Ancient City" (Gucheng chunjing, 1937), the poet overlooks Beijing and its environs from the top of the old city wall set off against remote horizons. She juxtaposes colors, images, and even smells from near and far to forge an architectonics of sensations as a way of figuring or embodying a city that is trapped between ancient and modern. In her story "In the Heat of 99 Degrees Fahrenheit" (Jiushijiu du zhong, 1934), she slices the daily life of Beijing into pieces and rearranges them to form a crisscrossing pattern of kaleidoscopic shots. From a rich lady's party to a street vendor's roadside business, and from a rickshaw puller's run through the city to a young woman's romantic dilemma, Lin's story is a dynamic montage of life in Beijing.

The 1930s also saw a small group of literati in Taiwan engaged in modernist experimentation. Japanese influences had penetrated every level of Taiwanese life over thirty years of Japanese occupation; elite youth found it fashionable to emulate the "Tokyo modern" and new European trends coming in via Japanese mediation. Since Taiwan was both a colony and an island, its modernist sensibilities were inevitably determined by a hybrid manifestation of Japanese colonial hegemony, Chinese cultural heritage, and indigenous self-expression.

Yang Chichang (1908–1994) was introduced to surrealism in Japan, where he went to study in 1932. Upon his return to Taiwan, he organized the Windmill Poetry Club (Fengche shishe) and initiated the first wave of modernist poetry on the island. Yang's "Tainan Qui Dort" (Huihuai de chengshi, 1933) is a poem in Japanese about the decaying ancient city of Tainan, wrought with imagery suggestive of a nightmarish experience of death and putrefaction. In a way, surrealism may have lent Yang an obscure but effective channel to express the *ressentiment* and nihilism shared by many Taiwanese youths under colonial rule. Long Yingzong (1910–1999), another Taiwanese writer, was influenced by Japanese neo-sensationalism as well as by Western *fin de siècle* decadent aesthetics. In 1937, he won a literary prize in Japan for his short story in Japanese, "A Town with Papaya Trees" (Zhiyou muguashu de xiaozhen). The story chronicles an idealistic young man's degeneration in a town enshrouded by desolation and boredom. Mixing exoticism and naturalism, Long vividly conveys the spiritual loss and self-alienation of a whole generation of Taiwanese intellectuals living under colonial rule.

In 1936, the Taiwanese musician-cum-poet Jiang Wenye (1910–1983) made his first visit to Beijing and Shanghai. Born in Taiwan and briefly educated in Xiamen, China, Jiang moved to Japan at the age of thirteen; there he found his life's passion in music. By the early 1930s, he had become a promising

modernist composer, his models including Ravel, Bartók, and Stravinsky. The 1936 trip, however, changed Jiang's life for good. He was so overwhelmed by the civilization of Beijing that he moved to the ancient city in 1938 and spent the rest of his life there. In addition to music, Jiang composed a number of poetry cycles, such as *Inscriptions of Beijing* (*Bejing ming*, 1942) and *Fu on the Celestial Shrine* (*Fu tiantan*, 1944), in Japanese and Chinese respectively. In these poems, Jiang conveys his immersion in Beijing culture by means of synesthesia and fanciful meditations drawn from French symbolism, while the way in which he modulates between stylistic precision and evasiveness reminds one of Japanese *haiku*. A cosmopolitan, Jiang found in Chinese civilization an awakening to an aestheticized state of nirvana.

IV. Translation, print culture, and literary societies

Translation of Western literatures and discourses

By Jing Tsu

The eclectic nature of fiction and other texts from Western sources that were translated into Chinese in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has captured scholarly attention over the past twenty years. This renewed interest is part of an effort to push back the beginnings of modern Chinese literature to a period that has been largely suppressed in its historiography. In the process, however, the array of materials, literary and otherwise, especially from the late Qing period (1880s–1910s), has emerged as a fascinating object of study in its own right. The rediscovery of the different strata of literary production – ranging from popular to elite, missionary to indigenous, and commercial to amateur – prompts one not only to revise the traditional conception of literary formation in the early decades of the twentieth century but also to enlarge the scope of literary studies in order to evaluate the important role of translation in intellectual and cultural history.

Although the process of translation and cultural assimilation has its precedents in the translation of Buddhist scriptures from Sanskrit, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries witnessed something quite different. Most of the materials coming from foreign sources during this period were translated with expediency and involved creative reinterpretations. The influx of Western missionaries and foreigners, later coupled with increasing numbers of commercially motivated writers and a novelty-seeking urban readership, fostered new conditions for experimentation. Scholars have estimated that between 1840 and 1911, 48 percent of all fiction produced was translated from other

languages. Though this figure is lower than previously assumed, the majority of these texts were produced after the First Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895 and before the May Fourth Movement of 1919, particularly between 1902 and 1908.

