworth’s poem mentioned earlier.

Yu’s juxtaposition of classical Chinese poems with foreign poems is presented even more conspicuously, and symbolically, when soon after the above scene, the protagonist, who is sitting on the train, takes out a postcard and puts it on top of an anthology of Heinrich Heine’s (1797-1856) poetry. He then writes a poem in pencil on the postcard to send to his friends in Tokyo. The poem reads as follows:

蛾眉月上柳梢初，又向天涯別故居。四壁旗亭爭賭酒，六街燈火遠隨車。亂離年少無多淚，行李家貧只舊書。夜夜蘆根秋水長，憑君南浦覓雙魚。<sup>62</sup>

The crescent barely rising above the willows,  
I again left home for a distant horizon,  
First pausing in a roadside tavern crowded with revelers,  
Then taking off in a carriage as the street lights receded.  
A youth inured to partings and sorrows has few tears to shed;

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<sup>61</sup> Bloom’s italics. Bloom, *A Map of Misreading*, 18.

<sup>62</sup> Yu Dafu. *A Complete Anthology of Dafu (Dafu quanji 達夫全集)*. Vol. 2. Shanghai: Beixin shuju chubanshe, 1928. p. 20.

The luggage from a poor home consists only of old books.  
At night the reeds find their roots stirred by autumn waters—  
May you get my message at South Bank!<sup>63</sup>

In fact, this poem is Yu Dafu's own creation, since it is collected in his anthology of poems. Like so much classical Chinese poetry, however, this poem forms an intertextual relationship with pre-existing classical poems. For instance, the phrase "the moon climbs up the crown of the willow tree" (月上柳梢) frequently appears in classical Chinese poems, particularly since the Northern Song poet Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072) wrote his famous poem titled "The Lantern Festival" (*Sheng zha zi·yuanxi* 生查子·元夕) which includes the lines "the moon rose to the tip of the willows, my lover met me after dusk."<sup>64</sup> (月上柳梢頭，人約黃昏後。) These two lines have since acquired a canonical status.

The symbolic meaning of the protagonist's behaviour when he composes a classical Chinese poem on a postcard placed on top of Heine's poetry is very significant. Kirk Denton reads it as a moment of struggle between culturally alternative texts.<sup>65</sup> Indeed, this sort of juxtaposition of foreign and indigenous literatures quite often appears in Yu Dafu's works, but nowhere is it so symbolically expressed as in this action. The protagonist's choice to write in pencil is also symbolic, since it implies his uncertainty over his ability to create a satisfactory Chinese classical poem, even his uncertainty over the validity of this poem in the overall expressive scheme. After finishing writing

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<sup>63</sup> Joseph S. M. Lau, C. T. Hsia and Leo Ou-fan Lee eds. *Modern Chinese Stories and Novellas, 1919-1949*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1981. pp. 130-131.

<sup>64</sup> Ronald Egan. *The Literary Works of Ou-yang Hsiu (1007-72)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984. p.138.

<sup>65</sup> Denton, "The Distant Shore," 107-123.



the postcard, the protagonist again turns to Heine's poetry, only this time to read and quote from it. Here Yu Dafu quotes a stanza of Heine's poem in German and then translates it.

Lebet wohl, ihr glatten saele,  
Glatte herren, glatte Frauen!  
Auf die Berge will ich steigen,  
Lac end[sic] auf euch niederschauen!  
Aus Heines[sic] Buch der lieder.<sup>66</sup>

浮薄的塵寰，無情的男女，  
你看那隱隱的青山，我欲乘風歸去，  
且住且住，  
我將從那絕頂的高峰，笑看你終歸何處。<sup>67</sup>

Frivolous world, callous men and women,  
Look at the distant green mountains. I will leave with the wind.  
Alas, alas,  
I will laugh and watch where you end up, from the top of the summit of the mountain.

The juxtaposition of Heine's stanza with Yu's own translation is a fine example of the inter-relatedness of the practices of translation and intertextuality. In contrast to Su Manshu who translated foreign poems into classical Chinese, Yu used a rather quaint vernacular Chinese to translate, elegantly transporting the emotions carried by Heine's stanza. The German verse is the last stanza of the Prologue to Heine's "Travels through the Harz Mountains" (*Die Harzreise*, 1826). It expresses the poet's contempt at the callous men and women of mundane society and his desire to quit the world. Kirk Denton contends that while May Fourth iconoclasts such as Yu Dafu turned to

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<sup>66</sup> Translated as "You polished halls, polished men,/ Polished women- to all adieu!/ I'm off to climb in the mountains,/ And smiling to look down on you!" William Nienhauser's translation. Quoted from Footnote No. 8, *Modern Chinese Stories and Novellas, 1919-1949*, 131.

<sup>67</sup> Yu, *Anthology of Yu Dafu's Works* Vol. 1, 30.

nineteenth-century European literature, especially the Romantics, as “models for the unfettered expression of subjectivity,” they “lacked the philosophical and religious foundation upon which the models they sought to imitate stood.” He argues that Yu misunderstood much of the meaning of the European texts that he quoted. For example, the stanza by Heine reveals a “willing pursuit of solitude, an ‘image’ of Western Romanticism” sometimes termed “the cult of isolated joy.” However, “all of the Chinese poems cited, alluded to, or written by the protagonist describe a reluctant solitude imposed on the poet by parting or exile.”<sup>68</sup> While I agree that the philosophical and cultural contexts of Yu’s Western and Chinese quotations may differ profoundly, I would argue that a certain degree of misreading is essential to the practice of intertextuality. In other words, it is via misreading that writers creatively appropriate previous texts. For Yu, what mattered was not the “original” connotation of Wordsworth’s and Heine’s poems, but the fact that their poems could be appropriated and adapted to suit the lyrical needs of his own short stories. In a way, the foreign stanzas actually match the Chinese poems that the protagonist quoted or composed in the emotions relating to departure and loneliness which they conjure. The various intertexts talk to each other to create the overall lyrical tone of the story.

