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## 摘要

近年来,随着描述性路向的兴起和翻译研究的文化转向,传统翻译史研究中存在的问题引起越来越多的关注,学界重写翻译史的呼声越来越高。国内出版了一系列中国翻译史的著作,如马祖毅(1984)、陈玉刚(1989)、陈福康(1992)、郭延礼(1997)和谢天振(2003)等。但是,翻译史研究的深入发展,需要大量关注特定时期翻译活动的专门研究和针对译者的个案研究来充实。令人遗憾的是,目前这样的研究在国内仍然是凤毛麟角。本文以二十世纪中国学术思想史上的核心人物胡适为对象,对其文学翻译思想和实践进行个案研究。

作者通过梳理散见于胡适书信、文章和译序中的文学翻译思想,并将之与胡适的前辈译者如梁启超、严复等,以及同时代的译者如刘半农、傅斯年、罗家伦和鲁迅等人的文学翻译思想进行对比,试图揭示胡适文学翻译思想形成的原因,即它不仅受到胡适本人改造社会、改良文学的强烈动机的驱使,而且受到前面提到的那些译者的影响,还受到新文化运动时期中国社会文化语境的制约。在简要分析了胡适的文学翻译作品之后,作者进一步指出,作为20世纪中国文学革命的旗手和新文化运动的领袖,胡适对中国语言和文学文化现代转型的贡献很大程度上是通过他的文学翻译理论和实践发挥作用的。作者期望通过这样的个案研究,能够有助于正确评价胡适在中国现代文学翻译史上的贡献和地位。

关键词: 胡适, 翻译观, 文学翻译



## ABSTRACT

With the growing popularity of descriptive approach in translation studies, research on history of translation has attracted increasing attention from scholars at home and abroad. Publications on China's translation history have witnessed their prosperity. Yet China's translation historiography has to be substantiated by researches devoted to a given time and case studies focused on individual translators. The present thesis is a case study of Hu Shi's literary translation around the New Culture Movement Period in which China saw the flourish of literary translation.

Through analysis of Hu's views on literary translation and comparisons with other translators, the author of this thesis attempts to reveal that Hu Shi's views on literary translation are not only constrained by his ambition to reform the Chinese society and literature but also benefit from influences by both previous and contemporary translators, and that ultimately, they are shaped by the socio-cultural circumstances around the New Culture Movement Period. In addition, one chapter is devoted to analyzing Hu Shi's literary translations. The author therefore suggests that as the banner man of China's literary revolution and leader of the New Culture Movement in 20<sup>th</sup> century, it is, to certain extent, through his literary translations and meta-translation works, Hu Shi made his substantial contributions to the Chinese language and literature in its reformation.

**KEY WORDS:** Hu Shi, views on translation, literary translation



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## Chapter 1 Introduction

### 1.1 Research Motivation

The development of translation theory is an infinite process of growth and sophistication. Since translation involves different languages which are culture-specific and characteristic of a particular nation, translation theories originated and developed in different countries are, with no exception, deeply imbedded in their national history and culture. Therefore the development of translation theory gains its impetus and inspirations from not only imported theories but also reflections on the history of translation theory in a given society. So it is with translation theories within China. As Chen Fukang suggests (1992: 2), that to promote the development of China's translation research and translation theory, it is imperative, first of all, to make an inventory and category of our "national stock", i.e. to conduct researches on China's history of translation theories. Offering a panoramic view into the development of translation theories in China, *China's History of Translation Theories* (1992) by Chen Fukang counts as a good example. Nevertheless, the inventory and category of our "national stock" has to be substantiated with case studies of individual translators and translation theoreticians before it can be of greater significance.

Speaking of the originating of translation theories, Lefevere points out that:

most of the early reflections on translation, if we may apply the single adjective 'early' to everything from Cicero to about 1750, are to be found in mostly apologetic prefaces written by translators trying to defend what they have done. Only after 1750, when the first cultural /literary journals establish themselves in most European countries, do more 'general' reflections (i.e., not written on the occasion of the production of actual translations of a specific text) become possible". (1996: 45)

The New Culture Movement Period has witnessed the booming of literary translation and prosperity of literary journals in China. According to Wang Jiankai (2003), articles debating on the guidelines of literary translation were published in the early stage of The New Culture Movement with the prosperity of literary journals, and some guidelines were subsequently established thereafter, trends set. It is safe to say that The New Culture Movement Period constitutes a significant part of China's history of translation theory, thus deserves more attention from translation scholars than it does now.

Hu Shi (1891-1962) is neither a professional or master translator with volumes of great translations nor a translation theoretician boasting of sophisticated theories. He is in fact better known as the former president of Beijing University and a liberalist scholar. That might in one way account for the neglect of Hu Shi's translation activities in China's modern history. However, Hu Shi's contributions in translation were not undermined but amplified by his manifold statuses. Referring to non-professional translators, Pym notes that: "Thanks to their status and competence in other professional activities, some translators gain considerably more social and intellectual power than they would otherwise have as just translators (Pym 2007: 164). Hu Shi is a case in point.

Considering the factors mentioned above, the author conducts this investigation, hopefully, to make some contribution to restoring Hu Shi the place he deserved in China's translation history and to add another case study to research on China's translation history.

## 1.2 Research Background

Hu Shi, one of the few Chinese scholars who enjoyed an international fame in his life time, is "a central figure in China's academic and ideological history of 20<sup>th</sup> century" (Yu Yingshi 1983/2000: 76). Song Jianhua asserts (1996: 80-83) that Hu Shi's substantial contributions to the literary development of modern China can be summarized as follows: Hu took the lead in advocating realism in China's New Literature; he also laid the foundation for both New Poetry Movement and Drama Movement of modern China. That is why "as a great thinker and social reformer, Hu has been heavily researched both within and outside China from various perspectives such as history, philosophy, literary criticism, historiography and education. Many studies have been published on his achievements" (Zhao Wenjing 2006: 7). It is no surprise that "Hu Shi" has become a heated topic in academic circles of mainland China since 1990s.

Researches on Hu's literary translation are regrettably, on the other hand, very few and far between. In China's translation history (Ma Zuyi 1984, Chen Yugang 1989, Chen Fukang 1992, Guo Yanli 1997, Xie Tianzhen 2003), the place and role Hu Shi and his translation activities played is marginalized or even obscured while a close examination reveals that Hu made much of his substantial contributions to China's new literature through his translation activities and works around the New Culture Movement Period.

However, we do not have to be too pessimistic about the situation because in recent years more and

more attention from translation scholars have been directed at Hu's translation activities. Articles, research projects even influential monographs have been published, such as *Research on Hu Shi's Poetry Translation* by Liao Qiyi (2006) and *Cultural Manipulation of Translation Activities: Hu Shi's rewritings and the Construction of A New Culture* by Zhao Wenjing (2006), to name just a few.

In her book, Zhao Wenjing, taking rewriting theory as framework, reconsiders Hu Shi's most influential publications during the New Culture Movement Period. Through textual and contextual analysis, Zhao convincingly demonstrates that some of Hu's well-acclaimed creative writings are in fact just rewritings of Western ideologies and poetics. She also examines Hu Shi's translation proper only to reveal how Hu Shi adapted imported ideas or images for his target readers so as to influence cultural and literary reforms in China then. Zhao's research "responds to the current imperatives and lacunae in the field" by providing "a fascinating glimpse of an era and cultural context that are of vital importance not only to China but also to the world at large" and engaging "critically and productively with some of the core issues in translation studies"(Baker 2006). With Hu Shi as a case, the research introduces and applies rewriting theory critically to translation practices in China. More importantly, it contributes greatly to establish Hu Shi's place in China's translation history which he deserves but has long been denied. Furthermore the research may shed light on similar translation activities by other translators in that period.

Liao Qiyi's research (2006) is focused on Hu Shi's poetry translation. Through contextualization and historicization he reveals how Chinese cultural context around the New Culture Movement Period promoted and at the same time constrained poetry translation of that time, and identifies the presence and function of Hu's subjectivity as a translator in the act of translating, the shifts and evolution of themes, verses (诗体) and languages in respect to poetry translation, as well as the interaction between his creative poetry writing and poetry translation in vernacular Chinese. Particularly in Chapter two, the author provides us an interesting comparison between Hu Shi's poetry translation and the translation of ancient Chinese poems by Ezra Pound (1885-1972), a famous American poet and the leader of Imagism Movement in early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The present situation in researches on Hu Shi and China's history of translation calls for more investigations into Hu's literary translation activities.