This periodization, however, gives a limited idea of what was in fact a longer continuum of intercultural transaction at the hands of different agents and representatives. Already in the Ming dynasty, translations by Western missionaries were among the first important exchanges with Europe. Ambitious to spread religious doctrine, the Jesuits quickly learned to use the medium of the science treatise, which was of greater interest to the Chinese. During their two hundred years in China, the Jesuit order introduced 437 works in translation; more than half were religious in nature and 30 percent were related to science. Headed by such figures as Matteo Ricci, Johann Adam Schall von Bell, Nicholas Trigault, and Ferdinand Verbiest, and assisted by native-speaking collaborators, the missionaries targeted the imperial court as their primary audience. They used Western knowledge and some literary texts, such as Trigault's translation of *Aesop's Fables*, as tokens of exchange in establishing initial cultural contact. Yet their reach was limited. For instance, anatomy as a branch of Western science was introduced in the late Ming and early Qing by Johann Terrenz Schreck and Verbiest, but had to wait for the 1851 publication of Benjamin Hobson's *A Treatise on Physiology* (*Quanti xinlun*) in Guangdong to attract wider attention.

The growing urgency of national salvation and the interest of an urban readership made all the difference in the next and most important wave of translation in modern China. The rise to military and colonial dominance by the Western powers in the nineteenth century and China's subsequent turn to Western learning as the necessary means of survival in the modern world brought about a sea of uneven change. Between the Opium Wars and the First Sino-Japanese War, interest in Western science and technological knowledge soared. Considered the secret to power in the modern world, Western learning – referred to as "sound, optics, chemistry, electricity" (*sheng guang hua dian*) – dominated the focus of translation bureaus in Guangzhou, Fuzhou, and Shanghai.

Collaborations, institutions of knowledge, and Western and Chinese translators

One institution of particular significance was the translation bureau, founded in 1867, that was attached to the Jiangnan Arsenal in Shanghai. Under the supervision of the English entrepreneur and educator John Fryer, this bureau

produced, in addition to textbooks, a larger body of translations of technical and scientific treatises than any other institution of comparable size. The bureau's publications account for about half of the 660 translations of texts of Western learning from this period, and cover a wide range of subjects, including astronomy, geography, mathematics, medicine, chemistry, electricity, military technology, geology, explosives, medical jurisprudence, metallurgy, and economics. Fryer alone translated more than half of the Arsenal's total output. He was also responsible for the publication of the *Scientific and Industrial Magazine* (*Gezhi huibian*), which, it was hoped, would be to the Chinese what *Scientific American* was to the anglophone world. Reaching a broader readership than previous missionary journals, the *Scientific and Industrial Magazine* introduced and explained subjects like the mechanics of photography, steam engines, and diving-gear science for general and specialized audiences alike. To enhance the magazine's popular appeal, one author tried to explain the halo around the head of Christ as a function of optics. The enthusiasm for the journal can be readily seen in its "Question and Answer" section, which addressed comments from inquisitive Chinese readers who were experimenting with the described techniques at home.

The process of translation cut both ways. The need to adapt the intended message to the conditions of the host language resulted in the transformation of both. Most scholars agree that the process of translation gave rise to new rules of linguistic encounter out of a dialogic necessity. As the brokers of cultural exchange, native informants or collaborators exercised a certain amount of influence as they advised their Western counterparts, sometimes even altering the intended meaning of the text. Protestant missionaries led the way in the mid-nineteenth century with collaborative translations of legal texts, scientific treatises, and novels. Henry Wheaton's *Elements of International Law* (1836), translated by the American missionary W. A. P. Martin in 1864 as *The Public Laws of Myriad Nations* (*Wanguo gongfa*), is one example of the battle not only of words but also of worldviews.

Though the translation process placed greater emphasis on the missionary's initiative, the Chinese informant had the linguistic advantage of being able to exercise discretion in adapting the text into terms more familiar and acceptable to his fellow Chinese. A notable exception to this general practice is the translation of the Bible, which mobilized teams of missionaries, with their Chinese assistants, and resulted in no fewer than five complete translations between the 1820s and 1860s. The tension between the two opposing agendas of translating a text into accessible terms for wider dissemination and preserving the word of God caused severe rifts between the London Missionary

Society and other societies. Henry Medhurst's translation, according to Patrick Hanan, became the object of virulent attacks by fellow missionaries, who saw its use of idiomatic Chinese phraseology as "a profusion of barbarisms" that pandered to the taste of heathens. At the center of the debate was how to translate "God." Whereas Medhurst used *shangdi* (supreme deity), a concept of divinity already familiar to the Chinese, an earlier and less assimilated version preferred the character *shen* (divine spirit) in order to deny that the Chinese had any original access to the knowledge of God prior to the advent of Christianity.