### **5.3.3 The Transplanting of Emotional Ambiance through Free Translation**

The third category of intertextualizing foreign literary texts is arguably the most sophisticated and transformative. Rather than simply making his protagonists utter

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<sup>68</sup> Denton, “The Distant Shore,” 107-123.

laments interspersed with English or German words, or merely quoting European Romantic poems, Yu Dafu sometimes based the entire emotional ambiance of his short stories on certain foreign literary texts. Compared with the first two categories of intertextuality, this strategy is a more profound form of intertextuality, in which the writer engages forcefully and consistently with the foreign texts – so much so, in fact, that this kind of intertextuality verges on translation and therefore can be called “free translation.” In the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, “free translation” is defined as “doing something totally different from the original author, wandering too far and too freely from the words and sense of the SL [i.e., source language] text.”<sup>69</sup> “Free translation” is sometimes considered synonymous with “imitation.”<sup>70</sup> If we understand translation as borrowing a foreign work in its entirety across two different languages and intertextuality as the sporadic quotations of other texts, then free translation is the grey area between translation and intertextuality. In the following examples, Yu’s practice lingers between translation and intertextuality, hence it can usefully be considered as a form of free translation.

### 5.3.3.1 “Journey South”

One of the most typical examples of free translation appears in the story “Journey South.” According to Leo Lee, the seven subtitles of this story, each of which had a German equivalent at the time of first publication, are all related to Goethe’s works. The song of Mignon in Goethe’s *Wilhelm Meister’s Years of Apprenticeship* (*Wilhelm*

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<sup>69</sup> Douglas Robinson. “Imitation,” *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, 111

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

*Meisters Lehrjahre*, 1795-1796) dominates the structure and mood of the story.<sup>71</sup> In *Wilhelm Meister's Years of Apprenticeship*, the protagonist Wilhelm Meister meets a young girl named Mignon, who sings a touching song for him. This song, which begins with the line “*Kennst du das Land, wo die Zitronen blühn,*” (Know you the land where lemons are in flower) is quite widely-known among readers of German literature.<sup>72</sup> In “Journey South,” a Chinese student called Yi Ren 伊人 who is convalescing on the Bōsō Peninsula in Japan, meets a Japanese student Miss O, who is convalescing in the same household and with whom he falls in love. When they go together for a walk in the woods, Miss O is stirred by the beautiful scenery that they encounter and starts to sing the song which is sung by Mignon in Goethe’s story. This plot resembles Goethe’s story by having the young female protagonist sing the same song that Mignon sings, and the song invokes a lyrical moment in both stories. Although Yu did not follow the plot of Goethe’s story quite closely, he transported the lyrical moment of the original story to his story by following the plot and by quoting the stanza in German.

For this German stanza, the only translation Yu Dafu provided is an appendix at the end of the story. The effect of the song on Yi Ren is striking, especially when he hears the line: “*Was hat man dir, du armes Kind, getan?*”<sup>73</sup> (Oh you poor child, what have they done to you?)<sup>74</sup> On hearing this line, he suddenly feels as if he were Mignon

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<sup>71</sup> Leo Lee, “Romanticism Introduced,” 1-9.

<sup>72</sup> Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. *Wilhelm Meister*. Trans. H. M. Waidson. London: Oneworld Classics Ltd, 2011. p. 107.

<sup>73</sup> Yu, *Anthology of Yu Dafu's Works* Vol. 1, 76.

<sup>74</sup> Goethe, *Wilhelm Meister*, 107.

himself, who was bullied and taken advantage of, and he remembers how he himself was taken advantage of by a frivolous woman the summer before.<sup>75</sup> It is interesting to note that while the German word “*Kind*” is a neuter noun, in the scene of the original story it refers to the girl Mignon, therefore Yu Dafu translated it as “girl” (*nühai’er* 女孩兒) in his appended translation. Yet in the text, Yi Ren translates it as “child” (*haizi* 孩子), which does not have any gender specificity and therefore can be properly applied to Yi Ren himself.<sup>76</sup> These German poems, which lack a Chinese translation until the end of the story, most likely meant little to many of Yu’s readers at the time, particularly in their actual reading experience in which the translation was not reached until the end.<sup>77</sup> However, readers would have known they were looking at foreign poetry, since it was written in the form of a stanza, and they could have conjectured the meaning of the lines from the context, and from Yu’s occasional translation of single lines. Even if readers did not understand the meaning of the poems, the exotic language would have created a gap in the overall meaning of the text, hence a literariness and poetic feeling associated with semantic gaps.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Leo Lee states that Yu Dafu purposely inserted the quoted German texts into narrative and descriptive passages to create a lyrical effect, but he failed at doing so. In other words, Lee believes the consummate lyrical effect was not successfully brought about because Yu could not disentangle himself from excessive sentimentalism and therefore could not reach the lyrical and romantic climax. Leo Lee, “Romanticism Introduced,” 1-9.

<sup>76</sup> Both Leo Lee and Levan have noticed this phenomenon too. Levan points out that translating it into “*haizi*” is appropriate because in Goethe’s story, Mignon is an androgynous figure. See Levan, “The Meaning of Foreign Text,” 48-87; Leo Lee, “Romanticism Introduced,” 1-9.

<sup>77</sup> However, it seems that these stories were well-received among readers at the time. In his preface to the 1928 version, Yu stated that two or three years after the initial publication of the *Sinking* anthology in 1921, it sold more than 20,000 copies. Yu, *A Complete Anthology of Dafu* Vol. 2, 3.

<sup>78</sup> For a discussion of the relationship between linguistic features and the creation of poetic feeling, see Jakobson, *Language in Literature*, 62-94.

### 5.3.3.2 “Silvergrey Death”

Another meaningful example of Yu Dafu’s free translation of foreign literary texts occurs in the story “Silvergrey Death,” which is considered to be his first published short story.<sup>79</sup> In this story, the protagonist, whose wife has recently passed away, is under such great monetary pressure that he is forced to pawn the diamond ring left to him by his wife. He frequents a small tavern because he likes Jing’er 靜兒, daughter of the widow who owns the pub. When he hears that Jing’er is going to get married he becomes greatly distressed, but a sense of selfless love overcomes him. He sells some old books to buy wedding gifts for Jing’er. Soon afterwards, he dies of a cerebral hemorrhage, and the next morning he is found with a copy of *Ernest Dowson’s Poems and Prose* in his pocket. At the end of the story, Yu wrote a short postscript in English: “The reader must bear in mind that this is an imaginary tale; after all the author cannot be responsible to its reality. One word, however, must be mentioned here that he owes much obligation to R. L. Stevenson’s “A Lodging for the Night” (1877) and *The Life of Ernest Dowson* for the plan of this unambitious story.”<sup>80</sup>

Robert Louis Stevenson’s “A Lodging for the Night” was the writer’s first published short story.<sup>81</sup> It is set in Paris on a November night in 1456, and it tells the story of the French poet Francis Villon (1431-1463). Stevenson may have based the story on

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<sup>79</sup> Xu, *New Perspectives on Yu Dafu*, 58.