### 1.3 Research Questions

Since his returning from abroad in 1917, Hu Shi, to serve his agendas in the literary revolution and the construction of China's new culture, spent enormous efforts on the introduction and translation of Western literary works. Along with the publication of his writings and translations, Hu also gave voice to his views and reflections on literary translation in the form of prefaces, published letters, essays or passages of essays. These reflections, which might not seem to be systematic or sophisticated enough to constitute well-developed translation theory, dealt with such principal issues of translation theory as "translation policy" and "the directness of translation" (Toury 1995/2001: 58 ), and arguably exerted significant influence on the literary translation afterwards.

This thesis is designed to answer the following questions:

- 1) What are Hu Shi's views on literary translation mainly concerned about?
- 2) How were Hu's views on literary translation developed and received?
- 3) How were Hu's views on literary translation reflected in his translation works?

### 1.4 The Structure of the Thesis

The thesis consists of six chapters. Chapter 1 is designed to inform about the motivation, background and research questions of the author in conducting the present research. Potential significance of the research is revealed also in this chapter. Chapter 2 then offers a brief review of previous studies on Hu Shi's literary translation activities. Critical assessments are made in the process of reviewing to locate the present research. The following chapter focuses on Hu Shi's views on literary translation where Hu Shi's views and reflections on literary translation are represented with categorization and assessment. Chapter 4 will demonstrate how Hu Shi's views on literary translation were shaped by his ideology and literary views and influenced by both previous and contemporary translators in some way. Chapter 5 will present a general view of Hu Shi's literary translation works with examples from Hu's *Collection of Translated Short Stories* and poems from the *Experimental Collection*. The last chapter brings the thesis to a conclusion by summarizing the findings and suggesting cues for further study.

## Chapter 2 Literature Review

Hu Shi the translator is overshadowed by his other statuses as an influential scholar in both Chinese philosophy and literature history as well as a pioneer of “the New School in Studies on *The Story of a Stone*” (新红学). To make it worse, Hu Shi’s views on literary translation seemed to be of less theoretical value than historical effects. All these factors might contribute to the marginalization of Hu Shi in China’s translation history.

Yuan Jinxiang is among the few researchers who take interest in Hu Shi’s views on literary translation. He (1996), drawing heavily on Hu’s *On A Constructive Revolution of Chinese Literature* (《建设的文学革命论》), engages with such aspects as the selection of source materials for translation, translator’s professionalism, the functions of translated literature as well as Hu’s criticism of Lin Shu (1852-1924), a famous translator of Western literatures in late Qing Dynasty Early Republic Period. Nevertheless only some aspects of Hu Shi’s views on literary translation are included and they could have been more properly classified with closer examination. Furthermore, the inclusion of Hu’s initiating and sponsoring some translation projects is questionable given the title of the article being *Hu Shi and Theories on Literary Translation*.

Shi Yunbo (2000), dealing with Hu Shi’s contributions to the cause of translation in modern China, praises highly of Hu’s views on the function of translated literature and vernacular Chinese being used in literary translation. That is all the article covers concerning Hu Shi’s views on literary translation, which is surely not inclusive enough.

Shi Guoqiang (2000) does justice to Hu Shi’s contributions and merits in asserting that Hu’s aired views on translation had far-reaching effects on the Chinese language and literature. He stresses Hu’s pioneer role in advocating and practicing the use of vernacular Chinese in translating foreign literary works with citations from Hu’s essays and examples of Hu’s translations.

Gu Xiaoyan (2004) devotes a whole chapter in her thesis for master’s degree which was titled *A Study of Hu Shi As A Translator* to elaborating on Hu’s views on literary translation. She explores in this chapter much of Hu Shi’s views on literary translation under subtitles “his purposes of translation”, “his choice of

the original" and "his view of translation". However, for reasons unacknowledged, she confusingly titles this chapter with "Hu Shi's translation activities" and expounds "his view of translation" as "stress on the social function of translation", "translation criterion" and "the use of vernacular language".

Ma Xiao (2005) treats the relationship between Hu Shi's creative literary writing and literary translation based on his practices in new poetry, short stories and modern drama, and in the course of doing so reveals Hu's views on the function of translated literature and purpose of literary translating.

Zhang Jinghua (2006) presents an interesting comparison between Hu Shi and Liang Qichao (1873-1929)—an influential thinker and social reformer among intellectuals in the period of late Qing and early Republic and one of Hu's superiors—under the context of China's cultural reformation, in terms of themes of translated literature, use of vernacular in translation and impacts of translation works on China's national literature based upon their respective research of sutra translation. It should be noted that the author also points out the fact that Hu Shi was ideologically influenced by Liang Qichao especially when the former was still a young student in Shanghai. The article could have been of greater theoretical value if the author had probed deeper and made more analysis rather than just presented relative data.

Liao Qiyi (2006: 10) argues that Hu Shi's poetry translation had gone through apparent shifts from domestication to foreignization in terms of themes, verses(诗体) and languages. He attempts to track and outline these shifts and by doing so to reveal the development and evolution of Hu's views on translation, particularly Hu's growing subjectivity and creativity as a literary translator.

Zhao Wenjing (2006) provides a thorough investigation into Hu Shi's translation proper "from the initial to operational stages, from the perspective of translation sociology" (Zhao 2006: 266). She addresses "such issues as Hu's choices of source cultures, genres and themes" and expounds his translation strategies as "domesticating imported elements", "contextualizing and historicizing foreign elements" and "interventions in and around the text". The author makes a convincing demonstration of her points with evidence from Hu's meta-translation works as well as textual and contextual analysis of Hu's translation products.

Yu Lei (2008) discusses the multiple roles Hu Shi played in translation activities. She stresses Hu's promoting the place and role of translated literature in host culture's literary polysystem while referring to Hu as "a master translator" and "an influential translation critic" neither of which Hu Shi claimed or

deserved to my knowledge and judgment.

Li Honglv (2009) provides a most comprehensive summary of Hu Shi's views on literary translation in the article titled *A Probe into Hu Shi's Views on Translation*. The article presents Hu Shi's views on literary translation as including five aspects: on the selection of famous literary works for translation, on the use of vernacular Chinese in translation, faithfulness as criterion, literal translation in method and consistent objection to using classic literary Chinese in translation. The author(s) also mentions Hu Shi's achievements in translation practice, points out the fact that Hu's views on literary translation is inseparable from his views on Chinese literature and Chinese culture at large, and from his ambition to construct a new literature and new culture for modern China, and explores, to some extent, the background under which Hu's views on literary translation were developed and formulated. Nevertheless the article commits glaring mistakes in claiming that Hu Shi advocated "literal translation" in terms of "translation method" and in treating Hu's objection to using classic literary Chinese in translation as so-called "translation criticism".

In summary, researches on Hu Shi's literary translation activities so far have failed to be inclusive enough to cover all aspects of Hu Shi's views on and practice in literary translation. The presentations are no more than a collection of some aspects of Hu Shi's translation activities without necessary critical categorization or assessment by the authors. More inclusive and inquiring investigation of Hu Shi's views on and practice in literary translation is needed.





## Chapter 3 Hu Shi's Views on Literary Translation

As one of the leaders in the epoch-making New Culture Movement, while calling for and personally practicing translation of famous foreign works, Hu Shi in his literary writings, communications with friends, public letters to magazines and other publications expressed his views and reflections on literary translation which can be summarized as follows.

### 3.1 On the Purposes of Literary Translation and Functions of Translated Literature

Like many of his contemporaries, Hu Shi is more a scholar and culture reformer than a translator. That explains why his views on literary translation are deeply rooted in his ambition and endeavors to recast a national literature and construct a new culture for modern China. As the man who launched and led successfully for the first time in history the Chinese literary revolution in 20<sup>th</sup> century, Hu Shi attached great importance to the translation and introduction of famous foreign literary works upon the belief that lessons drawn from them will do good to the construction of China's new literature. In a letter he wrote to Chen Duxiu (1879-1942)—another leader of the Chinese literary revolution and the chief editor of *New Youth*, a journal stationed in Beijing University which became very influential later in China—in 1916, Hu argued that:

Nowadays in the hope of remaking a new literature for our motherland, it is advisable to begin with introducing famous literary works from Western countries. So that people concerned at home have something to study and to learn from before any achievements can be attained in the making of a new literature. (1916/1993: 474)

Regarding how to reform traditional Chinese literature and create a new literature, Hu made strong recommendations to introduce techniques from foreign literature through the translation of famous Western literary works in one of his most influential and important essays titled *On A Constructive Revolution of Chinese Literature* published first in *New Youth* in 1918: "..., what preparation can we make to get any advanced writing techniques for use? There is only one way I can propose here upon careful thinking, that

is, take our time from now on to translate as much as possible of famous literary works from Western countries as our examples to follow and learn from". After explaining why it is necessary and pressing to learn from Western literature, he reiterated as a summary that: "if we are serious about the exploration of writing techniques, we cannot afford any delay in translating famous literary works from Western countries and taking them as our models" (1918/1993: 52-53). In a published letter to a friend, talking about the translation of Western dramas, Hu Shi stressed (1919/1993: 487) that "our purpose of translating these dramas is to import the ideologies in them... and to import 'models'".