Though the 1870s have been customarily viewed as China's first exposure to foreign fiction on a wide scale, as early as 1819 Western missionaries had recognized the utility of translated fiction in establishing a trusted presence. They translated Western fiction into vernacular Chinese with the assistance of Chinese collaborators. Texts were translated into provincial dialects as well as Mandarin. These early attempts at propagating particular worldviews through translation set a precedent for fiction's ideological use in the later activities carried out by the Chinese themselves. By the time Liang Qichao propagated the importance of fiction and translation in two of his seminal essays, "Preface to the Translation and Publication of Political Novels" (1898) and "On the Relationship between Fiction and Ruling the Public" (1902), the idea was neither wholly novel nor revolutionary. Nationalistic fervor, however, gave it a new impetus.

Even novels that first appeared in Chinese translation in the 1870s, notably in the Shanghai newspaper *Shenbao*, marked a subsequent, rather than the initial, phase in translating foreign fiction. Between May 21 and June 15, 1872, partial Chinese versions of Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, Washington Irving's *The Sketchbook of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent*, and Frederick Marryat's *The Pacha of Many Tales* appeared in literary Chinese. In contrast, the first translated novel of general interest, *Xinxi xiantan* (Edward Bulwer-Lytton's *Night and Morning*), serialized from 1873 to 1875, was rendered in the vernacular.

Using the novel, or fictional narrative, to entertain, educate, and reform the Chinese populace served the purposes of proselytization, as it later did the awakening of national consciousness. Fryer held an essay contest on the advantages and disadvantages of China's intercourse with the West in 1867, when he was editor of a Chinese newspaper founded by the British-owned *North China Herald*. The "new-novel" contest he advertised in 1895, in the well-circulated Chinese-language missionary journal *Review of the Times* (*Wanguo gongbao*), likely inspired subsequent calls for new fiction, including those made

by Liang Qichao, who was an avid reader of the newspaper as well as of Fryer's translations of science treatises.

Realizing the broad appeal of fiction, Protestant missionaries like William Milne (1785–1822), Karl Gützlaff (1830–1851), James Legge (1815–1897), and Griffith John (1831–1912) even attempted to write their own original narratives. The most notable missionary-translated novels are William Burns's much truncated version of John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* (*Tianlu licheng*), which eventually appeared in complete form over a period of thirteen years, and Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward, 2000–1887* (*Huitou kan jilue*), rendered into literary Chinese by Timothy Richard and his Chinese assistant in 1888 and then serialized in *Review of the Times*. Republished in 1894 under the title *Asleep for a Hundred Years* (*Bainian yijiao*), the book made an indelible imprint on the leading reformer Kang Youwei, who wrote the utopian social treatise *Great Harmony*, as well as on his student Liang Qichao. Liang's first attempt at fiction writing, *The Future of New China*, his unfinished futuristic novel of 1902, paved the way for the emergence of utopian and science fantasy fiction in the twentieth century.

The works of influential Chinese intellectuals and reformers drew on a wide array of Japanese, Western, and Chinese literary and philosophical sources. Japan was deemed by many to offer a more expedient model for westernization because of its success with rapid modernization. The task of translation was made more efficient, though not necessarily more faithful to the original, if one took advantage of the easily recognized *kanji* – Chinese loanwords – as opposed to having to acquire proficiency in a Western language and an unfamiliar script. However heatedly contested at times, the cultural and racial affinity between Japan and China also meant that their respective encounters with westernization were, in some ways, a shared dilemma. Liang Qichao, in particular, was heavily influenced by Japanese thinkers and writers, such as Inoue Enryō, Yano Ryūkei, Shiba Shirō, and Suehiro Tetchō. Many of their works were translated and published in *New Fiction* (*Xin xiaoshuo*), a seminal journal Liang founded in 1902.