<sup>80</sup> This note was written in English, See Leo Lee, “Romanticism Introduced,” 1-9. However it disappeared in later anthologies such as the 1928 and 1982 editions.

<sup>81</sup> It was first published in the *Temple Bar* magazine in October 1877. It is considered to represent “the historical fiction which he continued to write until his death.” See Hampden, “Robert Louis Stevenson,” 28.

the true fate of the poet.<sup>82</sup> It is a story about poverty, coldness and darkness, as well as the cruel reality of survival. Villon is a learned, yet poverty-stricken, Master of Arts who has taken to theft. The story narrates his witness of a murder, his struggle to find shelter for the night, his taking of the last two coins from a dead woman on the street, and the debate about honour and survival that he conducts with the lord of Brisetout, a retired army officer who let him inside his house for the night.<sup>83</sup> Yu's intertextuality from Stevenson's story is quite implicit and would have been rather hard to detect had he not admitted it openly himself. Both stories tell of a poverty-stricken protagonist fighting off coldness and solitude and trying to find shelter on a cold night. Yu's protagonist, however, has to sell off the diamond ring left to him as a souvenir by his deceased wife, in order to avoid starvation. This idea could have been inspired by the detail of Villon taking away the last two small coins from the stocking of the dead woman, but whereas Villon does not seem to be burdened by his conscience and debates the necessity of his actions with the lord of Brisetout, Yu's protagonist is gnawed by a bitter sense of shame.<sup>84</sup> It can be said that Yu loosely intertextualized Stevenson's story, mainly borrowing its depiction of gloominess that enveloped the entire setting of the story.

In contrast with Yu's loose intertextuality of Stevenson's story, his intertextuality of

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<sup>82</sup> Compare for example the life of Francis Villon:

[http://www.1911encyclopedia.org/Francois\\_Villon](http://www.1911encyclopedia.org/Francois_Villon) Accessed 24 Aug. 2013.

<sup>83</sup> Robert Louis Stevenson. *A Lodging for the Night*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1914.

<sup>84</sup> Leo Lee points out that Stevenson's depiction of Villon was anti-sentimental, depicting him as bold and rather self-righteous. On the contrary, Yu's depiction of his protagonist was very sentimental and full of self-pity. See Leo Lee, "Romanticism Introduced," 1-9.

the biography of Ernest Dowson is a more forceful engagement, which leans closer to translation than intertextuality. The biography of Dowson provides Yu's story with its crucial plot.<sup>85</sup> As mentioned earlier, *Ernest Dowson's Poems and Prose* is found in the pocket of Yu's protagonist after his death. Yu does not offer any explanation in the story as to why this book was found in the protagonist's pocket, but the symbolic meaning is obvious. When the protagonist sells all his books to the owner of a second-hand bookstore, he keeps only one English book of poetry and prose because the owner offers too low a price for it. Presumably, then, this very book is *Ernest Dowson's Poems and Prose*. This detail reminds us of how the British writer Thomas Hardy (1840-1928) was "one of those young men who went about in the 1860's [sic] carrying a volume of Shelley in his pocket."<sup>86</sup> Like Hardy's fascination with Shelley, Yu's fascination with Ernest Dowson is widely known.<sup>87</sup> In fact, the whole story of "Silvergrey Death" can be considered an imitation of Arthur Symonds' memoir of Ernest Dowson, collected in *The Poems and Prose of Ernest Dowson* (1919).<sup>88</sup> In this memoir, Symonds wrote about Dowson's education at The Queen's College, Oxford, his fondness of intoxication, his frequent visits to "a humble restaurant in a foreign quarter of London," where the daughter of a refugee "listened to his verses, smiled charmingly, under her mother's eyes, on his two years' courtship, and at the end of

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<sup>85</sup> For a brief introduction of Dowson's life, see Sutherland, *The Longman Companion to Victorian Fiction*, 195-196.

<sup>86</sup> Bloom, *A Map of Misreading*, 24.

<sup>87</sup> See for example, Xu, *New Perspectives on Yu Dafu*, 258; Leo Lee, "Romanticism Introduced," 1-9.

<sup>88</sup> In an article, Yu Dafu mentioned *The Poems and Prose of Ernest Dowson* published by "the Modern Library" (*Xiandai congshu* 現代叢書) in the U.S.. This indicates that he most likely consulted the edition published as part of a Modern Library series by Boni and Liveright, New York, 1919. See Yu, "Discussions of Translation on Reading Dowson's Poems" (*Dule Dangsheng de yishi er lunji fanyi* 讀了瑯生的譯詩而論及翻譯), *Anthology of Yu Dafu's Works* Vol. 5, 190.



two years married the waiter instead.”<sup>89</sup> Yu Dafu apparently read this memoir with great interest. In a detailed criticism of the writers of *The Yellow Book* magazine entitled “On the Cohort of *The Yellow Book*” (*Jizhong yu huang mian zhi* (*The Yellow Book*) *de renwu* 集中于《黄面志》(*The Yellow Book*) 的人物, 1923), Yu Dafu actually translated from Symons’ memoir, particularly the part about Dowson’s infatuation with the girl who runs the pub, his heartbreak when she marries the waiter, his drastic change of character when he gets drunk, his slow suicide by abandoning himself to alcohol and women, and his tragic death.<sup>90</sup> In fact, he mentioned Symons’ memoir of Dowson quite a few times in this critical essay. If this critical essay can be regarded as a loose translation of Symons’ memoir, then the short story “Silvergrey Death” is an even looser translation of Symons’ account of the tragic life story of Dowson.

There are numerous similarities between the critical essay and “Silvergrey Death,” particularly the poet’s fascination for the young daughter of the pub and his sorrow at the loss of his love. If we read the short story together with Yu’s critical essay about the figures associated with *The Yellow Book* magazine, Yu’s creative processes become clearer. Although “Silvergrey Death” was published three years earlier than the critical essay, Yu Dafu had clearly had read Symons’ memoir before composing the short story, as the detail about the book *Ernest Dowson’s Poems and Prose* suggests. In the critical essay, Yu thus wrote about Dowson in an emotional tone:

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<sup>89</sup> Arthur William Symons. “Memoir.” Ernest Christopher Dowson. *The Poems and Prose of Ernest Dowson*. New York: Modern Library, 1919. p. 6.

