

**Translation and Modernization in East Asia in the
19th and Early 20th Century Conference**
十九至二十世紀初翻譯與東亞現代化國際研討會

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香港中文大學 • 中國文化研究所 • 翻譯研究中心
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WAKABAYASHI, Judy	The Meiji Government's Strategic Deployment of Non-fiction Translation as a Vehicle of Modernization
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Conference abstracts of keynote speakers 主講嘉賓論文摘要

Translated Modernity and Gender Politics in Colonial Korea

Hyaeweol CHOI

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Translation was at the heart of the modern transformations in turn-of-the-twentieth-century Korea. Literature in translation was a crucial vehicle for gaining new and presumably advanced knowledge from Europe and the US; however, the ideas contained in these translations were also the source of deep anxiety because they potentially threatened long-held values and existing belief systems. Nothing captures the tensions that translation caused better than the vision for new gender relations in society and the family. To illustrate the gender politics that were embedded in translated modernity in colonial Korea, my presentation focuses on the creative process that took place in the translation, adaptation and appropriation of Henrik Ibsen's *A Doll's House*. The play was the subject of a lot of debate in Korea, as it was around the world, and Nora, the play's protagonist, became an icon for the "New Woman" (*sin yŏsŏng* in Korean), an emblematic figure representing the pursuit of selfhood. Historicizing the figure of Nora within the context of Korean gender politics in the 1920s and 1930s, I demonstrate how the play served not only as a vehicle for experiencing the modern self, but as a proxy for critiquing the notion of Western modernity that had yet to be localized.

The Meiji Government's Strategic Deployment of Non-fiction Translation as a Vehicle of Modernization

Judy WAKABAYASHI

Modern and Classical Language Studies

Kent State University

Building on Edo-period initiatives, the Meiji state used non-fiction translations to help create a modern nation. One key move was the 1868 establishment of the Kaisei Gakkō, and the instructors at this institution for teaching Western Learning and at its subsequent reincarnations produced influential translations for the government and translated foreign school textbooks. In 1869, when there were still few private publishers, a translation bureau was established within the Daigaku Nankō (the institution's new name) to translate useful Western books and foreign newspaper excerpts to assist the state and promote enlightenment. The regulations of this bureau, which also trained translators, represent an early codification of translation norms. The Council of State had its own translation bureau, as did various ministries (focusing here on the finance and education ministries). Within the government there were at least seven different ranks of translators and instances of teamwork and outsourcing, illustrating the growing professionalization and institutionalization of translation.

Although less influential than their better-known literary counterparts in terms of shaping subsequent translation norms, some government-sponsored translations were of vital social importance, along with more quotidian but nevertheless essential 'hackwork' translations. The nexus between the state and translation in early to mid-Meiji Japan—including the government's seemingly contradictory stance evident in its control and censorship of certain fiction and non-fiction translations while also protecting and supporting translators through legal measures—merits greater attention than in the past.

張元濟與《韋氏大字典》的編譯與出版

鄒振環 Zhenhuan ZOU

復旦大學歷史系

張元濟不是英漢辭書的編纂家，但他是中國近代最早提出編纂西文字典構想的出版家。本文通過張元濟早期在商務印書館幫助傳播《華英音韻字典集成》，利用《韋氏國際詞典》策劃出版《英華大辭典》和《英華新字典》等，特別是1923年在商務推出以《韋氏國際詞典》為藍本的《（英漢雙解）韋氏大學字典》。該書的廣泛影響引來了美國原書發行人米林公司(G. & C. Merriam)的一場訴訟。面對西方文化的強勢，張元濟主張以我為主合理維權，成功地擊敗了原告。在商務印書館他堅持編刊英漢辭書的文化建設，通過編刊英漢辭書努力尋找中西文化的融通點，為近代中西文化的交流作出了卓越的貢獻。

關鍵詞：張元濟 商務印書館 英漢辭書 《韋氏大字典》 《（英漢雙解）韋氏大學字典》

Panel abstracts 小組論文摘要

Historical, Linguistic and Sociological Perspectives on Literary Assimilation Between Translation and Parody

Panel abstract: The direct transfer from an (original) source language to another is just one special and for that rare case in a much broader range of possible modes of literary assimilation. While the first step may be based on an intermediary language, a parody has to rely on the pre-existing knowledge of a work—the distribution of language skills as well as literary education is at play. The range of modes is by no means limited to transfers in space, but also in time which is a typical trait of modernity: either the language is not accessible any longer, as early *baiyi* 白譯 ‘translations into vernacular’ testify, or the meaning of a work risks to dissolve and have to be ‘transposed to the present’ *jinyi* 今譯.—This panel intends to discuss examples covering a range as broad as possible where the etymologically parent ‘parody’ and ‘translation’ (‘to carry over’) converge, including the comprehensively figurative meaning in recent cultural studies.