As increasing numbers of Chinese took government-sponsored opportunities to study abroad in Europe, Japan, and America in the late nineteenth century, the study of foreign languages allowed more direct access to the source texts, or at least through a less embellished English or Japanese translation. Prior to the First Sino-Japanese War, interest in Western learning had mainly focused on translations of technical and scientific knowledge; after China's humiliating defeat, intellectuals and political reformers felt an even

more profound sense of crisis in which they became concerned with China's spiritual decline in addition to her technical backwardness. This critical period produced a number of new translators, whose works and varied approaches had a huge impact on a new generation of modern writers and intellectuals.

Yan Fu, Lin Shu, and the late Qing literary scene

Often named as the first figure to introduce and systematically translate Western thought into Chinese, Yan Fu, a graduate of the Fuzhou Naval Yard program, went to study in England in 1877 and returned in 1879 with a poignant sense of the urgent need to reverse China's decline. To introduce works that underpinned the contemporary current of change in Western thought, he made critical translations of works such as Thomas Henry Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics*, Adam Smith's *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Montesquieu's *The Spirit of Laws*, John Stuart Mill's *A System of Logic* and *On Liberty*, Herbert Spencer's *The Study of Sociology*, and William Stanley Jevons's *Elementary Lessons in Logic*. Though relatively small in volume, Yan Fu's translations were difficult in style. The carefully chosen texts were, as he stated, intended not for the uneducated layman but for men of letters. Of the four dominant styles of prose practiced in the late nineteenth century – parallel prose (*piantiwen*), vernacular, the eight-part style, and the Tongcheng ancient style – he chose the last, insisting on an adherence to classical Chinese thought and writing as a way of assimilating foreign texts. Unlike many others, he did not take from readily available Japanese loanwords or the provisional terms previously used in missionary translations. Instead, he painstakingly revived original terminology from ancient classical texts, some of which were unfamiliar and impenetrable even to his most learned contemporaries. As a testament to his meticulous though arcane approach, he confessed in a letter to Liang Qichao to having spent almost three years brooding over how to translate the Western political concept behind the word "right."

Though scholars have often debated the merits of his difficult style, Yan's translation of social Darwinism offered a compelling theory of a universal scheme of progress and the survival of the fittest. Evolutionism took firm root as the dominant persuasion in the context of China's struggle for national survival.

In terms of having the greatest impact on translation activities in the late Qing, Yan Fu was matched only by Lin Shu. Unlike Yan, Lin never traveled abroad or acquired any foreign-language skills. That, however, did not deter him from collaborating with several Chinese co-translators in producing,

astonishingly, more than 180 translations of Western literature over a period of about twenty years. Lin's selection of texts demonstrated an unusual range of interests, reflecting tastes both high and low, historical and romantic. As stated in the prefaces to several of his translations, Lin Shu saw his calling ultimately as "aiding the process of loving the nation and preserving the race," an imperative that had first inspired him to pursue the task of translation. Highlighting and even extending passages that he found relevant to China's predicament, Lin Shu would alter and supplement the original text whenever he thought fit to extrapolate a moral lesson, and especially when he could express indignation at the exploitation of the weaker by the stronger nations.

Like Yan Fu, Lin was committed to the use of terse classical Chinese prose in order to appeal to learned literary sensibilities. He took liberties with the Tongcheng style, however, often mixing in neologisms as well as Western grammar and syntax, and sometimes altering the narrative techniques of the original to suit more traditional Chinese tastes and expectations. In particular, he felt that religious messages or passages that failed to respect the proper Confucian strictures placed on male–female relationships had to be altered. The phrase "Peace on earth, good will to men" in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, for example, was rendered as "the *qi* of Dao," while "that kingdom which God will set up" became "world union" (*shijie datong*), echoing Kang Youwei's widely influential book the *Great Harmony*.

In general, however, editorial choice in late Qing translations did not always follow a logical process that had the sanctity of the original text in mind. Depending on the input and style of the assistant translators involved, places and characters were usually changed to Chinese settings and surnames in order not to overtax the reader's mind; authors' names and the original titles were often sinicized or transliterated. Often the Chinese rendition bore little resemblance to the original. The lack of standardized guidelines in the general practice of translation in the late Qing also led to a certain amount of confusion, as some texts were translated many times without the translators necessarily being aware of one another's work. For a number of years, for instance, Beecher and Stowe were thought to be two different people, despite Lin Shu's famed 1905 translation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

Advertisements, exotic associations, author brand names, and clever packaging became common practice with the commercialization of fiction. These marketing strategies helped to shape readers' appetites for foreign literature. Literary consumption became much less tied to elite tastes and merged instead with the contemporary urban landscape. That works by Western writers

considered second- or third-rate in their own countries were published widely in China during the late Qing craze for translating foreign literature points to a particularity not easily resolved by applying the simple criterion of literary merit. Indeed, the motivation behind translation was not always about endorsing the universal value of great literature, but rather the attempt to establish the very terms by which universalism, and its implied values and distinctions, could be understood and reshaped in the Chinese context. A Victorianist may be surprised that the first translated novel to appear in China should be Edward Bulwer-Lytton's *Night and Morning*, rather than any of the masterpieces of English literature or even Bulwer-Lytton's more famous *The Coming Race*. To the urban audience of Shanghai, however, Bulwer-Lytton was no more or less exotic than a Western scholar named Darwin, whose works were introduced along with Bulwer-Lytton's in the same newspaper, *Shenbao*, in 1873.