<sup>90</sup> See Yu, *Anthology of Yu Dafu’s Works* Vol. 5, 173-175, 181. Cf. Symons, “Memoir,” 6, 7, 8, 3.

是在倫敦的居停中，——他遇見了他的 Beatrice!<sup>91</sup>這就是決定他一生蹇運的一顆有刺的薔薇，這也是他日後在悲苦的時候吟出來的神韻飄逸的詩歌的發酵素！……他自從遇了那少女之後，天天到那小酒館去。據 A. Symons 說，在燈火微明的黃昏時候，你若走過那家小酒館的門口，總能看見一個孤冷的影子，淒慘地坐在裏頭的角上，有時候拼命的在那裏喝酒，有時候兩手叉了頭，在那裏想他的優美的情詩。他作了許多從肺腑流出的 Dedicate 於她的詩，念給她聽，講給她聽，但只解歡娛沒有靈性的這少女……後來就嫁給了這 Waiter。千古傷心人 Ernest Dowson，受了這一大打擊，他的心房的鮮血，點點滴出直到他的臨終的時候才止。<sup>92</sup>

It was during his sojourn in London that he met his Beatrice! She was the thorny rose who determined the ill fortune of his life. She was the catalyst for the enchanting poems that he chanted in his later days of bitterness! ... After he met that young girl, he visited the small inn every day. According to A. Symons, if you walk past that small inn at twilight, you can always see a forlorn shadow, sitting sadly in a corner further inside. Sometimes he drinks alcohol in desperation, sometimes supporting his head with his hands, thinking of his beautiful love poems. He wrote many heart-felt poems which he dedicated to her; he read them to her, and he talked to her about them. Yet this young girl who knew nothing but pleasure...eventually married the waiter. Ernest Dowson, the forlorn soul, received a huge blow. The blood from his heart dripped till the day he ceased to be.

By loosely translating the memoir written by Symons, Yu invoked the feeling of futility and hopeless love associated with the legendary figure Dowson – an emotional tone which would have been picked up by those of Yu's contemporaries who knew Dowson equally well.

### 5.3.3.3 “Stomach Illness”

The last textual example in this chapter is not part of the *Sinking* collection, but was published around the same time. The story is entitled “Stomach Illness, 1921” (*Wei bing* 胃病), and it was serialized in the newspaper *Republican Daily* (*Minguo ribao*

<sup>91</sup> Yu Dafu may have been alluding to Dante's (ca 1265-1321) *Divine Comedy* (1308-1321).

<sup>92</sup> Yu, *Anthology of Yu Dafu's Works* Vol. 5, 173-174.

民國日報) in October 1921. The title at its initial publication was “Friendship and Stomach Illness” (*Youqing he weibing* 友情和胃病). The story appeared under the “Fiction” column, yet it was headed by a translation of the Chinese title which mixes German and English: “Freundschaft and Magen-Katarrh.”<sup>93</sup> The juxtaposition of the Chinese title with a German translation creates the appearance of a translated work, although it does not claim to be one explicitly. It tells the story of the protagonist who is hospitalized due to stomach illness and his bittersweet experiences while staying in the hospital. This story, like other early short stories by Yu Dafu, is fraught with allusions to Western literary texts, including Max Beerhohm’s *The Happy Hypocrite* (1897), Robert Burns’ *Poetical Works of Robert Burns* (1884), W. E. Henley’s (1849-1903) *In Hospital* (1903), Gabriele D’Annunzio’s (1863-1938) *The Triumph of Death* (*Il Trionfo della Morte*, 1894),<sup>94</sup> and Edward Carpenter’s (1844-1929) *Days with Walt Whitman* (1906). Of all these foreign works and writers, Yu Dafu seems to have engaged with W. E. Henley’s *In Hospital* and Gabriele D’Annunzio’s *The Triumph of Death* most forcefully.

At the beginning of this story, the protagonist reflects upon the unfortunate fate of Ernest Henley, who could not find a publisher for his poetic anthology *In Hospital*,

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<sup>93</sup> It is interesting to note that the electronic data management personnel of Shanghai Library put down the bibliographical information of this story as “Freundschaft 著, Magen-Katarrh 譯,” meaning “written by ‘Friendship’ and translated by ‘Stomach disease.’” Downloaded from “Late Qing Dynasty Periodical Full-text Database (1833-1911) and Chinese Periodical Full-text Database (1911-1949),” managed by Shanghai Library, on April 1st, 2013.

<sup>94</sup> It seems that Yu Dafu read the German version of this novel originally written in Italian, as he used the German translation of the title *Der Triumph des Todes*, though he missed the infinitive “Der” in the publication. The same happened when he put down Beerbohm’s title without the definite article “the.”

and who was scorned by many critics. Then the protagonist quotes the first poem in this anthology, commenting that it was only when he was hospitalized four years ago for a whole month that he realized how true Henley's poetic descriptions were. This time, Yu did not quote the original English poem, but translated it into Chinese. The title of the original poem is "Enter Patient." It describes the grave atmosphere of the hospital, where "life and death like friendly chaffers meet." The poet sees a small child before him, looking "so aged yet so young." The poem depicts "a tragic meanness" which surrounds the hospital and drags down the spirit of the new patient.<sup>95</sup> The translation of Henley's poem creates a general atmosphere of boredom and worry which permeates Yu's short story. It is necessary to point out that the most important criterion of a good piece of literary work for Yu Dafu is "emotional tone" (*qingdiao* 情調). In an essay titled "I Admit that I Failed" (*Wo chengren shi "shibai le"* 我承認是“失敗了,” 1924), Yu stated that:

曆來我持以批評作品的好壞的標準，是“情調”兩字。只教一篇作品，能夠釀出一種“情調”來，使讀者受了這“情調”的感染，能夠很切實的感著這作品的氛圍氣的時候，那麼不管它的文字美不美，前後的意思連續不連續，我就能承認這是一個好作品。<sup>96</sup>

My criterion for the value of a piece of work is the two characters of "emotional tone." So long as a piece of work can create a kind of "emotional tone," so that readers are enthused by this "emotional tone," and can concretely feel the atmosphere of the work, I will concede that it is a good piece of work, regardless of its elegance in wording, or consistency in meaning.