To justify his promotion of "Baihua (vernacular Chinese) literature", Hu Shi searched and finally found resources in history and wrote the book *A History of Baihua Literature* based on his teaching notes. He included in this book the translation of Sutra as a kind of translated literature—inclusion of translated literature into the history of China's national literature for the first time. Furthermore he drew attention to the significant impacts of translated literature on the Chinese literature in the history by stating:

The impacts translated Sutra have had on the Chinese literature in history can be summarized at least in three aspects:

(1) it happened that while the Chinese literature was in a period of suffocating unnaturalness, i.e. when the Chinese creative writing fell into a stereotype of being the most flowery and affective, the translation of Sutra prospered, ... the respectable monk translators translated Sutra into plain vernacular Chinese and thus developed a new style of writing. Though this new style of writing in vernacular Chinese had rather limited impacts on the literates and monks at that time, the translation of holy Sutra after all raised the position of vernacular Chinese and bred the literature in Tang Dynasty.

(2) Buddhism literature is characterized with the wildest imaginativeness,... which is what ancient Chinese literature lacks most. It is not exaggerating to assert that the romanticism in Chinese literature feeds on the translated literature from India. This is another contribution.

(3) The translated Buddhism literature from India boasts of varied deployments and structures. ... Which the ancient Chinese literature finds little. The prosperity of Tanci(弹词), Pinghua(评话), short story and drama in later centuries has benefited directly or indirectly from the translation of Buddhism literature from India. ... This enrichment of genres to Chinese literature is a third contribution.

(1928/1999: 124)

### 3.2 On the Selection of Source Materials

Hu Shi appealed (1918/1993: 53) for strict selection of source materials saying that "translate only

literary works written by famous writers and stop translating works below the second rate" and stressed repeatedly in other places. He expressed his sorry about the scarcity of famous works in the translated literature at that time in his letter to Zeng Mengpu (1872-1935)—a former official in Qing Dynasty and productive translator of French literature:

though it has been almost sixty years since Chinese people are able to read literary works in languages of Western countries, the famous works translated into Chinese so far are less than two hundred, most of which are translated by Lin Qinnan—a man who doesn't know any foreign language—rather than those who do know and are able to read in a certain foreign language. This is really ridiculous ... and young students who have returned from abroad including me should feel ashamed about it.(1928/1993: 501).

He then called out to Zeng: "we shall try our best to translate more famous foreign works to our respective tastes and thus prepare some food for our compatriots in spiritual famine" (ibid).

### 3.3 On Generic Choices

Hu Shi called for more translations of poetry, drama and short stories, because "the latest development of literature worldwide is in terms of the size of literary works from long to short, of plots from complicated to brief ... lyrical poetry, one-act play and short story are the latest trend of literature worldwide"(1919/1999: 91).

### 3.4 On Thematic Choices

Hu Shi attached considerable importance to the didactic function of translated literature. He argued that the themes of translated literary works should respond to the needs of both the times and the Chinese people. In a letter written to Chen Duxiu, Hu criticized the translation of *An Ideal Husband*, a play written by the English writer Oscar Wilde and the translated version of which had been published in series in the journal of *Youth Magazine* (later renamed as *NewYouth*) since the winter of 1915. He presented his argumentation in the following way:

When it comes to selecting books for translation, priorities should be given to those which can appeal to our compatriots' feelings. The play *An Ideal Husband* by Oscar Wilde published in your magazine is indeed good by and of itself, but contemporary scholars of our country, I'm afraid, may not be able to appreciate it. As I see, even the translator of the play himself has not yet fully understood the moral of the play, not to say others. (1916/1993: 474)

In the preface to the Chinese translation of *The Outcasts of Poker Flat*, a short story written by American writer Francis Bret Harte, responding to Su Xuelin's letter of praise, Hu Shi pledged (1929/1999: 111) to "translate more literary works telling positive and inspiring stories".

Hu's criteria in selecting books for translation reflect the situation of both translation and literature circle in Late Qing Early Republic Period and have proven to be in time and effective. Besides, they are closely related with Hu's ideological and poetic agendas. While serving well Hu's ideological and poetic agendas, these criteria display some limitations as they emphasize the didactic function of literary works too much.

### 3.5 On the Directness of Translation: Direct or Indirect?

According to Toury's Norm theory, as one of the main sets of considerations regarding preliminary norms, directness of translation involves "the threshold of tolerance for translating from languages other than the ultimate source language" (1995/2001: 58).

Hu Shi expressed explicitly his preference of direct translation over indirect translation on different occasions. In a letter talking about issues in translation, he told Liang Shiqiu (梁实秋) that "[one] should not spare too much efforts on the work of 'indirect translation'" (1928/1993: 514).

In 1933, Hu Shi wrote in the preface to his *Collection of Translated Short Stories II* that "It has been on my mind that most translations of foreign literary works in recent years are indirect translation rather than direct translation. So I pledged myself a few years ago when I stayed in Shanghai to translate short stories directly from British and American literature" (1933/1999: 96).

Liang Shiqiu (1903-1987), a famous essayist and established translator of Shakespeare in modern China, claimed in his article *on Translation* that:

According to Hu Shi, more than half translations of French and Russian literary works [in China] are translated indirectly from English versions. The reason why people who know English undertake indirect translation of French and Russian literary works from English versions rather than direct translation of famous English literary works is, that the original English works loaded with idioms, allusions and proverbs are difficult for those of us who know only about ABC to understand while the English versions of French and Russian literary works are explicated and simplified therefore easier to understand (1928; cited in Chen Fukang 1992: 232).

With these remarks, Hu Shi seemed to imply that those who do indirect translation are taking shortcuts to make their work easier.

Lu Xun (1881-1936), a great thinker and writer who also did a lot of translations in his lifetime, insisted (Chen Fukang 1991: 302) that ideal translations are preferably done by those who have a good command of the original language directly from the original works; but in reality indirect translation is indispensable. In the essay *On Indirect Translation*, he admitted that indirect translation is easier than direct translation for reasons that some exquisite aspects of the original works which are difficult to translate have already been solved in direct translation and notes have been given in direct translation by faithful translators concerning items difficult to understand in the original works (see Chen Fukang 1992: 303). He went on to explain:

Of our Chinese people who know foreign languages, the most are English speakers and Japanese speakers count the second. If not for indirect translation, we could have had no access to other foreign literatures than British, American and Japanese. Thus great works of such writers as Henrik Ibsen and Vincent Ibanez, even the now popular fairy tales by Hans Christian Andersen and *Don Quixote* by Miguel De Cervantes could not have reached Chinese readers. (ibid)

Zhao Wenjing (2006: 269) points out that "opponents of indirect translation were mostly concerned with the translation's fidelity to the original, arguing that even if indirect translators wanted to be faithful to the original, they had no control over the previous version". She went further to argue that "historically speaking, some 'unfaithful' translations have exerted a significant impact on the literary development of the target culture, whereas 'faithful' ones have not always had the same effect". To illustrate her point, she mentioned indirect translations by Lin Shu and Ezra Pound as examples. This is a target-oriented approach in judging or even defining translation.

It is interesting to note that most works in Hu Shi's *Collection of Translated Short Stories I* are indirect translation of French and Russian literatures despite Hu's preference of direct translation and the fact that Hu was well qualified to translate from English originals since he had been living and studying in U.S.A for seven years.

### 3.6 On the Language Used in Literary Translation: Vernacular or Classic Literary Chinese

Hu Shi is neither the first one in China to advocate the use of vernacular Chinese in creative writing nor the first one to practice vernacular Chinese in translating foreign literary works, nevertheless he certainly is the most successful and influential one in both ways.

He declared (1918/1993: 54) that “the merits of the original works are certain to be discounted if translated into classic literary Chinese”. Hu Shi acknowledged (1922/1993) that “Yan Fu is the first and most accomplished Chinese translator to introduce modern thinking from Western countries to China; Lin Shu the most popular one to introduce Western literatures”(106) and particularly praised that “novels translated by Lin Shu is carried with special flavors of his own” (110). However, he argued, their translations in classic literary Chinese were doomed to be a failure. Then he offered the failure in sale of translation works by Lu Xun and Zhou Zuoren—which is also in classic literary Chinese— as further example, stating:

The brothers are indeed skilled and accomplished in classic literary Chinese writing, and both are able to read in certain foreign languages. So *Anthology of Translated Foreign Short Stories* they co-translated is far better than novels translated by Lin Shu. ... Their translations as either translation or writings can be ranked among excellent works. But only 21 copies of the book were sold during the decade despite the efforts they spent. (1922/1993: 111)

Thus Hu justified his argumentation of translating foreign literary works in vernacular Chinese instead of classic literary Chinese which is used by traditional scholars in their writings and unintelligible to ordinary people.