The extraordinary translation landscape around the turn of the century, in which classical and vernacular prose, Western syntax, and unknown or even falsified original authorship were mixed together, spread new ideas for popular consumption. Source texts were readily altered during transmission, tolerating a wide range of practices often noted next to the translator's name as "translated and narrated" (*yishu*), "edited and translated" (*bianyi*), or "loosely translated" (*yanyi*). New terminologies were hastily improvised to facilitate new meanings. This widespread openness, not only to the process of transmission but also to the possibilities for creative interpretation in the reception of the transmitted text, gave free rein to a wildly imaginative approach to assimilating Western knowledge. Sometimes, the rate at which people rushed to create neologisms fell behind their perceived novelty. Before an equivalent counterpart in Chinese could be found, new terms appeared as new sounds in the language of intellectuals and fiction writers. Transliterations, such as *demukelaxi* (democracy), *yansipilichun* (inspiration), *laifuqiang* (rifle), and *balimen* (parliament), rolled off the tongues of novelty seekers and political reformers alike, often themselves the objects of parody under the jabbing pens of more conservative writers.

Translated or not, literary genres proliferated along with gender-bending roles. Cross-dressing female assassins, a modern take on the seventeenth-century "string ballads" (*tanci*) that often featured women masquerading as men, formed part of the popular appeal of the political intrigues in nihilist fiction (*xuwudang xiaoshuo*). Rewriting classical novels in the form of modernized sequels provided an effective way to entice a traditional audience

with reinvented novelty, as in Wu Jianren's 1905 *The New Story of the Stone*, a science-fantasy rendition of the classical novel *The Story of the Stone*. In Wu's version, Jia Baoyu, the sentimental protagonist turned enlightened intellectual, returns to a futuristic world modernized by technology but where "civilization" (*wenming*) remains a vexing issue. The fiction produced by the writers and translators of this period was as varied in its range as it was outlandish in its subject matter. Well-known genres such as "romance fiction," "depravity fiction," and "fiction of social critique" constituted only one part of a vast spectrum of classifications that included "fishing-industry fiction," "utopian fiction," "navigation fiction," "fiction of the medical world," "racial fiction," "mathematics fiction," "study-of-weaponry fiction," and "advertisement fiction." Few translators and writers were capable of straddling this range. As one of the most prolific writers from this period, Liu Shi'e was an exception, authoring and translating more than a hundred novels, including modern versions of the mid-sixteenth-century novel *Water Margin* as well as science fiction and martial arts fiction.

Apart from the complex landscape of translations and patterns of popular literary consumption of this period, a number of other aspects await further study. Among them is the important role played by women translators. Chen Hongbi, a frequent contributor to the well-known journal *Fiction Grove*, translated mainly detective fiction, such as Emile Gaboriau's *Le Dossier No. 113 (Di yibai shiyi an*, 1907) and *Electric Crown* (*Dianguan*), both of which appeared in *Fiction Grove*. Another recently excavated figure is Xue Shaohui, who embodied a measured progressivism together with a clear loyalty to traditional learning and values. With no apparent skill in foreign languages, she rendered Jules Verne's *Around the World in Eighty Days* into literary Chinese (*Bashiri huanyou ji*, 1900) on the basis of her husband Chen Shoupeng's oral translation. This was the first translation of Western science fiction in China. The husband–wife team translated other science-related works, such as *A Double Thread* by Ellen Thorneycroft Fowler (translated as *Shuangxian ji*, 1903) and a textbook primer to physics. Concerned with the question of women's rights in the context of the 1898 Reform Movement, Xue also compiled and translated *Biographies of Foreign Women* (*Waiguo lienü zhuan*, 1906). Her brother-in-law, Chen Jitong, was a polyglot particularly well versed in French; a graduate of the Fuzhou Naval Yard, he spent almost twenty years abroad, first as a student and later as an official translator. Chen was responsible for translating tales from *Records of the Strange* (*Liaozhai zhiyi*) into French as *Les Contes Chinois* (1884). Chen's erudite command of Western literature had an influence not only over his brother and his sister-in-law. Zeng Pu, the author of the famous novel *Flower*

in the Sea of Sins, praised him for having single-handedly inducted him into the world of reading and translating French literature.