What Yu Dafu referred to as "*qingdiao*" is in fact the emotional ambiance, or the emotional tone that a piece of literary work generates and invokes. It is different from

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<sup>95</sup> William Ernest Henley. *In Hospital: Rhymes and Rhythms*. Portland: ME.1908.

<sup>96</sup> Yu, *Anthology of Yu Dafu's Works* Vol. 5, 198.

an emotional climax or lyrical moment, in that it refers to a lasting and relatively stable atmosphere. In the story of “Stomach Illness,” for example, quoting the poem from Henley helps Yu Dafu create this kind of emotional ambience, at the same time as it echoes the overall setting of the story, i.e., the hospital.

The emotional climax of this story, however, is achieved by the invocation of D’Annunzio’s *The Triumph of Death*. After the protagonist regains his health, he goes for a walk together with his nurse C on the roof of a Russian church, when suddenly he is seized by a whim. He remembers the scene in D’Annunzio’s work in which the protagonist is seized by the desire to die together with his lover by jumping off a high tower, therefore he asks the nurse C to jump off the church roof together with him to commit “lovers’ suicide” (*qingsi* 情死). D’Annunzio’s original work tells the tragic love story of the Nietzschean hero Giorgio and his mistress Ippolita. They both love each other dearly, yet Giorgio constantly seeks to dissect passion and love with reason and philosophy, which brings both of them immense pain. At the end of the story, Giorgio jumps down from a cliff, dragging Ippolita with him. Death finally wins the battle with love.<sup>97</sup> Yu Dafu’s protagonist does not show any sign of having fallen in love with his nurse, and his suggestion of committing suicide is made purely on a whim. Yet when the nurse does not understand what he means and plainly (and naturally) refuses to jump, he feels lonely again. Rather than an emotional climax, this scene actually creates an emotional anti-climax. While D’Annunzio’s protagonist has

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<sup>97</sup> Gabriele D’Annunzio. *The Triumph of Death*. Trans. Georgina Harding. London: William Heinemann, 1898.

a mistress who is devoted to him heart and soul, Yu Dafu's protagonist cannot gain the understanding, let alone the hand, of his nurse, which makes his failed attempt to imitate Giorgio's action both ironic and tragic.

Overall, we see that Yu Dafu constantly appropriated the emotional moods and contexts of foreign literary texts to serve his own lyrical needs, either to create an emotional ambiance, an emotional high point, or an emotional anti-climax. We might wonder, however, how much Yu's readers really understood all these processes? Did he have his readers in mind when he composed these short stories with their often exotic emotional tenor? These questions can be approached from the perspective of the anxiety of language that Yu constantly displayed in his literary creations, as I will argue in the following section.

#### **5.4 The Anxiety of Language: to Translate or not to Translate, that is the Question**

In the short stories of Yu Dafu, there seems to be a constant awareness of the ability to speak foreign languages as well as the power which that ability confers. For instance, in "Stomach Illness," the protagonist's good friend Mr. K deplores the writers of popular literature in Shanghai, lamenting that people who do not recognize German alphabets are talking about Kant, Nietzsche, Übermensch, and so on, while those who

cannot write the word “Paris” are critiquing the philosophy of Henri Bergson.<sup>98</sup> Mr. K’s antagonism and contempt towards people who do not know foreign languages but pretend to talk about foreign literatures and scholarship represents an awareness of the cultural capital carried by the mastery of foreign languages.

In the story “The Vast Night” (*Mangmang ye* 茫茫夜, 1922), the protagonist Zhifu 質夫 begins his first teaching position. The Dean in charge of teaching speaks to him in Japanese to congratulate him on his first successful lesson.<sup>99</sup> Later, when Zhifu and his colleague visit a brothel, his colleague Wu speaks to him in English, asking him what kind of girl he prefers. This in turn rouses objections from the prostitute, who complains that she does not understand what they are talking about.<sup>100</sup> It needs to be noted that both English and Japanese are supposedly spoken in this story, although neither of them appears in the original language. As Levan notes, foreign languages seem to be ranked according to status in Yu Dafu’s works. The German language is rated first, and is used to convey noble and lyrical feelings, such as “*Fruehliug ist gekommen!*” (Spring is here!) in “Journey South.”<sup>101</sup> The status of English is somewhat below German, yet it also conveys romantic feelings, such as in the stanzas by Wordsworth. The Japanese language barely appears in Yu Dafu’s works, although he spares no pains in describing and deriding the accented English spoken by Japanese students in “Journey South.”<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Yu, *Anthology of Yu Dafu’s Works*, Vol. 1, 112.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 129.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 143.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 65.

<sup>102</sup> Leo Lee, “Romanticism Introduced,” 1-9.

The mastery of several foreign languages presented Yu with many choices in his fictional writing; yet a further choice awaited him: to translate or not translate the foreign quotations. This choice seems to have become an anxiety for the writer, an anxiety which was ultimately caused by the transformation of ways of emotional expression discussed earlier in this chapter. It is because Yu started to intertextualize foreign literary texts as a means of emotional expression that he was faced with this problem of language which never existed before the entry of foreign literatures into Chinese literature. It seems that Yu was unsure whether he should accommodate to a larger, less educated readership, or the small coterie who had gone abroad to study, and who shared his high ideals of literature. This uncertainty is reflected by his lack of uniformity in treating foreign texts. Sometimes, he put his translation after the foreign language quotation, for instance, with Wordsworth's "The Solitary Reaper," or with Heine's poem. At other times, he did not provide a Chinese translation, such as with his foreign language exclamations – or he did not provide a translation in the text itself, as is the case with the song of Mignon. What might this tell us about Yu Dafu's intended readership?

We can reasonably surmise that some of his intended readers would have been more or less well-versed in foreign languages, as Mr. K's attitude towards the "ignorant" popular writers may suggest. Yet it is probable that Yu would also have been aware that these ideal readers were unlikely to have existed in large numbers. This is



symbolically reflected in his short story “Story of the Cypress” (*Niaoluo xing* 蔦蘿行, 1923), in which the conspicuously autobiographical protagonist reads a stanza from A. E. Housman’s (1859-1936) lyrical poem *A Shropshire Lad* (1896) to himself, while in his imagination talking to his wife at the same time.<sup>103</sup> Then he remembers:

啊，我想起了，你是不懂英文的，這幾句詩我順便替你譯出罷。<sup>104</sup>

Ah, I remember, you do not understand English. I shall translate these lines for you then.