### 3.7 On Professionalism

Though not a professional translator, Hu Shi knew too well about the difficulty of translating and spoke repeatedly of how difficult the job is. He argued that responsible translators should pursue earnestness and exactitude in translating to represent the original idea: “good translations are not easy to achieve. ... to distort the original idea in translating is worse than translate not” (1916/1993: 474), “to translate is no easy work and we all should pursue good professionalism in translating” (1928/1993: 514).

He described his own experience of doing translation in an essay published in 1923:

I usually write 800-900 words an hour on average; but can make only 400-500 words when it comes to translating ... I am ready to consult the dictionary whenever I have the least doubt about some item(s). However, even the most comprehensive and inclusive dictionary is not helpful enough for the translation of a short story. ... the English word 'block' can be used in dozens of different ways and it is quite difficult for us to decide on what it was meant by the author three decades ago in this short story ... I consulted dozens of people who have once studied in Britain and returned ... finally I wrote to consult Mr. Chen Yuan, Professor of English literature in Beijing University. (1923/1992: 58-60)

Furthermore, Hu Shi asserted that translators should be responsible to three parties, specifically "translators should in the first place assume the responsibility for the author of the original work to be faithful, then the responsibility for the target readers to make the translation understandable and lastly the responsibility to honor themselves" (1923/1992: 60). These considerations demonstrate some scholarship.

However, Hu Shi failed to explore further about what should be done or how priority goes in the case that considerations such as "be responsible to the author of the original work" and "be responsible to target readers" are incompatible with each other, and failed to explain what is meant with "be responsible to translators themselves".

### 3.8 On Translation Strategies

Hu Shi stressed that translated works should, above all, make sense in the target culture:

... The top concern in translating foreign literature is to transform the source materials into plain and fluent target language. In fact it applies in translation of other kinds than literary translation. The difference is that literary works are intended to entertain and appeal in the first place, with the intention to instruct and inform coming in the second place, which can never be achieved or fulfilled if the translation makes no sense or appeal to the target readers. That is why translations of literary works, to a higher extent, are expected to achieve plainness and fluency. (1933/1999: 95)

On another occasion Hu went further to state that:

My only concern in translating short stories is to make sense. For this end, I practice literal as well liberal translation depending on the context. And sometimes I even leave out sentences which are not that important in the original work if to translate them is only to make the whole passage more difficult for target readers to understand. (1928/1999: 125)

At the same time Hu Shi maintained that translators should try to retain in the translation the style and



flavor of the original as much as possible; for instance, uncultivated languages should be translated into uncultivated languages in the target culture. He once praised Xu Zhimo (徐志摩)(1897-1931), a translator and one of Hu's friends, well known in 20<sup>th</sup> century for his new poems, commenting on the latter's translation of novels by Mansfield for Xu's success in retaining the flavor of the original work in many occasions by various devices despite the actual difficult of doing so (1928/1993: 514).

Hu Shi's view on translation strategies went through changes with the development of China's translated literature and national literature at large.

He claimed in his letter to Zeng Mengpu that "more or less we are influenced by the literal translation strategy, which has come into trend in recent years, and tend to give more emphasis to fidelity before we know it" (1928/1993: 502).

Hu Shi always gave top priority to the translation's accessibility to target readers, specifically Chinese readers and he insisted that foreign works be translated into plain and fluent Chinese. Sensitive to changes of the trend, Hu attempted to strike a balance between literal and liberal translation:

In translating these six short stories, owing to the influence of the growing trend, I tend to be more faithful to the original than in translating the short stories collected in *Collection of Translated Short Stories I*; occasionally I even did very literal translation. But I have no doubt about one point that though I tried hard to make faithful translation of the original stories translations in this collection can still be said to be in plain and fluent Chinese, as those appearing in the first collection are. (1933/1999: 96)

Hu Shi considered literal translation "a starting point on the way to developing a Europeanized national language" (1922/1993: 153). He explained that "drawing heavily on the Western languages for their complex structures, the Europeanized vernacular Chinese enables us to communicate complicated ideas and abstract theories"(1935/1993: 153). That in one way account for the reason why Hu Shi followed the trend to adopt a more literal translation strategy since 1920s.

### 3.9 Translation Criticism

In the preface to his translation of *The Isles of Greece* by George Gordon Byron, Hu Shi, reviewing earlier translations of the same poem, criticized Ma Junwu (1881-1940) for his "being too liberal" and Su Manshu (1884~1918 年), for "being too literal", explaining that "extreme liberalness results in unfaithfulness while extreme literalness unintelligibility. Neither way makes good translation."(1916/2003:

157)

Regarding mistakes committed in translation, Hu Shi once remarked that “carelessness and incompetence in relevant languages and literatures are two common causes. Another cause is the translator’s prejudice”(1928/1993: 514).

As a productive writer and a frequent contributor to literary magazines and journals, Hu Shi also made comments on translations by some of his contemporaries.

Referring to Lu Xun and Zhou Zuoren, Hu said:

The brothers are indeed skilled and accomplished in classic literary Chinese writing, and both are able to read in certain foreign languages. So *Anthology of Translated Foreign Short Stories* they co-translated is far better than novels translated by Lin Shu. ... Their translations as either translation or writings can be ranked among the excellent works. (1922/1993: 111).

He spoke highly of Zhou Zuoren: “in promoting the new literature from European countries ... Zhou Zuoren achieved the most. He is earnest and tries his best to retain the grammar and tone of the original works by adopting literal translation” (1922/1993: 153).

Hu Shi acknowledged that “Yan Fu is the first and most accomplished Chinese to introduce modern thinking from Western countries to China; Lin Shu the most popular one to introduce Western literatures”(1922/1993: 106). Referring to Yan Fu’s using of classic literary Chinese in translation, he made a satirical analogue: “just like officials in Qing Dynasty delivering a speech in a red-roofed hat, is a token of privilege and honor” and at the same time expressed his understanding: “it is of course inappropriate to translate in vernacular Chinese at that time; if translated into vernacular Chinese, his translation would find no readers” and appreciation: “Yan Fu is quite competent in both English and classic literary Chinese, and he is committed and serious ... his commitment to and seriousness about translating deserve our admiration and set an good example for us. ... Yan’s success in translation, to a great extent, rests on his commitment and perseverance” (1922/1993: 107).

Hu Shi, after criticizing Lin Shu for his use of classic literary Chinese in translation and distortion and deformation of the original works, wrote on:

Lin Shu’s translation of *La dame aux camélias* by Alexandre Dumas, fils into classic literary Chinese counts a rewarding attempt ... to be fair, Lin’s translation of novels usually have special flavors of his own; he demonstrated not only in-depth appreciation of the humor and wit in the original works but also his

devotion as well as creativity in retaining it. What a shame he cannot read the original works in foreign languages! But he would have acquired a better understanding of the original than many of those who are barely able to read in the original language provided that a competent assistant be available, for after all he is a man with talent in literature. (1922/1993:108-110)

Considering the fact that Lin Shu had fiercely attacked Hu's proposal to abandon classic literary Chinese and Hu Shi personally, Hu Shi is square and fair towards Lin Shi.

## Chapter 4 The Development and Impacts of Hu Shi's Views on Literary Translation

Hu Shi's views on literary translation were developed over time and influenced by various factors. Once formulated and published, Hu's views on literary translation in turn exerted enormous effects on translation activities in then China.

### 4.1 Factors Having Shaped Hu Shi's Views on Literary Translation

Toury claims that:

In its socio-cultural dimension, translation can be described as subject to constraints of several types and varying degree. These extend far beyond the source text, the systemic differences between the languages and textual traditions involved in the act, or even the possibilities and limitations of the cognitive apparatus of the translators as a necessary mediator. In fact, cognition itself is influenced, probably even modified by socio-cultural factors. (1995/2001: 54)

The same is true with people's views on translation.

Hu Shi's views on literary translation can be said to be deeply rooted in the socio-cultural context of then China, inseparable from his ideology and literary views, and subject to influences from the forerunners and contemporary translators.

#### 4.1.1 The Socio-cultural Context under Which Hu Shi's Views Were Developed

With the overthrow of the feudal regime in 1911 and the establishment of the Republic in 1912, the late Qing Dynasty Early Republic Period is known as a chaotic and transitional period in Chinese history

##### Political and social conditions

Not long after the collapse of Qing Dynasty and the establishment of the Republic, China was thrown into chaos, with regional warlords fighting to control the central government and foreign forces trying to gain a foothold by recruiting local representatives among the warlords. The central government was too

weak and busy fighting against local warlords to censor dissident voices. Seeing that feudal ideologies were no longer helpful to their administration, the newly-established government also desired a solution from abroad.