While there existed several different avenues for accessing foreign literature around the turn of the century, it was burgeoning journalism that gave it a unique visibility. A number of literary figures founded journals that provided an important forum for showcasing the latest translated fiction. Liang Qichao's *New Fiction* proclaimed the advent of the "fiction revolution" and led the way by publishing many translations. Wu Jianren, one of the most important writers of the late Qing, edited *Monthly Fiction* (*Yueyue xiaoshuo*), which drew such writers as Zhou Guisheng, a translator of children's fiction and, more famously, the first to introduce detective fiction into Chinese. *A Strange Tale of the Electric Arts* (*Dianshu qitan*), Wu's 1903 vernacular adaptation of a literary Chinese translation of the 1897 Japanese translation of an alleged Victorian detective novel on mesmerism, remains one of the best examples dating from this period of the complex process of translation relayed through multiple linguistic media. That the reference to an English original may have been fabricated highlights all the more the growing allure of translation, whose exoticism was sometimes prized above original composition in Chinese. For example, in order to take advantage of this new market, the real author of the 1903 novel *Freedom of Marriage* (*Ziyou jiehun*) claimed that the novel derived from the work of an American Jewish writer named Vancouver, whom the fictitious Chinese translator, the young daughter of a Chinese watchmaker in Geneva by the name of Liberty Flower, had met by chance.

Recognizing the appeal of translated texts, many editors sought to shape their social vision through them. Zhou Shoujuan, the editor of *Violet* and *Saturday*, translated and published a collection of European and American short stories, praised by Lu Xun as an admirable follow-up to his own pioneering collection, *Fiction from Abroad* (*Yuwai xiaoshuo ji*). Chen Jinghan, a translator who was particularly fascinated by stories dealing with nihilist assassins, founded *Fiction Times* (*Xiaoshuo shibao*) together with the popular writer Bao Tianxiao, who had a strong interest in translating science-related "education fiction." The two editors brought the tales of prolific writers like William le Queux, little remembered in Western literary criticism today, into this lively milieu. The science fiction of Jules Verne and the detective fiction of Conan Doyle were the most popular. Through the fictional worlds of hypnotism, space travel, racial apocalypse, female assassins, and explorations of distant continents, late Qing literary translation sought out new experiences in different corners of the world. The wide array of translators and the diversity of

their taste testify to the cultural imagination of this era, marked by unbridled enthusiasm, wonder, sarcasm, and an exceptional zeal to experience their social reality as part of the "modern" rational world.

Ideology, nation-building, and translating the world

Challenging the limitations of traditional and modern cultural sensibilities as they did, the late Qing's experimentations with texts and translation could not long endure. Lin Shu was later criticized for his obstinate adherence to the forms and values of classical prose, increasingly an object of attack in the radicalizing intellectual climate of the early twentieth century. His innovative attempt to open up the classical prose style to accommodate new linguistic forms, concepts, and diction was largely forgotten amidst the antitraditionalist fervor of the May Fourth Movement. As modernization and nation-building got under way in the 1920s and 1930s, the task of translation, like the writing of literature in general, was proclaimed to be the instrument for awakening class consciousness and had to serve other political ideologies.

A serious and doggedly literal approach toward the translation of foreign literature was quietly announced with the publication of two collections of *Fiction from Abroad* by Lu Xun and his brother Zhou Zuoren. Only 1,500 copies of each collection were printed in Tokyo, where the two brothers were studying, in March and July 1909 respectively. No more than twenty-odd copies, however, were sold in Tokyo and Shanghai. Commercial failure aside, the translation was significant for other reasons. It expressed a solemn attitude toward the power of translation as a means of bringing to light the injustices and suffering of the oppressed peoples of other nations. This turn toward global political consciousness demanded a new receptivity on the part of the urban Chinese audience, whose habit of reading translated novels for their sensational value was to the reformist writers a matter for lament. Foreseeing the importance of socially responsible fiction, the Zhou brothers used their anthology as a way of breaking new ground and introducing the works of ten writers of seven nationalities, mainly from eastern, southern, and northern Europe. The collection broke with the focus, dominant since 1897, on translating Anglo-American and western European literature. Bearing the unmistakable imprint of Russia's 1905 White Revolution, which the translators hoped would find resonance in the rebellious sentiments felt by the Chinese against the Manchu government of the Qing dynasty, the collection highlighted tales recounting class oppression and social inequality, especially the works of contemporary Polish and Russian writers, such as Henryk Shienkiewicz (1846–1916), V. Korolenko, Leonid Andrejev (1871–1919),

Mikhail Lermontov (1814–1841), Anton Chekhov (1860–1904), and Vsevolod Michailovitch Garshin (1855–1888).