The translation goes:

汝當衣錦歸，  
否則永莫回，  
令汝別後之兒童  
望到拉德羅塔毀。<sup>105</sup>

You should come back home in glory,  
Or come not home at all,  
Let the children you have left behind  
Watch you till the Ludlow tower shall fall.

Housman’s original poem is:

Come you home a hero,  
Or come not home at all,  
The lads you leave will mind you  
Till Ludlow tower shall fall.<sup>106</sup>

The protagonist makes it very clear in the story that he does not approve of the

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<sup>103</sup> *A Shropshire Lad* is Housman’s most well-known poetic work, known for its “beautiful, romantic lyrics,” and its “direct expression of elemental emotions.” Richard Perceval Graves. *A. E. Housman: the Scholar-Poet*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981. pp. 1, 113. Its first edition in 1896 contained 63 poems mostly set in Shropshire, many written before Housman actually visited the place. A major theme throughout the poems is a philosophical questioning of mortality. For an introduction of the composition and publication of *A Shropshire Lad*, see *Ibid.*, 98-121.

<sup>104</sup> Yu, *Anthology of Yu Dafu’s Works* Vol. 1, 217.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 217.

<sup>106</sup> A. E. Housman. *A Shropshire Lad*. London: Riccardi Press, 1914. p. 3

arranged marriage between his wife and himself, feeling with great regret that she cannot understand him. Although he translates an English poem into Chinese for her out of a whimsical fit of pity, he knows in his heart that he is hoping in vain that she might be able to appreciate poetry and understand his feelings. This situation in some ways resembles Yu Dafu's relationship with his readers. While his stories anticipated a group of high-minded readers who could understand the languages and literatures of England and Germany, in reality, probably only a few could do so. As a result, he was constantly trapped in the dilemma of whether to translate these foreign language texts for his readers, or to let them remain in the original languages. This might also explain the constant changes that occurred in the different versions of his short stories.<sup>107</sup> Despite the fact that Yu may not have aimed for a broader audience, the fact that his anthology *Sinking* sold more than 20,000 copies demonstrates that the writer's intention may have not mattered that much after all. As mentioned before, though readers may not have been able to appreciate the use of foreign languages, authors, and texts, these various semantic gaps engendered the "literariness" of Yu's stories, endowing them with a freshness and exotic flavour which was much sought after at the time, thus satisfying the demands of a much broader audience than Yu may have intended to attract.

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<sup>107</sup> For instance, Levan notes that in later editions of *Sinking*, fewer instances of foreign texts were found, presumably removed by the editors. She believes this is because Chinese vernacular language at that time could already accommodate transliterations of foreign words, so the editors considered it unnecessary to keep the foreign originals. Whether or not the changes were the editors' decision, or Yu Dafu's decision, still needs to be confirmed before the answer to this question is found. See Levan, "The Meaning of Foreign Text," 48-87.

## 5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined the ways in which Yu Dafu appropriated foreign languages and literary texts in his early short stories as he searched for the consummate means of emotional expression. The background of Yu's translational and intertextual engagements was the declining status of the classical Chinese language, and the need this produced to find new means of emotional expression. In the face of such a challenge, many writers looked to foreign literatures for inspiration, eagerly appropriating them to construct their own stories. As is the case with the developments of other national literatures, modern Chinese literature benefited from appropriating foreign literatures, particularly in the expression of emotions.

The degree of Yu's intertextuality of foreign literatures varies from text to text. The three major categories of intertextuality constitute a spectrum of appropriation, with direct quotation of random foreign words at one end, and free translation at the other. The direct use of foreign, mainly English and German, languages is an extreme example of explicit borrowing, without engaging with pre-existing texts on the textual level. Foreign words were most likely used when writers could not find a ready Chinese translation for the term in question, such as "megalomania" and "hypochondria."<sup>108</sup> The second category – the quotation of foreign and classical Chinese poems to create an emotional climax – represents the typical cases of intertextuality. Yu's juxtaposition of foreign and indigenous poems in constructing the

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<sup>108</sup> Yu, "Sinking," *Anthology of Yu Dafu's Works* Vol. 1, 21.

same lyrical moments marks the steady transformation of the tradition of quoting classical poems in order to express emotions. Instead of quoting only classical Chinese poems, writers also quoted foreign poems as a more “iconoclastic” way to express sentiments closely associated with modern experiences. The third category – free translation of foreign texts to borrow the emotional ambiance carried by certain foreign works – is the most complex and transformative way of engaging with foreign literary texts. Yu’s appropriation of Symons’ memoir of Dowson is the most typical example of this category. Like Cicero’s words quoted at the very beginning of this thesis, free translation of the meaning and feeling from texts written in a foreign language into the writer’s native language allows him/her to create new vocabularies. While in Cicero’s case, free translation facilitated the coinage of new Latin words, in Yu’s case, it enabled him to create new vocabularies for the articulation of emotions.

While many scholars, such as Leo Lee and Levan, consider Yu’s attempts at “textual transaction,” to borrow Leo Lee’s term, to have been unsuccessful, I see them in a different light. Although at times his incorporation of foreign literary texts seems only loosely connected to the main story line and lyrical purpose of his short stories, there are instances in which his intertextuality of foreign works brought meaning, and more importantly, created the emotional ambiance which Yu sought so unswervingly for his writing. If the evocation of a hybrid emotional ambiance was what Yu strove for in his intertextuality of foreign texts, then his efforts might well be considered to have been successful.

Admittedly, Yu's high-minded literary ideals may not have gained full appreciation from his readers in his earlier years, as only those equally well-educated or even foreign-educated writers and scholars could appreciate the deep emotional tenor of his works. Significantly, the appearance of rather abrupt textual borrowings and foreign lamentations declined dramatically in his later works. It may well be the case that as the modern Chinese vernacular language began to achieve greater maturity, Yu no longer needed to depend on foreign words or passages to express his emotions, and he articulated his own literary voice. Nevertheless, this transitional stage in which he eagerly if sometimes blindly sought a channel of emotional expression leaves us with some of the most memorable textual phenomena of modern Chinese literature.