Chairperson: Raoul David FINDEISEN

Panel members and paper titles:

1. Raoul David FINDEISEN: “Modulations of Literary Canons in Chinese Translation History: A Diachronic View on Intermediary Languages”
2. Amira KATZ-GOEHR: “Rewriting, Transposition, Translation? Shen Congwen’s ‘Kan Honglu’ and Pu Songling’s ‘Fengxian’”
3. Hans KÜ EHNER: “New and translated concepts of time and history in late Qing discourse”

Late Qing Discourses of Translation and the Remolding of Knowledge and Affect

Panel abstract: The years following the end of the first Sino-Japanese war in 1894-95 were marked by a new willingness to accept and even emulate Western ideas on the part of the Chinese intellectual elite. Needless to say translation from Western languages into Chinese was a key mediator in this course of development. The three papers that comprise this panel will each explore different facets of this process:

Chu-ching Tsai's "文學觀念的現代化進程：以近代英華/華英辭典編纂文學相關詞條為中心" will explore the development of the modern concept of "文學" (literature) in China via an examination of the process by which the term "literature" and its various component genres were translated into Chinese from Western languages.

Shaw-yu Pan's "翻譯言情 小說的情感重構與東亞現代化：以《野の花》和《空谷蘭》為例" will examine how translations of Charlotte Brontë's sentimental novel *A Woman's Error* circulated in Japan and China, in each case being adapted to suit the specific demands of modernization in each location.

Theodore Hutters' "Revolution in the Realm of Translation: On the Transformation of Late Qing Translation Practice" will look at post-Yan Fu Chinese translation to examine the theories and practice of how translation became more literal in the final years of the Qing.

Chairperson: Theodore HUTTERS 胡志德

Panel members and paper titles:

1. Theodore HUTTERS 胡志德: "Revolution in the Realm of Translation: On the Transformation of Late Qing Translation Practice"
2. Shaw-Yu PAN 潘少瑜: 〈翻譯言情 小說的情感重構與東亞現代化：以《野の花》和《空谷蘭》為例〉
3. Chu-ching TSAI 蔡祝青: 〈文學觀念的現代化進程：以近代英華／華英辭典編纂文學相關詞條為中心〉

魯迅與瞿秋白的翻譯文學與現代性

小組摘要：魯迅很早就開始翻譯域外小說，從他翻譯外國文學的軌跡，也可以看到他將域外文學視為改革中國社會的藥方，不斷地透過翻譯域外文學來想像中國社會亟需別求新聲/新生的方向。而魯迅與瞿秋白兩人創作晚期的知遇，對彼此的文學思想也產生了影響。兩人以中國左翼作家聯盟為合作平台，為中國 1930 年代的左翼文學增添了豐富性。本組分別從魯迅「童話」翻譯、魯迅與瞿秋白的俄國文學翻譯，以及瞿秋白〈多餘的話〉中透顯俄蘇文學與中國近代文學的關係，共同探討魯迅與瞿秋白透過翻譯文學企圖為中國尋求甚麼樣的現代性想像？

主席：Ho Yee KWONG 鄭可怡

小組成員及論文摘要題目：

1. Sasha Hsiang-Yin CHEN 陳相因：〈中國豆腐、未完成的閱讀與翻譯：論〈多餘的話〉裡的俄蘇與中國文學作品〉
2. Hsiu Hui HSU 徐秀慧：〈從「同路人」到「革命人」：魯迅與瞿秋白的俄國文學翻譯〉
3. Ming-wei PENG 彭明偉：〈文學想像與左翼批判：魯迅的「童話」翻譯初探〉