Readapting the tastes of late Qing readers to a new curriculum of modern literature was not an easy task. The first appearance of *Fiction from Abroad* was greeted with disinterest by the general public, who, among other things, found the length of the short story wanting. Readers complained that "just as things are getting started, it's over." But Lu Xun and Zhou Zuoren, departing from Liang Qichao's narrow vision of translated fiction as political instrument and Lin Shu's preference for style over accuracy, argued for the equal importance of the translator's commitment to social responsibility and fidelity to the original. Whereas Lin Shu often carried out his translations with melodramatic flair and "wept and translated, translated and wept" in the process, the Zhou brothers favored minimal intrusion, opting for a literal, unadorned language. In going against the mainstream, they foreshadowed the ideological direction of what would become the dominant mode of literature in the twentieth century, namely realism. Their concern for the narratives of peoples and races around the world, as they suffered under Western imperialism and economic inequality, set the tone for literary translation and creation alike in the ensuing decades. Realism and its promise of a faithful, reflective narrative held sway over Chinese writers eager for and committed to social change. Though the style of both Lu Xun's earlier translations of Jules Verne and Zhou Zuoren's rendition of Haggard had been heavily influenced by Lin Shu, the two authors proclaimed a new departure for translation in the preface to *Fiction from Abroad*, declaring their collection to be the first transmission of Western literary art into China. It is as if translation finally became, for the first time, a legitimate intellectual, rather than a commercial and sensationalist, pursuit.

From the May Fourth period onward, translation was frequently utilized as a tool for bolstering the ideological claims of writers, intellectuals, and the state. The literary revolution of the 1920s spurred the proliferation of literary journals dedicated to introducing foreign literature as well as literary theories from realism to Russian formalism, imagism, Romanticism, and neo-Romanticism. Pioneering literary journals, such as *New Youth* and *New Tide*, led the way with the translations of Chen Duxiu, Hu Shi, and others, but other publications founded for the exclusive purpose of publishing translations also multiplied. Expanding the spectrum covered by the fiction of oppressed peoples, the Chinese Literary Association focused on works that articulated the theme of "art for life's sake" by writers such as Zola, Maupassant, Dostoevsky, Tagore, and Turgenev, while members of the Creation Society (Guo Moruo,

Yu Dafu, Cheng Fangwu, Tian Han) steered their efforts primarily toward the representative figures of English and German Romanticism. Under Mao Dun's editorship, *Fiction Monthly*, once the forum for late Qing popular fiction of the Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School, now took an ideological turn and began publishing special issues on Russian and French literature and the "literature of the exploited nations."

From the early 1920s through the 1940s, translation activities were focused on Russian literature, followed by English and American, French, German, Japanese, and other languages. While the majority of the texts were still being retranslated from English and Japanese versions, writers and intellectuals began, in recognition of a new literary cosmopolitanism, to place strong emphasis on working with the original languages. At the same time, Ba Jin's translation of his works into Esperanto and continual efforts by language reformers such as Qian Xuantong to romanize the Chinese script remind us that attempts to transform the Chinese language itself through translation were part of a new perception of the modern world that aimed at establishing a relationship with other cultures and literatures rather than merely assimilating them. Lu Xun, whose translation of Gogol's *Dead Souls* remains an important testimonial to foreign influence on modern Chinese literature, remarked that someone with a real background in Russian – like the well-known Marxist critic Qu Qiubai – would have been a more ideal translator. Even as he translated the works of Japanese literary critics Kuragawa Hakuson in the 1920s and 1930s, Lu Xun continued his focus on eastern and northern European literature.