## Chapter 6 Conclusion: Writing about Emotion with Another's Pen

In the musical *Phantom of the Opera* (1986), two lines merit our attention. Christine sings: “I am the mask you wear.” And the Phantom continues: “It’s me they hear...”<sup>1</sup> The idea that the Phantom possesses Christine, enabling her to sing wondrously, is a revealing analogy for the phenomena discussed throughout this thesis. Whether it is Bao Tianxiao, Yang Zilin or Zhou Shoujuan, their creative translations of foreign love stories – though bearing the plots and characterizations of the source texts – nevertheless reflect the translators’ particular mediation of emotional expressions. While Bao Tianxiao and Yang Zilin transformed the emotions embodied in *Joan Haste* into virtuous sentiments according to Confucian ethics, Zhou Shoujuan mediated short stories to render them more melodramatic in a way that fitted local norms. Li Dingyi, Su Manshu and Yu Dafu, by contrast, borrowed foreign texts to varied extents in order to invest their writings with exotic – or supposedly exotic – sentiments. In Li Dingyi’s case, the sentiments were steeped in traditional Chinese ethics, yet at the same time carried the surface markings of a foreign text. In the translated creations of Su and Yu, sentiments were transported from foreign texts to their own creative works. By exploring these textual phenomena, this thesis has described and analyzed the ways Chinese writers adapted and appropriated foreign texts to create new expressions of emotions in literary texts from early twentieth-century China.

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<sup>1</sup> See <http://www.metrolyrics.com/phantom-of-the-opera-lyrics-phantom-of-the-opera.html> Accessed 26 Aug. 2013.

## 6.1 Summary of Methodological Approach

The methodological framework of this thesis – the combination of translation studies with intertextuality studies – has allowed me to trace the transformation of emotional expression in modern Chinese literature. As mentioned in the “Introduction” chapter, the steady shift in character between modern Chinese fiction and classical Chinese fiction was a result of both foreign influence and the indigenous literary legacy. By considering the literary productions of Chinese writer-translators as creative translations and translated creations, I foregrounded the agency of these writer-translators. Instead of being viewed as passive recipients of foreign influences and local conventions, Chinese writer-translators proactively and vigorously translated and intertextualized both foreign and classical works, transforming as well as merging various kinds of expressive modes to form the diverse realm of love fiction in early twentieth-century China.

The significance of combining approaches of translation studies and intertextuality studies also lies in the fact that this methodology presents us with a theoretical language that can appositely describe and analyze the production processes of literary texts. Instead of simply asserting the existence of foreign influence, or merely noting the reconstruction of indigenous tradition, this methodology allows for a textually-rooted discussion of the way in which writer-translators borrowed and

transformed foreign and classical Chinese narratives, as well as both foreign and local modes of emotional expression. It is only after detailed examination of the production of texts that a conclusion can be reached as to how writers adapted and appropriated others' works, and of the impact of these practices on the larger literary world.

Using the methodological framework delineated above, I have approached the central question of the thesis – the transformation of emotional expression in love fiction in early twentieth-century China – from several perspectives. In discussing the pseudowriting of Bao, Yang and Li in Chapter 2, I focused on the strategy of pseudowriting as a means of opening up a new channel for emotional expression. This new channel did not exist before the great wave of translating Western literatures that began in the late nineteenth century. The availability of a large number of popular foreign fictional works in early twentieth-century China enabled writers of popular fiction to borrow, adapt and imitate them, creating works which harnessed the potential of foreign texts to explore emotional states which would otherwise have been difficult to probe. Chapter 3 explored the way Zhou Shoujuan creatively translated melodramatic stories written by Haggard and Stevenson. He rendered the emotions from Western fiction in ways that made them closely match those frequently conveyed in the scholar-beauty romance even as he introduced more melodramatic modes of emotional expression into Chinese stories. If Bao's and Li's creative works constituted the virtuous trend of sentimental novels prevalent in early twentieth-century China, Zhou's creative translation represented their more



melodramatic dimension.

The latter half of the thesis – Chapters 4 and 5 – examined the way foreign texts and the indigenous tradition shaped emotional expression in the literary creations of Su Manshu and Yu Dafu. By focusing more on intertextuality than translation, it demonstrates that the traditional Chinese literary convention of quoting classical poems in order to express emotion underwent a significant change in the works of Su and Yu, as they quoted largely from foreign works, sometimes without even translating them. Classical poems still appeared in their works, often juxtaposed with foreign texts in provocative ways. This change was to some extent a result of the ongoing language reform and literary revolution in China, which rendered conventional quoting from classical poems a problematic, if not frowned-upon, practice. While both Su and Yu used random foreign words and quoted foreign poetic works in their literary creations, Su also creatively translated foreign poetic works while juxtaposing them with classical Chinese poems, creating an emotional effect which I have termed “transcultural lyricism.” Although Su’s intertextuality of foreign texts proved an effective practice, his fictional works resemble traditional love stories in their nostalgia for the past. By contrast, Yu’s intertextuality practice went one step further than Su, by engaging with foreign works more extensively and vigorously. The most extreme example of this engagement is the ways that Yu loosely translated Symons’ memoir of Dowson in order to construct his first short story “Silvergrey Death.” Therefore, with Su as a bridge linking writers of the popular love stories with

those of New Literature, and also linking creative translation with translated creation, the thesis ends with Yu's efforts to find the consummate medium for emotional expression by actively appropriating foreign works.

## 6.2 Two Modalities of Textual Production

Eliot's words quoted in the "Introduction" that "a good poet will usually borrow from authors remote in time, or alien in language, or diverse in interest" introduce the kinds of textual production that have been examined in this thesis.<sup>2</sup> According to Eliot, the more distant, spatially and temporally, the source text is from the target text, the more likely it is that the writer of the target text will create something fresh. This makes the literary productions of early twentieth-century China a particularly suitable field for the study of literary borrowing. What Eliot refers to as "borrowing" can be categorized into two modalities of textual productions – means by which writers produced literary texts – translation and intertextuality. It was via these two modalities of textual production that Chinese writers at the beginning of the twentieth century engaged with foreign literatures, as well as their own literary tradition, to create the unique literary scene of modern Chinese literature.

The two modalities of textual production are closely connected and intersect with each other. In the translation process – especially during the initial stage of cross-cultural contact – translators invariably draw inspiration from earlier literary

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<sup>2</sup> Eliot, *The Sacred Wood*, 114.

works of their own culture so that they can better absorb foreign literatures. By contrast, in the composition process – particularly at a time when a national literature starts to build or rebuild itself – writers often appropriate foreign texts to construct their own works, in which they frequently quote their own translations or those done by others to facilitate the merging of foreign intertexts with their own texts. For these reasons, in this thesis I have aimed at making explicit what is rarely so in interpretations of cross-cultural literary creations: namely, that there are inseparable connections between translation and intertextuality.