China's glorious history and highly developed literate culture created a sense of uniqueness which developed over time into a sense of arrogance and superiority in Chinese intellectuals which was still strong among traditional scholars. Repeated defeats by the Western powers eventually changed Chinese people's attitude from reluctance and passivity to enthusiasm and active engagement with Western learning. While convinced of the sophistication and superiority of Western countries in science and technology they kept some reservations about the literature of Western countries.

The royal civil service examination system was abolished in 1905. New style schools which offered students more access to Western thoughts and systems were founded in large cities. Newspapers and magazines prospered and the number of professionals such as university instructors, editors, journalists, artists, translators, etc., grew significantly (see Zhao Wenjing 2006: 89-101) ..

### **The booming of literary translation in the Late Qing Early Republic Period**

With the publication of his influential article *Preface to the Publication of Translated Political Novels* in 1898, Liang Qichao spared no efforts in promoting the translation of political novels. Since then the translation of not only political novels but also novels of other types increased significantly. In the same year, Lin Shu began to translate in collaboration with his friend Wang Shouchang *La dame aux camélias* by Alexandre Dumas, fils and became later the most productive translators in modern China with more than 170 translations of foreign literary works (it is not agreed upon regarding the quantity of Lin's translations). Besides Liang Qichao, Lin Shu and Yan Fu, among the influential translators around this period are Su Manshu (1884-1918), Ma Junwu (1881-1940) famous for their translation of foreign poems, Zhou Guisheng (1873-1936) the most acclaimed translator of detective novels, Wu Guangjian (1866-1943) who enjoyed the fame of 'master translator in the circle' and for whose translation Hu Shi once expressed his admiration, Zeng Mengpu, one of the major translators of French literature in modern China, Bao Tianxiao (1876-1973) and Zhou Shoujuan (1895-1968) , to name just a few.

Statistics indicates that the published translations of foreign novels during the years of 1905-1918 added up to approximately 1000 books, a greater number than translations of foreign novels ever published

before (Xie Tianzhen 2004: 33-34) .

Data from *the Section of Operas and Novels in Late Qing Dynasty* by Aying provided a similar view of the situation: in the span of 1875-1911, translations of novels amounted to over 600, weighing two thirds of all novels published during that period (cited in Chen Yugang 1989: 7).

#### **Characteristics of translations in this period**

Novels of almost all types had been translated into Chinese by the year 1906 (Guo Yanli 1997: 31). Political novels, detective novels and science fictions counted the most. For instance, almost all the works by Jules Verne (1828-1905) were translated into Chinese by 1920s. Translations of short stories were on the rise and translations of foreign poems and dramas began to appear.

Famous literary works could be seen among the translations by established translators such as Zeng Mengpu, Wu Guangjian and Zhou Shoujuan.

Some translators like Zhou Guisheng, Zhou Shoujuan, Wu Guangjian and Zeng Mengpu tried vernacular Chinese in translating though most translation works in the period were in classic literary Chinese.

#### **Limitations displayed in terms of selection of source materials and translation strategies dominant**

Too many translations are that of foreign works of secondary quality or even below. Take Lin Shu's translations for instance, among the works from British literature, half of Lin's total translations of around 180 books, quite many were romances and adventure stories written by Henry Rider Haggard (1856-1925) (Wang Jiankai 2003: 29). According to Guo Yanli (1997: 31-33), translations of famous works amounted to less than 10% of the total with the rest being of works by less worthy writers.

Talking about the general situation of literary translation in China, Liang Qichao admitted that almost all translation at that time was conducted in the so-called 'Liang Qichao style' without global planning or selection of source materials, i.e. without distinguishing between various schools or between major and minor works (cited in Chen Fukang 1992: 202-203).

Zeng Mengpu wrote in the letter to Hu Shi that "thanks to Mr. Liang's endeavors, ... people's contempt for short stories at that time was reduced; but the whole picture of foreign literatures is still unavailable" and he specifically criticized Lin Shu for his disregard to the selection of source materials and translating too many of novels by Haggard (1928/1993: 507).

Lu Xun remarked that:

in *Newspaper on Current Issues* (《时务报》) edited by Liang Qichao, we read stories of Sherlock Holmes, to be followed by stories of ladies in London and primitives in Africa since Lin Qinnan translated a great many of novels by Haggard. All these can only serve as entertainment after meals for those well-off'. (Lu Xun 1981: 461)

Luo Jialun wrote in his *Fictions in Today's China*, quoting from 《远东思想政治潮流》 ([back translation]: *Ideologies and Politics in Far East*) written by P. S. Reinsch, an American scholar:

Lin Qinnan, Yan Fu's town fellow, translated many Western novels ... *though Western literature is popular now in China, the Chinese have not yet seen the real value of Western literature.* The most frequently translated works in China are novels by such writers as Harriet Beecher, Rider Haggard, Dumas, Hugo, Scott, Bulwer Lytton, Cannan [Conan] Doyle, Julds [Jules] Verne and Gaboriau, mostly adventure stories or affective ridicularistic works. *Obviously there is a long way to go before the Chinese readers are able to appreciate Thakeray [Thackeray] and Anatole France.* (cited in Wang Jiankai 2003: 29-30, italics in original)

Addition to and deletion of the original works were everywhere in translations. To make it worse, mistranslations adaptations were seen frequently. Liberal translation was dominant during the period.

Hu Shi recorded in his *A Self-account at Forty* that "perhaps translators in general tend to practice liberal translation at that time, which takes 'classic and cultivated' (of the language) imperative, and to achieve this 'classic and cultivated' translators may well change the original sentences or even meanings" (Hu Shi 1933/1989: 109).

#### 4.1.2 Hu's Ambition to Reform the Chinese Society and Literature

China had been in a national crisis since her door was thrust open by foreign powers in 1840 and from then on the elite Chinese had never stopped their exploration on the way to survive the nation and preserve the Chinese civilization. To survive the nation and enlighten the Chinese people were established as two major themes of modern China. Avant-garde thinkers and scholars had close examination of the Chinese national characters while learning about the world outside China. Some committed themselves to improving the Chinese national character upon thorough reflections. Hu Shi was one of them.

His literary views and views on literary translation were constrained by this commitment. Hu once

expressed his criticism of some mean aspects of Chinese national character and ambition to improve it through translating foreign literature at an early age when he was still a student in Shanghai: "A major fault found in our Chinese people is selfishness...later I read a story in certain foreign language which could be taken as a good example for us Chinese people. For this purpose, I translated the story into vernacular Chinese" (Hu Shi 1906/2003: 449).

On another occasion he noted that: "We Chinese people tend to take friendship lightly ... I translated it into vernacular Chinese and had it published in *the struggle* so to set an example for us Chinese people" (1906/2003: 451) .

Hu Shi summarized his ambition in constructing a new literature for China as "to create a literature in Chinese national language and to develop a literary national language" (1918/1993: 41). He argued that the cause could be approached in three steps: (1) preparing tools; (2) innovating methods and techniques; (3) trying creative writing. The indispensable tool, he asserted, is vernacular Chinese (1918/1993: 47). As to innovating the methods and techniques, he wrote on:

..., what preparation can we make to get any advanced writing techniques for use? There is only one way I can propose here upon careful thinking, that is, take our time from now on to translate as much as possible of famous literary works from Western countries as our examples to follow and learn from".(1918/1993: 52)

Then he offered two reasons as explanation: In the first place, the *repertoire* of Chinese literature is incomplete therefore could not satisfy our need; secondly, literatures in Western countries boast of rich advanced techniques and devices which indeed can serve a source for us to learn from.

Given the factors mentioned above, it is easy for us to understand how the climate in translation circle and in then China at large had combined with Hu's subjectivities as a translator contributed to shaping his views on literary translation.

### 4.1.3 Influences from Forerunners Such As Liang Qichao and Yan Fu

As the most influential thinker and reformer in modern China and Hu Shi's superior, Liang Qichao is certain to exert his influence on Hu Shi. Hu Shi once remembered in his *A Self-account at Forty*:

Mr. Yan wrote in too classic and cultivated language. That's why Liang Qichao has greater influence on young people. Mr. Liang on the contrary wrote in plain and fluent language, charged with passion and



enthusiasm. Consequently his readers could not refuse but to follow his way of thinking. Pitifully he sometimes stopped or turned in a different direction at some point when we young people intended to adventure further. (Hu Shi 1933/1989: 90)

Following this line, I believe that a brief introduction to translation theories of both Liang Qichao and Yan Fu would help to explain how Hu Shi's views on literary translation were developed.