Other translators were more specialized in their choice of authors, often reflecting the influence of earlier experiences of study or residency abroad. Along with Qu Qiubai, Zheng Zhenduo, and Ba Jin, Geng Jizhi was a champion of Russian literature, especially the works of Tolstoy, Turgenev, and Pushkin. His first translation, Tolstoy's *Kreutzer Sonata*, was followed by Dostoevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov* and *Crime and Punishment*, although the galleys for *Crime and Punishment* were destroyed in a fire during the Japanese invasion of the early 1930s. The Du Fu scholar Feng Zhi, a contemporary of Xu Zhimo and Wen Yiduo, introduced the poetry of Rilke, Goethe, Heine, and Novalis after studying in Heidelberg. His 1937 translation of Rilke's *The Sonnets to Orpheus* can be seen as an inspiration for his own collection of sonnets, a new form in Chinese poetry. Fu Lei's more than thirty translations of French literature included Romaine Rolland's *Jean Christophe*; Voltaire's *Candide* and *Zadig*; and Balzac's *Ursule Mirouët*, *Eugénie Grandet*, *César Birotteau*, *La Cousine Bette*, *Le Cousin Pons*, *Le Père Goriot*, and *Les Illusions Perdues*. Yet the credit for

introducing the works of Flaubert belongs to Li Jieren, whose 1925 translation of *Madame Bovary* remains one of the most influential works translated into Chinese from European literature.

Despite the view, predominant since the May Fourth Movement, that translation serves ideological purposes, the preceding century puts it in a new light. The importation of foreign literatures and thought was more accurately a reimagination of one's perception of the world through the different eyes of the foreign. The multiple nexuses through which this new "worldliness" unfolded, and the different levels of society in which it found expression, depended not only on the work of intellectuals and reformers but also on the larger cultural topography from which these elite visions were derived. Modern literature is, in this sense, strongly indebted to extraliterary life both inside and outside the national space. Though the cultural history of the nineteenth century is yet to be fully understood, it explored different paths, taken or not, that influenced the ways in which writers and readers perceived themselves in a period of cultural change as China moved toward the modern. In precisely this way, translation offered the whole world, rather than just a nation, in which modern Chinese literature was to find some of its most powerful inspirations.

Print culture and literary societies

By Michel Hockx

As previous chapters in this book have amply demonstrated, print culture existed in China well before the modern period. The importation of Western-style mechanized printing techniques, allowing for large-scale low-cost production, is, however, generally considered a crucial material factor contributing to changes in Chinese literary production from the late nineteenth century onwards. In China, as elsewhere, modern print culture created new markets and new audiences for literature, enabling the emergence of a relatively independent literary community. During the first few decades of the twentieth century, most participants in that community chose to operate in the context of literary societies. These too had had a long prior existence, but their activities now became more public, more independent, and, often, also more professional. The interaction between the media and technologies of print culture and the activities of literary societies are part of the unique context in which the literature of this period, especially the so-called "New Literature," was created. This section details that context to fill in the background against which the authors and works presented in the preceding pages may be read and understood.

Print culture and literary magazines, 1872–1902

The earliest modern printing presses were imported into China by missionaries in the mid-nineteenth century. They were, of course, used first and foremost for the production of bibles, but the missionaries also published literary works, including the first Chinese translations of modern Western fiction. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, the new technologies were gradually adopted by commercial printing houses. The foreign concessions in Shanghai soon became the undisputed center of the printing industry. Throughout the late Qing and Republican periods, the bulk of Chinese print culture was physically produced, or at the very least distributed, by companies in Shanghai. A rich cultural life, including a literary scene (*wentan*), developed as a result, and proved to be a fertile breeding ground for new forms and formats of literary expression.

One particularly influential new format for presenting literary texts was the literary magazine. The first Chinese literary magazine is believed to be *Scattered Notes from around the Universe* (*Yinghuan suoji*), published from 1872 to 1875 by the leading Shanghai newspaper and publishing house, Shenbaoguan, owned by Ernest Major, an Englishman. The literary-journal format was not an immediate success; only five journals came out before the turn of the century, four published by Shenbaoguan, and all short-lived. As far as literature was concerned, early modern print culture focused on publishing books, especially cheap novels. Yet the popularity of such novels and the unprecedented opportunities for widespread low-cost distribution offered by the new printing technologies must have drawn the attention of the late Qing reformist elite. These considerations likely predisposed Liang Qichao to venture the introduction of "new fiction." Given Liang's ambition to turn fiction into a tool of political education, it is not surprising that he chose the magazine format to ensure maximum exposure of his ideas to the largest possible readership. Moreover, Liang's decision to use the journal format may have been influenced by the fact that, at the time he published his first literary journal, he was in Japan, where the magazine was already flourishing as a literary forum.

Fiction journals, 1902–1920

The appearance of Liang Qichao's journal *New Fiction* on the Shanghai market in 1902 not only signaled a key change in the hierarchy of Chinese literary genres, it also heralded the advent of what was to become the standard format for the initial distribution of literary texts. From 1902 onwards, and throughout