### **6.3 Two Categories of Literary Texts**

The two kinds of pseudowriting discussed in Chapter 2 – namely pseudotranslation and pseudocreation – link terms already used in the wider field with the central objects of this thesis. Pseudotranslation and pseudocreation form the two extremes of the spectrum of literary texts, whereas the broader terms “creative translation” and “translated creation,” arguably more nuanced, fill the entire spectrum. These two categories of literary texts are produced by means of translation and intertextuality. Bao Tianxiao and Yang Zilin’s translation of *Joan Haste* is unquestionably a creative translation, as are Zhou Shoujuan’s translations of melodramatic stories. Li Dingyi’s *Perils of Fair Ladies* comes under the rubric of translated creation, as do the short stories of Su Manshu and Yu Dafu which derived much of their inspiration from foreign literatures. “Creative translation,” as I demonstrated in Chapters 2 and 3,

transforms foreign texts in order to infuse them with indigenous emotional patterns. “Translated creation,” by contrast, borrows narrative structures and emotional tone from foreign texts in order to invigorate and enliven indigenous modes of emotional expressions. The boundary between creative translation and translated creation is fuzzy and mobile, as is the boundary between translation and creation. By juxtaposing creative translation and translated creation, I have demonstrated how they clarify particular aspects of love fiction – for instance, the production of hybrid emotional expressions – which might not otherwise call attention to themselves.

Also reflected by the juxtaposition of these two categories of literary texts is the porous boundary between writers traditionally associated with the “Old School,” such as Bao Tianxiao, Li Dingyi, Zhou Shoujuan, and to some extent Su Manshu, and those commonly considered supporters of “New Literature,” such as Yu Dafu. The thesis has continued the efforts already made by other scholars to break down the often dubious distinctions between the two groups of writers. In particular, it unveils the rich emotional capacity contained in the translated works of writers traditionally associated with the Butterfly School. The works of these writers were for a long time dismissed as transparent texts composed purely for the sake of pleasure and monetary gain. The combination of intertextuality with translation studies that informs the framework of pseudowriting enables us to appreciate more fully the richness and complexity of their works. This idea is further reinforced by revealing how similar Su Manshu and Yu Dafu were in the way they borrowed texts from foreign literatures,

made use of foreign languages, and appropriated the emotional ambiance borne by those texts. The thesis has thus shown that the boundaries between these two apparently different groups of writers are actually permeable.

#### **6.4 Creating New Modes of Emotional Expression**

Whether expressing virtuous Confucian sentiments in the guise of a foreign novel, or expressing Ibsenian emotions through the form of a traditional love novel, these writers were nonetheless expressing emotions with the help of someone else's pen. Although the full range of writing practices at the time may have been much more complex, from the writers studied in this thesis we can trace a general shift in the power relationship between the Chinese writer-translators and the foreign texts which they either translated or intertextualized. For Bao, Li and Zhou, the foreign texts served as an overcoat, a form via which they enjoyed the freedom to express emotions different from those of the original works. For them, foreign literatures could benefit from taking on Chinese sentiments and Chinese literary styles. For Su and Yu, by contrast, the foreign texts they quoted from possessed a much higher status. Such texts not only endowed their works with an exotic literariness, but also gave them access to powerful emotions that they could appropriate as their own. This situation was to last for several years until these writers found their own literary styles and dramatically cut down the use of foreign quotations in their works.

As can be shown from the discussions of creative translation, I have regarded translations as literature, in contrast with earlier scholarship that generally considered translations to be a derivative form of textual production. I argue that not only do translations deserve to be studied as literature, but that they also provide us with new perspectives when they are studied as literature and in association with intertextuality. This is both because translations frequently mingled with created works in the early twentieth-century Chinese literary scene, and also because the interlingual and intercultural dimensions of translation can often generate inspiration and creativity. It is worth quoting the entire passage of Cicero – of which I quoted only a small portion in the “Introduction” – to illustrate the process of generating creativity via translation. Cicero stated via his dialogical persona Lucius Crassus that imitating Latin orators limited his verbal imagination, and for that reason he tried his hand at imitating Greek orators in Latin:

But later I noticed this defect in my method, that those words which best befitted each subject, and were the most elegant and in fact the best, had been already seized upon by Ennius, if it was on his poetry that I was practicing, or by Gracchus, if I chanced to have set myself a speech of his. Thus I saw that to employ the same expressions profited me nothing, while to employ others was a positive hindrance, in that I was forming the habit of using the less appropriate. Afterwards I resolved – and this practice I followed when somewhat older - to translate freely [*explicarem*] Greek speeches of the most eminent orators. The result of reading these was that, in rendering into Latin what I had read in Greek, I not only found myself using the best words – and yet quite familiar ones – but also coining by analogy [*exprimerem imitando*] certain words such as would be new to our people, provided only they were appropriate.<sup>3</sup>

Cicero’s words point out the powerful ways in which interlingual translation, as

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<sup>3</sup> Robinson, “Imitation,” 111-112.

opposed to intralingual paraphrasing, can generate creativity. The core process of literary creation which he describes closely resembles the production of Chinese love fiction in the early twentieth century. Creativity, as Cicero well articulates, grows out of one culture's active engagement with other cultures, both linguistically and semantically via translation and intertextuality. The creative translations of Bao Tianxiao and Zhou Shoujuan, and the intensive intertextualities of Su Manshu and Yu Dafu are essentially akin to what Cicero's Lucius was doing: borrowing older texts in order, quite paradoxically, to make something new. This thesis has examined the creative borrowings of Chinese writer-translators of the early twentieth-century in the same way that literary scholars in English or French departments have long studied literary interplays between European writers, such as Baudelaire's translations of and intertextual engagements with Edgar Allen Poe (1809-1849), and so on. Such study is primarily textual, and as such does not necessarily involve the discourse of politics. This is not to say that political and historical factors do not matter, but rather to point out that it is only when we study Chinese love fiction (including translated love fiction) as literature, not as a byproduct of history and politics, that we can come to a better understanding of the power this literature harbours to articulate human emotions.

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**Online Resources:**

<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/116226?redirectedFrom=melodrama#eid>

<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/111676#eid38770866>

[http://www.1911encyclopedia.org/Francois\\_Villon](http://www.1911encyclopedia.org/Francois_Villon)

<http://www.metrolyrics.com/phantom-of-the-opera-lyrics-phantom-of-the-opera.html>

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