In 1897, Liang Qichao published in *Newspaper on Current Issues* his sensational work *General Proposals for China's Political Reform*, the seventh chapter of which was entitled *On Translating Foreign Books*. He made a detailed presentation of his views on translation which touched upon such issues as follow.

The purpose of doing translation, according to Liang, is ultimately to survive the nation through the national crisis and build China into a powerful nation. On the selection of books to be translated, he recommended that books on the political and legal systems in Western countries be given top priority and that the best and latest publications of certain types be translated first. He argued that to translate is to communicate; additions, deletions and shifts of word orders can be made in translation on the condition that the original idea is successfully conveyed. He also suggested learning from sutras translation of ancient times. He advocated indirect translation from Japanese versions because the effort got a double rewarding. After he fled to Japan in 1898 following the failure of the Hundred-Day Reform, Liang turned to emphasize the importance of translating foreign literary works, particularly political novels (see Chen Fukang 1992: 110-114).

Zhao Wenjing points to the possible influence of Liang Qichao on Hu Shi in making generic choices by stating "Hu might have drawn lessons from Liang Qichao"(Zhao 2006: 285).

Yan Fu became famous all over China for his translation of *Evolution and Ethics* by Thomas Henry Huxley (1825—1895) in 1897 but owed his fame in China's translation history mainly to the famous "triad": faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance which have long served as golden rules for translators in China ever since. Scholars and researchers have different interpretations of the triad. Though Yan was criticized for his pursuing 'elegance' at the expense of 'expressiveness' in actual translation activities, in fact Yan, as I see, attached great importance to 'expressiveness' by saying that "translation which is not expressive is no translation at all". Explaining the relationship between 'faithfulness', 'expressiveness' and 'elegance', he said that pursuit of 'elegance' by translating in pre-Han Chinese helps to achieve

'faithfulness' and 'expressiveness' (Yan Fu 1898, cited in Chen Fukang 1992: 119-120).

It can be concluded that Hu Shi had drawn lessons from his forerunners particularly Liang Qichao and Yan Fu but explored further in formulating his views on literary translation.

#### 4.1.4 Influence by Hu's Contemporaries

Lu Xun is not only a great thinker and writer but also a master translator in modern China. Along with his volumes of translation works he published at the same time many separate articles or prefaces discussing issues in translation. In the preface to *Anthology of Translated Foreign Short Stories*, he revealed similar attitude towards literature and translation as Hu Shi: they are helpful to shift the temperance of the Chinese people and reform the society with literary works and through translating foreign literature. Lu Xun was earnest and serious in selecting source materials as well as in the translating process.

Lu Xun was most famous for his pioneering role in advocating literal translation and his debates with Liang Shiqiu about translation strategies in late 1920s. With well-educated people as target reader, Lu Xun called for literal translation which is unseen in translations during the Late Qing Early Republic Period. Lu Xun explained the reasons why literal translation should be adopted as: first, to be faithful to the original work, to retain the original style and flavor requires literal translation; secondly grammars and syntaxes could be borrowed from the original works to enrich the Chinese language and literature through literal translation (see Chen Yugang 1989: 171-174). It must be noted that Lu Xun preferred literal translation under such a context when random additions, deletions, mistranslations and other improper practices were rampant in China. To be fair, Lu Xun was not absolute or extreme about "literal translation" by speaking of "fluency" (顺) being of secondary importance for he had good understanding of the paradox of translation.

It is revealed by Lu Xun's literal translation that Lu Xun gave more emphasis to the literariness instead of instructiveness of literary works than Hu Shi. Though Lu Xun's advocacy of literal translation met with much indifference and criticism (most of his critics have misinterpretations about his original idea though) later on, literal translation soon became the trend of the time with the development of new literature and Hu Shi is not immune to its influence.

Liu Bannong was among the first who responded immediately to Hu Shi's proposals about literary

translation. He expressed his views on translation in his published letter *A Reply to Wang Jingxuan*, in which he relentlessly criticized Lin Shu for his translations. He apparently agreed with Hu Shi on selecting famous works to translate and on using vernacular Chinese in literary translation. However he seemed to have much in common on translation with Lu Xun and Zhou Zuoren. In 1921, he wrote Zhou Zuoren a long letter from London presenting his reflections on translation. Here is an abstract of his argumentation on "literal translation":

The major strategy is of course literal translation. By literal translation it means efforts should also be made to retain the language style of the original work besides translating the original idea. On the other hand, literal translation, unlike transliteration, also means that the target texts should be in fluent and natural language. (Liu Bannong 1918, cited in Chen Fukang 1992: 209-213)

In the same letter, later published under the title of *Some Ideas on Poetry Translation*, Liu made distinction between practical translation and literary translation. In addition, he pointed out from a linguistic perspective that it was impossible to achieve absolute equivalence in both meaning and form in translation.

Fu Sinian was one of Hu Shi's students in Beijing University and lifelong friends. Shen Weiwei (1988) wisely pointed out the other side of their relationship which is scarcely noted, i.e. Hu Shi was politically and academically influenced by Fu Sinian in some way. Arguably the interaction also took place in terms of their views on translation.

Fu's article titled *Reflections on Translating Books*, published in the third issue of *The Renaissance* on March 1<sup>st</sup> 1919, could be counted as the first separate article dealing with translation matters (Chen Fukang 1992: 217). Commenting on previous translations at home, he noted that the best in quality were those translated literally. He spoke poorly of the state of the art in translation and criticized that there had been no value judgment in doing translation. Thereof he proposed his principles in doing translation: "(1) the translator should be responsible to the author; (2) the translator should be responsible to the readers" (cited in Chen Fukang 1992: 217). Hu Shi later developed on Fu's "principles" and argued that translators should be responsible to three parties including the translator him/herself (see Chen Fukang 1992: 217-217).

## 4.2 Impacts of Hu Shi's Views on Literary Translation

Hu Shi became a celebrity among Chinese intellectuals overnight with the publication of his seminal

essay *Eight Don'ts* in *New Youth* in 1916 and soon became a central figure in the New Culture Movement and 'a spiritual leader' of the youth after he returned to China and took his post as a professor in Beijing University in 1917. His works enjoyed a great many readers and became 'cultural capital' in contemporary Chinese academia. In Beijing University, Hu Shi successfully established himself as "a natural leader of this small but articulate and enormously influential avant-garde. He could be sure that whatever he said would receive an attentive and [...] a respectful hearing" (Grieder 1970: 78; cited in Zhao Wenjing 2006: 86).

Chen Fukang is fair to remark that Hu Shi's views on literary translation published in the early stage of the New Culture Movement Period had tremendous influence.

#### 4.2.1 Influence on Liu Bannong, Fu Sinian and Luo Jialun

When Hu Shi's *On a Constructive Literary Revolution* was published in *New Youth*, Fu Sinian was still a young student in Beijing University. As an influential figure among students, he started *The Renaissance* and acted as the chief editor. He responded quickly to Hu's proposal by stating explicitly his support for Hu Shi in the essay entitled *Remarks on Translating Foreign Books*. Fu expanded Hu's view on selecting famous literary works to include the selection of other books to be translated and formulated more detailed criteria. Notably he expressed his contempt for Lin Shu's translation.

Luo Jialun put forward "four pieces of advice" for translators in his article *Fictions in Today's China* published in *The Renaissance* in 1918: selection of source materials is the top concern; translate in vernacular Chinese since the excellent novels published recently in Europe were all written in vernacular language; be serious and careful in translating; and be faithful to the original idea. Chen Fukang pointed out that these "four pieces of advice" is obviously a response to Hu Shi's views on literary translation published in *New Youth* (see Chen Fukang 1992: 215-216).

#### 4.2.2 Influence on the Direction of Translation Activities Afterwards

With the progress of New Literature Movement in modern China, literary societies and organizations were set up one after another, and alongside different literary schools came into being. Among major literary societies at that time are New Youth Society, The Renaissance Society, Literature Research Society

and Creation Society.

Many members of these literary societies practice translation at the same time and published their views on translation. Members of the same society or school tend to hold similar views on translation as well as on literature. Since the New Literature Movement was launched in the journal *New Youth*, the New Youth Society and The Renaissance Society are among the earliest literary societies. Leaders or influential members of these two societies are major contributors of translation theories of modern China. Chen Fukang (1992: 357) points out articles on translation written by such influential figures as Hu Shi, Lu Xun, Zhou Zuoren, Liu Bannong and Fu Sinian indeed set the trend of translation theory in modern China. As the leader of the group, Hu Shi's role cannot be overestimated.

Furthermore at the very beginning of The New Literature Movement debates on translation issues took place between 'comrades in May Fourth' and traditional Chinese scholars. Lin Shu and even Yan Fu were criticized in the debates for their translation activities. These debates of which Hu Shi, Liu Bannong, Luo Jialun and Fu Sinian are initiators or active participants, contributed enormously to set translation activities afterwards in the right direction (Chen Fukang 1992: 358).