法律世界的建構——詞語生成・概念認知・新世界秩序

小組摘要：西方法制的輸入以及法律詞語的翻譯，是近代東亞世界走向現代化的一個重要環節。本小組將會聚焦於近代法律術語和概念的翻譯以及時人對商法的認知，從不同的角度探究法律翻譯在東亞近現代化進程的多個面向：揭示近代法律詞語的生成與演化規律；檢視新法律知識、新概念的術語翻譯在建構近代國家和新世界秩序過程中所起的作用；考察法律文本與翻譯術語在東亞世界的知識環流過程及其貢獻。

主席：Hok Chung LEUNG 林學忠

小組成員及論文摘要題目：

1. Maria Adele CARRAI: “China facing the new concept of sovereign in the 19th century, and the implication for its ‘international’ order”
2. Sang Hee HAN 韓相熙: “Translating International Legal Terms in East Asia: The Case of *Territory*”
3. Hok Chung LEUNG 林學忠：〈性法・萬國公法・國際法——近代中國對國際法秩序的想像與詮釋〉
4. Wing-kin PUK 卜永堅：〈晚清商法之制定〉
5. Wensheng QU 屈文生：〈近代若干重要法律詞語的形成——以清末民初的若干法律辭書為考察視角〉

中國問題與世界語境：

「翻譯」中的日本、美國、德國經驗與中國現代性

小組摘要：本小組的三篇論文，從不同角度切入「翻譯」與中國及東亞現代性問題。羅崗的論文借助重審溝口雄三「辛亥革命新論」，討論中國問題如何被「翻譯」到日本語境，中國學者又如何將日本語境中的中國問題「翻譯」回來。孫宏

云的論文比較分析威爾遜 *The State* 一書的不同中日譯本，並考察西方政治學之傳播與近代東亞國制形塑之間的關係。陳丹丹的論文提出張君勱研究中的新發現，即張君勱的一篇文章，乃是對卡爾·施密特文章的翻譯。通過對張之“翻譯”的細讀，陳文力圖鉤沉出張君勱思想中隱匿的「施密特」，並切入中國與德國對全球性憲政危機的兩種回應。

主席：Gang LUO 羅崗

小組成員及論文摘要題目：

1. Dandan CHEN 陳丹丹：〈憲政危機與譯介的魏瑪經驗——張君勱思想中的卡爾·施密特〉
2. Hongyun SUN 孫宏云：〈美國政治學在近代東亞的傳播：文本與途徑——以 W. Wilson 的 *The State* 為例〉
3. Gang LUO 羅崗：〈「鄉裡空間」的崩潰與「士紳共和國」的失敗——重讀溝口雄三的「辛亥革命新論」〉

Translations and “Alternative” Chinese Modernity in Journals and Magazines in Republican China

Panel abstract: The three papers of this panel mainly study the translations in several journals and magazines in Republican China to observe the specific roles these translations play to modernize Chinese society and culture. Several modernization issues are included: “modern” and “modernism” in Chinese literature, scientific modernization, and modernization of Chinese women. All the three papers focus on journals and magazines that are largely neglected in previous scholarships. These journals and magazines include *Xiandai Zazhi* (*Les Contemporains*, 1932-1935) edited by Shi Zhecun, *Xifeng* (*West Wind*) edited by Lin Yutang, and various women journals such as *Funü Shibao* (*Women's Times*, 1911-1917), *Nüzi Shijie* (*Women's World*, 1914-1915), *Xiangyan Zazhi* (1914-1915) and *Funü Zazhi* (*The Ladies' Journal*, 1915-1920) edited by Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies writers. Through the translation volumes in these less noticed journals and magazines, the three papers aim to rediscover “alternative” voices on the modernization project of China and present multiple faces of Chinese modernity. Such alternative voices also serve as critical reflections on the May Fourth paradigm from different perspectives.

Chairperson: Suoqiao QIAN 錢鎖橋

Panel members and paper titles:

1. Jie SHI 石潔：〈翻譯「現代」與反思「傳統」——論《現代》雜誌在 20 世紀 30 年代對中國現代性的建構〉
2. Lu WANG: “Chinese Modernization in the War – Scientific Translation in *Xifeng Magazine* (1936-1949)”
3. Yanlian XU: “Modernizing Chinese Women: Translations of Biographies on Western Women in the Women Journals Edited by Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies Writers in Early Republican China”

近代翻譯實踐觸發的新詞語與新文體：從馬禮遜到胡適

主席：Guowei SHEN 沈國威

小組成員及論文摘要題目：

1. Jinyu LIU 劉瑾玉：〈「富」：一個關鍵詞在近代中國的翻譯與演變〉
2. Guowei SHEN 沈國威：〈從《天演論》到《原富》：以嚴復吳汝綸的書割為素材的考察〉
3. Masazumi SHIOYAMA 塩山正純：〈漢譯聖經的文體及其影響〉
4. Keiichi UCHIDA 內田慶市：〈新教傳教士的翻譯活動對漢語新文體的影響〉
5. Feng ZHU 朱鳳：〈新教傳教士的譯詞和漢語觀：以馬禮遜為中心〉

Translation as a Pervasive Factor in Japan’s Modernization: Government Initiatives, the Literary Discourse and the Ainu Minority

Panel abstract: After Japan ended its national seclusion in the mid-nineteenth century, there was a keen awareness of the need to modernize so as to protect the nation from potential external threats and to ‘catch up’ with Western powers, and translations played a vital role in modernizing various sectors of Japanese society. The government itself was an early and important player in initiating translations of key non-fiction works aimed at introducing the needed knowledge and Western thinking, and it was also instrumental in training translators. This nexus between translation and national affairs was also apparent in how the discourse on translations of Western literature was shaped by diplomatic events as Japan took its place on the international stage. Domestically, Japan’s colonization of the Ainu minority in Hokkaido was also underpinned by modernization policies, and the Japanese translations of Ainu myths by a young Ainu woman can be interpreted as an attempt

to find a place for this indigenous culture in modern Japan. The three papers in this panel explore these different facets of how translations shaped and were shaped by the nation's modernization efforts.

Chairperson: Judy Wakabayashi

Panel members and paper titles:

1. Miki SATO: "Pursuing Westernization through English Literature in Late-Meiji Japan"
2. Nana SATO-ROSSBERG: "Modernization, Translation, and Japan from a Minority Perspective"
3. Akiko UCHIYAMA: "Modernization through Translation: Fukuzawa Yukichi's Translation of Western Ideas"

**Translation as an Allegory of Chinese Modernity:
Liang Qichao, Lu Xun, and Guo Moruo**

Panel abstract: Since the 1990s, translation studies have attached more and more critical importance to the cultural dimension of translation and the "politics of translation" (Gayatri Spivak). This paradigmatic shift has profound relevance to our reexamination of Chinese modernity. Chinese translators in the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century were not only language transformers and cultural negotiators, but also politically engaging builders of modernity. Translation provided a domain for them to imagine, design and implement their versions of Chinese modernity.

Here, we present three case studies respectively on Liang Qichao, Lu Xun and Guo Moruo. Situating their work of translation at the intersections of history, politics and cultural practice, our studies of these three towering cultural figures contend that translation forms a central allegory for China's project of modernity.

Focusing on Liang Qichao's unique configuration of Chinese cultural identity through translation, Satoru Hashimoto finds that for the late Liang Qichao, translation functions as a crucial concept for historicizing and transforming Chinese cultural tradition. Li Chun tries to categorize different types of Lu Xun's translations, relating them to Lu Xun's radical reflections on the world-historic crisis and the possibility of redemption. Pu Wang argues that Guo Moruo's translation of Goethe's *Faust*, three decades in making, "allegorizes" the condensed historical experiences of a long revolution.