Wang Jiankai argues that the debates on translation issues at the early stage of May Fourth set the direction of translation activities afterwards in four ways: to translate famous works on the selection of source materials; preference of modern works over classic ones; to translate works of realism; and the systematicness of translation activities (2003: 28-50).

I would argue here that Hu Shi is responsible for the first and fourth shifts and contributed to the rest two. Much has been said about Hu Shi's view on the selection of source materials in previous chapters. Hu Shi is the first one to call out for famous works in translation and got immediate responses from both his colleagues and students in Beijing University. In the same article Hu Shi described in details his plan for literary translation:

In my opinion, domestic scholars who really know something about literatures in Western countries should be assembled for a meeting to make a list of first-class literary works to be translated. It covers, for instance, 100 novels, 500 short stories, 300 dramas and 50 essays. They are to be translated and published within five years as the first part of the project on Western literatures. Then followed by the second part. Finished translations are to be reviewed by those scholars, and prefaces and biographies of the original authors be written before they are put in print. (Hu Shi 1918/1993: 53-54)

Hu Shi's preference of Ibsen over Shakespeare in a sense reflects his preference of modern works over classic ones. Lastly, Hu's criticism of the translations both by Lin Shu and of Oscar Wilde, along with his advocacy of "inspiring stories" indicates his preference for works of realism in translation.

In conclusion, Hu Shi's views on literary translation have exerted great influences on his contemporary translators and translation activities early on in the New Literature Movement.



## Chapter 5 Hu Shi's Views on Literary Translations And His Translation Works

Though he is more a creative writer and scholar than a translator, Hu Shi undertook a great deal of translation activities during his lifetime. For example, he acted on many occasions as an interpreter for visiting scholars and foreign friends including Dr. Dewey, his supervisor at Cornell University of U. S. A. This part, of course, is not the topic of my present research. Relevant data indicates that Hu's written translations were conducted mainly during the time span 1906-1943 (see Chen Jingan 1989). As a learned scholar majoring in philosophy and an activist, Hu Shi also did some translations of philosophy and legal documents which are less known and surely not the interest of this thesis. Therefore what I mean by "translation works" here is Hu Shi's literary translation works.

### 5.1 Hu Shi's Translation of Foreign Short Stories

Hu Shi is not the first one who translated foreign novels in vernacular Chinese. Nor is Wu Guangjian (1866-1943) whose translation in vernacular Chinese of the historic novel *The Three Musketeers* (伍译《侠隐记》, 现译《三个火枪手》) by the famous French writer Alexandre Dumas, père in 1907 was well received in China and won praise and admiration from Hu Shi. As early as in 1903, Zhou Guisheng (1873-1936) translated in vernacular Chinese《毒蛇圈》(周译) by 鲍福(原名不可考), a French writer; Xu Nianci did《黑行星》(徐译) in 1905 (see Guo Yanli 1998: 397).

Nor is Hu Shi the first one to translate foreign short stories into Chinese. Hu Shi admitted (1919/1999) in 1919 that before his *Collection of Translated Short Stories I*, previously published collections of translated foreign short stories are *Anthology of Translated Foreign Short Stories* (in two volumes) published in 1909 by Lu Xun and Zhou Zuoren, Lu Xun's younger brother, and *Anthology of Translated Short Stories by Famous European and American Writers* (in three volumes) published in 1917 by Zhou Shoujuan (1895-1968).

Later research reveals that the translation of foreign short stories in modern China was started in 1902



and the first collection of translated short stories was published in 1905. Zhou Shoujuan is the most productive translators of short stories in China during the period of 1898-1919 (Li Dechao 2003: 42).

Maupassant, ranked in the first place, William Tufnell Le Queux, Alphonse Daudet, Washington Irving, Charles Garvice, Charles Dickens, Nick Carter, Victor Hugo, Tolstoi and Chekhov are among the most frequently translated writers (see Li Dechao 2003).

Since 1906 while he was studying in Shanghai, Hu Shi translated altogether 20 foreign stories during his lifetime, 17 of which were included in *Collection of Translated Short Stories I* (1919) and *Collection of Translated Short Stories II* (1933). The main sources of these two collections are Russia, France and America with works written by such famous authors as Alphonse Daudet, Rudyard Kipling, Nikola D Teleshov, Guy de Maupassant, Anton Chekhov, A. Strindberg, Maxim Gorky, O. Henry, Morrison and Harter.

What must be mentioned here is Hu Shi's translation of *The Last Class* authored by Daudet of France. Hu Shi translated the story in 1912 when he was still in America and published it first in *The Great Republic Daily* under the title of *Cession* (《割地》). Then in 1915 Hu republished it in *Chinese Students Quarterly in America* as *The Last Class* which remained as the title ever afterwards (see Zhao Wenjing 2006: Appendix 1).

Zhao Wenjing notes that "Hu's translated version of Daudet's *The Last Class* was selected for inclusion in a textbook used for a long period, and thereby became familiar to generations of Chinese students" (Zhao 2006: 276-277). Li Jieren, a translator of French literature, stated in the preface to his own translation of a French novel 《小东西》 ([back translation]: *The Little Thing*) In 1943: "The Last Class' translated by Mr. Hu Shi was known to all readers at that time. It was from reading that story that I got to know Alphonse Daudet (Li Jieren 1943; cited in Wang Jinhou 1996: 564, translated by Zhao Wenjing)". Mu Mutian, Hu's contemporary writer and translator, recalled many years later: "Now we can hardly imagine how great an influence the translation of 'The Last Class' had on Chinese students at that time" (Mu Mutian 1985; cited in Wang Jinhou 1996: 564, Zhao Wenjing's translation. See Zhao Wenjing 2006: 277).

Since the stories in the collections were translated over a period of time, some shifts could be revealed with a comparison between the two collections. Patriotism is a frequent theme in Hu Shi's translations especially translations in early time. Three stories in *Collection of Translated Short Stories I – The Last*

*Class, The Siege of Berlin* and *Two Friends* are of this type. It seemed that in *Collection of Translated Short Stories II* the focus was shifted to humanism with all the six stories exploring various aspects of human nature. In addition, three stories in the first collection were translated into classic literary Chinese whereas all the other stories were in vernacular Chinese either in the first or the second collection.

Hu Shi's translations of short stories were exceptionally popular among Chinese readers at that time. He acknowledged (1933/1999:125) in the preface to *Collection of Translated Short Stories II* that "I hadn't dreamed of that *Collection of Translated Short Stories I* could be reprinted for so many times and that the stories be republished in so many journals. Those eleven stories [in *collection I*] so far could be ranked among the most widely read stories translated in recent years". Yi Zhuxian (易竹贤) provides an explanation for the popularity of Hu Shi's collections of translated short stories, stating that Hu's translations "broke the overwhelming dominance of 'beauty-and-talent stories' by love story writers of yuanyanghudie school (鸳鸯蝴蝶派)" in terms of theme and "broke the stereotypes of traditional Chinese novels" in terms of language, thus "let in the Chinese literary circle a fresh breeze" (Yi 2005: 158).

Ouyang Zhesheng claims that Hu Shi's *Collection of Translated Short Stories I* is the first collection of translated literature in vernacular Chinese and served as an example for short story writing in the May Fourth Period (Ouyang 1999: 40).

## 5.2 Hu Shi's Poetry Translation

Hu Shi's poetry translation lasted more than thirty years from 1908 when he published his translation in classic literary Chinese of *the charge of the light brigade* by Alfred Tennyson (1809-1892), an English poet in 19<sup>th</sup> century, to 1943 when he translated *The Arrow and the Song* in vernacular Chinese and free verse. Altogether he translated 26 poems of which 25 are translations from English into Chinese (including 6 indirect translations from sources other than English literature) with one being intralingual translation of an ancient Chinese poem by Zhang Ji (张籍)(see Chen Jingan 1989). It is recorded in *Hu Shi's Diary During His Studies Abroad* that Hu translated three ancient Chinese poems into English while studying in the United States of America (see *Hu Shi's Diary During His Studies Abroad* 1986).

Hu Shi is the first one who tried translating poems into vernacular Chinese (Liao Qiyi 2006: 5). In 1918 the publication of his first translation in vernacular Chinese of English poem *Old Robert* in the journal

*New Youth* (Vol. 4 No. 4) received wide attention from Chinese readers. Subsequently published are *Over the Roofs*, *A Child Playing Music*, etc. carried in the same influential journal. In March of 1920, the *Experimental Collection* was published by Shanghai Yadong Library. Besides translations of English poems previously published in *New Youth*, the book included also such poems as *The Isles of Greece* and *Roadside Rest* Hu had translated during his studies in America. It is an immediate success. Hu Shi himself revealed in the preface to the fourth edition of *Experimental Collection* that 20,000 copies were sold out within two years of its first publication (Hu 1922; Chen Jingan 1989: 414). By 1935, 47,000 copies of *Experimental Collection* had been released (cited in Liao Qiyi 2006: 12).

Hu Shi's poetry translation went through three stages but only became known to and eventually got extremely popular with the public in the last stage upon the publication of *Old Robert*. The first stage covers chronologically from 1908 to 1910 before Hu Shi sailed for the United States of America to pursue further study. During this period of time, Hu Shi was a young student (and a teacher for a short time) in Shanghai. Viewing the sufferings of ordinary Chinese people under the social turmoil and foreign powers encroaching on China's territory, Hu Shi cried out his patriotism and heroism in poems translated from English into Chinese. Major translations in this stage are *The Charge of the Light Brigade* by Alfred Tennyson; *The Soldier's Dream* by Thomas Campbell, *The Song of the Shirt* by Thomas Hood; *Lord Ullin's Daughter* by Thomas Campbell. It is important to note that the themes of Hu Shi's translated poems in this period are mainly about patriotism and fighting against oppressions while the style adopted is the same with ancient Chinese poems.

The second stage, beginning from 1910, covers the years (1910-1917) Hu Shi studied in America. In this period, Hu Shi made valuable explorations on the styles of poetry translation. Besides the style of ancient Chinese poetry, he tried "regulated verse" (律诗) and "saoti" (骚体) style in translating poems from English into Chinese. Less known are his attempts at translating ancient Chinese poems into English. *The Isles of Greece* and *Roadside Rest* are among the most well-known poems translated at this transitional stage.

The third stage (1918-1943) is the most important one during which Hu Shi published his most influential translations. With the publication of *Old Robert* in 1918 as a turning point, Hu made significant shifts in poetry translation in terms of language, style and themes as well. Breaking away from constraints

of ancient Chinese poetry, Hu Shi translated for the first time foreign poems in free verse and in vernacular Chinese at the same time. The themes of translated poems are shifted to the expression of human feelings. What Hu Shi described as "starting a new era in my poetry writing" is indeed a translation of *Over the Roofs* in this stage. *Experimental Collection* with inclusion of many translations is acclaimed as the first collection of new poems in modern China and has influenced many writers and poets in China. Thus Hu won the title "father of new Chinese poetry" (Yi Zhuxian 1987; Song Jianhua 1996: 83).

In summary, Hu Shi's explorations in poetry translation along with his translated poems have blazed a trail in both literature history and translation history of modern China.

### 5.3 Hu Shi's Translation of Western Dramas

Ibsen is one of the most influential foreign writers in China and his drama *A Doll's House* has been one of the most popular literary works among Chinese readers for many years. In June 1918, *New Youth* published a "special issue on Ibsen". Of the works carried in that issue are Hu Shi's essay *Ibsenism*, which as Zhao Wenjing demonstrates is indeed "an effective piece of rewriting" (Zhao 2006: 224) of Ibsen, and *Nora* co-translated by Hu Shi and Luo Jialun. In the following year, Hu Shi published his one-act play *Life's Greatest Event* in *New Youth* with the English version carried in *Beijing Guidance Newspaper*. Some researchers (Yi Zhuxian 1987b: 215; Song Jianhua 1996: 83) argue that this play is an imitation of Ibsen's *A Doll's House* (cited in Zhao Wenjing 2006: 225). Zhao Wenjing, upon defining what is meant by imitation here, offers a detailed comparative analysis of the two works in question on the dimensions of both theme and narrative (see Zhao Wenjing 2006: 225-265) to further illustrate Hu's play is a kind of rewriting, i.e. translation in its wide sense. Hu's these publications concerning Ibsen combined made great contribution to "introducing new theme and new style into Chinese literary circles, and in disseminating individualistic ideology into Chinese society" (Zhao Wenjing 2006: 265).

Hu Shi once said that he is the first man to introduce Ibsen into China (cited in Xie Tianzhen 2003: 568). While stating that it is Lu Xun who first introduced Ibsen into China, Xie Tianzhen admitted that Hu Shi is the most important one in introducing Ibsen into China considering Hu's efforts and the effective influences of his work. Therefore it is no flattering for Song Jianhua to assert that Hu Shi laid the foundation for China's modern drama (Song 1996: 80-83).

To conclude this chapter, Hu Shi's translation works reflect his views on literary translation in more than one ways. Most of Hu's literary translations, for example, are famous works by well-known foreign writers, which reflects his criterion on the selection of source materials, i.e. "translate only literary works written by famous writers and stop translating works below the second rate". Most of his literary translation works were done in vernacular Chinese, as he strongly argued for. And generally speaking free translation which Hu recommended was practiced in his own translation works.

## Chapter 6 Conclusion

This thesis is a case study of Hu Shi's views on literary translation. With reference to Hu Shi's translated works, the author not only makes a detailed analysis of Hu's views on literary translation, but further explores their development and impacts. Thereby the thesis reveals 1) that Hu Shi's views on literary translation dealt with such preliminary and macro considerations in translation activities as the selection of source materials and the directness of translation; 2) that Hu was influenced by both previous and contemporary translators in formulating his views on literary translation which in turn had impacts on his contemporary translators and the translation activities afterwards; 3) that Hu Shi's literary translations, breaking away from preceding translation practices, reflect his views on literary translation in many ways.

While focusing on Hu Shi's views on literary translation, the present research provides at the same time a view of the literary translation activities before the New Culture Movement Period and the socio-cultural context at large.

However, close examination reveals that Hu Shi's views on literary translation went through subtle modifications over time which this thesis fails to cover. Perhaps the changes can be depicted and explained from the perspective of polysystem theory in future researches.



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## 附录：胡适文学翻译作品年表

## 诗歌翻译年表

- 六百男儿行：英译汉，1908年10月15日—古体诗
- 军人梦：英译汉，1908年10月25日（旧诗稿存）—古体诗
- 缝衣歌：英译汉，1908年10月25日—古体诗
- 惊涛篇：英译汉，1908年11月14日（旧诗稿存）古体诗
- 晨风篇：英译汉，1909年1月12日（旧诗稿存）古体诗
- 译诗一首：海涅作品，1911年9月7日译，1913年发表（旧诗稿存）古体诗
- 乐观主义：英译汉，1914年1月29日译—古体诗
- 哀希腊歌：英译汉，1914年2月3日译（尝试集附录去国集）古体诗
- 大梵天：英译汉，1914年8月7日译—古体诗
- 康可歌：英译汉，1914年9月7日译—古体诗
- 墓门行：英译汉，1915年4月12日译（尝试集附录去国集）古体诗
- 老洛伯：英译汉，1918年3月1日译（尝试集第一编）
- 关不住了：英译汉，1919年2月26日译（尝试集第一编）
- 希望：波斯作品，1919年2月28日译（尝试集第二编）
- 奏乐的小孩：英译汉，1919年11月1日载
- 译张籍《节妇吟》：1920年8月30日译（尝试后集）
- 译亨利米超（Michau）诗：法国作品，1924年10月30日译（尝试后集）
- 译诗一篇/别离：英译汉，19241112译
- 米桑：法国作品，19241231载
- 清晨的分别：英译汉，192503译（尝试后集）
- 你总有爱我的一天：英译汉，1925年5月译（尝试后集）

译薛莱的小诗：英译汉，1925年7月11日译（尝试后集）

月光里：英译汉，1925年7月23日译（尝试后集）

译歌德的《竖琴手》：1925年8月20日译（尝试后集）

译峨默诗两首：1928年8月21日译（尝试后集）

一枝箭，一只曲子：1943年6月14日译

#### 短篇小说翻译年表

短篇小说一集：

最后一课 1915(初译“割地”发表于1912年)

柏林之围（文言）1914.8

百愁门（文言）1915

决斗 1916

梅吕哀（文言）1917

二渔夫 1917

杀父母的儿子 1919

一件美术品 1919

爱情与面包 1919

一封未寄的信 1919

她的情人 1919

短篇小说二集：

米格儿 1928.12

扑克坦赶出的人 1929

戒酒 1928.8

洛斯奇尔的提琴 1923.8

苦恼 1924.12

楼梯上 1923.3

戏剧翻译作品：

1918

《娜拉》（与罗家伦合译，胡适译第三幕），刊《新青年》第四卷第6期

1919

《终身大事》（仿作），英文稿刊《北京导报》，中译稿刊《新青年》第六卷第3期，收入《胡适文存》第一集卷四

改写作品：

1916

《八不》（“文学改良刍议”的简称，见姜义华 1993：19）

1918

易卜生主义，5月16日，刊《新青年》第四卷第6期，收入《胡适文存》第一集卷四



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