Chairperson: Pu WANG 王璞

Panel members and paper titles:

1. Satoru HASHIMOTO 橋本悟: “Culture in Transformation: Translation and Cultural Subjectivity in the Late Liang Qichao”
2. Chun LI 李春: “Historic Crisis and Its Aesthetic Redemption in Cross-cultural Perspective: Early Lu Xun as a translator”
3. Pu WANG 王璞: “Rendering the ‘Zeitgeist:’ Poetics and Political Thematic in Guo Moruo's Translation of Goethe's *Faust*”

晚清翻譯研究新方向：情感、物品和圖像的流動演變

小組摘要：三篇論文分別討論情感、鴉片和小說插圖之翻譯。金雯圍繞《苦社會》、《黑奴籲天錄》等作品討論「感傷主義」的自西徂東，既與美國十九世紀和現代主義感傷小說絲藕相連，也影響了晚清的「情迷家國」書寫。王雨重訪 1904 年的世博會，發現鴉片竟被當作清國的代言人出現在世界展臺上。「鴉片」如何從「毒」轉譯成「藥」，又從「藥」再譯成「毒」，此種翻譯實踐折射出語言霸權和現代化困境之關係。姚達兌聚焦於基督教如何被譯，討論《天路歷程》、《人靈戰紀》等漢譯基督教小說中被譯的插圖，如何借助本土諸宗教的符碼元素，一步步地實現本色化／翻譯基督教。

主席：Longxi ZHANG 張隆溪

小組成員及論文摘要題目：

1. Wen JIN 金雯:〈感傷主義的跨國之旅：晚清小說寫作和翻譯中的情感政治〉
2. Yu WANG 王雨:〈鴉片作為翻譯對象：1904 年聖路易斯博覽會上的煙槍與煙燈〉
3. Dadui YAO 姚達兌:〈插圖的翻譯和基督教的本色化：晚清漢語基督教翻譯小說中的插圖之研究〉

清末民初教科書的編譯與出版

主席：Zhenhuan ZOU 鄒振環

小組成員及論文摘要題目：

1. Chi Kin AU 區志堅：〈自西入東：「中古」(Medieval) 歷史分期觀念在中國歷史教科書的回響〉
2. Ju SONG 宋桔：〈19–20 世紀《納氏文法》的編譯與民初的英文語法書〉
3. Jun YE 葉隲：〈清民之際知識精英的教育理想及其東方現代性訴求——以留德時代蔡元培的《中學修身教科書》及其與張元濟等出版人的互動為中心〉

Conference abstracts 論文摘要

Science in translation after the Meiji restoration in 19th century Japan

Isamu AMIR

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This presentation discusses science in translation from English into Japanese in 19th century Japan; as the beginning of Meiji period begun in 1868. The primary purpose of the new Japanese government was to modernize the country in Asia Pacific region as soon as possible, to follow suit the Western countries such as Britain and France. Science in translation could be seen as one of the first steps to foster Meiji-Japan to be a modernized country.

We have mainly focused on one of the first popularized Japanese science books for children titled “Kinmo Kyuri Zukai” (The illustration of natural philosophy for children) translated by Fukuzawa Yukichi, who was a leading translator and educator in that period. His fundamental aim for translation to publish it was to give children the basic scientific knowledge, with daily examples Fukuzawa added.

Comparative translation analysis between original texts written in English and the Fukuzawa’s translated text in Japanese have been carried out and some of the important factors have been observed.

First, Fukuzawa alternated stuffs in the Western culture, which were unfamiliar with Japanese people then, into those that were understandable for them in the Japanese culture. Second, he added metaphors, which were not written in the original text, into the translated one. Third, he used Chinese-like writing techniques that were suitable for the general public to remember the texts.

In the presentation, we are supposed to discuss his writing style with some of other translated science texts for children in the same period.

自西入東：「中古」(Medieval) 歷史分期觀念在中國歷史教科書的回響

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歷史發展有其獨特的週期性，歸納每個朝代治亂興衰的發展，掌握時代發展的趨勢，又從趨勢中得見時代傳承與創新的面貌，歷史分期就是人們從總體上認識及把握歷史發展階段的特徵，不同時代，不同國家的學者持有不同的視角，自能表述不同的歷史分期標準。今天中國各地高等院校規劃中國歷史課程，分為「上古史」、「中古史」、「近古史」（「近世史」）的三個時期講授，這種三段論的分期標準，實是上承晚清政府新學制內中外史學門的課程編排次序，及其時國人編撰的中國通史教科書；更重要的是，這三段論本源自西方，再傳往日本，再由中國留日學生或翻譯日本教科書，經日本傳往中國，而「中古」更是上承古代，下開近代的關鍵，甚值得注意。自晚清至民國，不少中小及高等院校學生也藉閱讀這些翻譯自日本及改編的歷史教科書，得以學習這種源自西方的「中古」（Medieval, Middle Ages）觀念，而教科書的編著者，也由全盤接受及運用這種沿自西方的「中古」史的分期標準，至依中國本土歷史發展情況，進行更改及調整，國人這種學習及重編的歷程，既可見西方觀念在東亞社會發展及操作的情況，也見西方「進步」史觀與東亞翻譯文化的互動關係。而本文運用晚清至民初出版的中國歷史教科書或教材，檢視「中古」觀念自歐洲，經日本，傳入中國的過程，及國人怎樣運用「中古」觀念編中國史教科書。

Translation, Modernization, and the Problem of Knowledge

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A notion that has dominated our understanding of the role of translation in modernization comes from postcolonial theories that emphasize the agency of the translational space (i.e. the third space) in the process of “importing” ideas. In this regard, I will initially argue in my paper that postcolonial contexts have relied on immediately available and advantageous colonial institutions (e.g. languages, universities) to formulate their critical stance, whereas semi-colonized contexts have not had such privileges; hence, a different idea of translation. As such, without

considering the inevitable epistemological transformations that occur in cross-cultural relations, investigating the role of translation in modernization would be incomplete without exploring the role, impact, and function of institutions that are involved, one way or another, in the production/transfer of knowledge and/or modernization.

In this regard, the context and direction of translation as well as the problem of knowledge and its legitimization are prominent issues to reckon with; after all, the challenges that the European culture posed to the rest of the world during the 19th century was the effect of a *networked notion* of knowledge that gained importance. Therefore, understanding the mechanisms of knowledge production and transference can explain under what conditions, to what extent, and how, modernization and its sustenance are actually possible through translation. Therefore, I will further argue, with reference to actor-network-theory, how without institutional support before and after the act of translation, it is unlikely to effectively and successfully implement modernizing measures in a culture.

Becoming Modern and Ren de Xiandaihua: Modernization in the Socialist Imaginary

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This paper will focus on *Ren de Xiandaihua*, the 1985 translation of Alex Inkeles's *Becoming Modern*, published as part of the hugely influential book series *Toward the Future (Zou Xiang Weilai)* (published between 1984 and 1988 by the Sichuan People's Press before being banned in 1989). Introducing the latest outside academic trends to mainland readers, *Ren de Xiandaihua* is ostensibly a translation of American sociologist Alex Inkeles' groundbreaking survey of attitudes toward modernity in six developing countries (Argentina, Chile, India, Israel, Nigeria, and Bangladesh). The book argues that being undeveloped, or "backwards," is not only an economic state measurable through the collection of statistics, but also a psychological state of being. In order to become modern, one need only to accept and adopt modern attitudes in all aspects of one's life—modernization theory as spiritual belief. The book ends with a question and answer section meant to dispel the socialist skeptic's doubt: "Is a modern person a capitalist?;" "Are modern people sick inside?" Yet this is not the book that Inkeles wrote. Indeed, Inkeles listed the 1995 Tianjin People's Publishing House translation as *Becoming Modern*'s official translation.

While investigating the gross departures from the original text into the translated, I will argue that the 1985 translation emerges from the socialist imaginary, reflecting a burgeoning intellectual trend to reject dialectical materialist explanations of development in favor of cultural essentialism. By tracing China's lack of modernity to its *jingshen*, *Ren de Xiandaihua* is not only a study in flaws and influence of translation practices, but also a barometer of the changing post-Socialist attitudes toward political economy and historical transition.

The first translations of Italian literary avant-garde on Chinese press at the beginning of 20th Century

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The role played by Italian literature in the renewal of the Chinese literary canon was certainly limited, compared to other western literatures. However Italian authors and their works were not completely absent in the cultural Chinese arena at the beginning of the 20th century. Some important magazines of that period (*Xiaoshuo yuebao*, *Dongfang zazhi*, *Xin qingnian*) offered to Chinese readers a taste of Italian fiction, poetry and drama. This paper will be focused on some of the first Chinese translations of Italian literary works published in the Twenties; these are theatrical pieces of Futurism Avant-garde, the unique literary contribution that Italy was able to offer to world literature at the beginning of the 20th century. The paper will also analyse two short novels written by the author who Chinese intellectuals, in that period, defined as “the first giant of Italian contemporary literature”: Gabriele D’Annunzio.

Through the analysis of translations and writings on the western drama by Song Chunfang, we will try to interpret what was the Chinese reception, or mis-reception, of these works, and what was the aim, and perhaps, the contribution of these translations in the process of definition of Chinese spoken drama. We will also try to determine whether these works were only translated for the pleasure of the reading or also played on stage in that period. And what was, if any, their contribution to the creation of the new modern Chinese drama and to the cultural and literary Chinese debate at the beginning of 20th century.

The Post-Kantian “Subject” in Meiji Japan: Notes on the East Asian Translation of a Keyword of Modern Philosophical and Political Thought

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Much has been made of the fact that the “Western” term ‘subject’ is translated “differently” into East Asian languages, both in the sense that there are plural translations for the “same” English term, and in the sense that none of these translations reflects the literal sense of ‘subject’ as etymologically derived from Latin. These theoretical meditations, however, are being offered without consideration of how these translations were historically conceived.

This presentation will focus on the conception of the term *shutai* 主體・主體 in Meiji Japan, only to argue that the selection of this character compound as a conceptual equivalent for the post-Kantian “subject” was anything but “arbitrary”. A closer look reveals that this translation was arrived at by three different writers in three different contexts based on three different considerations at roughly the same time.

The reason why the term *shutai* 主體 subsequently became firmly established as a translation of ‘subject’ in the twentieth century was that it could accommodate three different readings at the same time, suggesting a “substantial” link between “subject” qua *shukan* 主觀 on the one hand, and “sovereignty” qua *shuken* 主權 on the other – the very link that has informed understandings of “modernity” since Hegel. This raises the question why the term “subject” as in “subjective” was being translated as *shukan* 主觀 already. The answer to this question is found in prior Confucian uses of the characters 主 and 觀 rather than the Foucauldian notion of a “sovereign gaze”.

Translating authority: China facing the new concept of sovereign in the 19th century, and the implication for its ‘international’ order

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When dealing with ‘international affairs and law’, the traditional Chinese notion of authority, granted by the *Tianxia* system, was deeply challenged by the introduction of Western International Law and of totally alien concepts such as states’ rights and sovereignty. These terms represent a paradigmatic shift that occurred in the West with the acceptance of the Hobbesian system of authority, in which authority comes to correspond to power. This understanding of authority differs radically from the Pre-Modern Western and Chinese concept of authority. How the new concept of authority-autonomy of states, and the consequent lack of authority of the Chinese emperor gradually evolves in China? How and why authority was translated as *quanwei*, and how was it related to the newly introduced notion of rights?

憲政危機與譯介的魏瑪經驗——張君勱思想中的卡爾·施密特

陳丹丹 Dandan CHEN

紐約州立大學法明代爾州立學院歷史經濟政治系

本文為張君勱研究中的新發現。通過對張君勱的文本細讀，本文發現張君勱生前受到德國政治學家卡爾·施密特的重大影響，儘管張氏生前從未提過施密特的名字。通過對張氏與施密特文本的細讀與比較，本文考察卡爾·施密特如何在德國語境中應對憲政危機，張君勱又如何借助對施密特的翻譯與誤讀，在中國語境中引進一層經過變形與反思的魏瑪經驗，並為中國憲政實踐提供另一個角度的思考。

中國豆腐、未完成的閱讀與翻譯： 論〈多餘的話〉裡的俄蘇與中國文學作品

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瞿秋白在 1935 年 5 月 22 日在福建長汀獄中完成一篇〈多餘的話〉，當今學界多視之為其最後遺言。此篇遺言以第一人稱自述自己的一生，用字遣詞，字字句句似是血淚真摯，然而弔詭的是，正因這樣的寫作風格加上作者本身的經歷與背景，而使這篇「誠摯的」自述充滿符碼與密碼，帶給後世無限地想像與詮釋。本文主要針對〈多餘的話〉結尾最後的兩段，進行溯源、翻譯、分析和解釋（碼）。在文本中，倒數第二段條列了瞿秋白自己想要重新閱讀的文學作品。有趣的是，在這一串書單中，首選的清一色是俄蘇文學，其次才是中國現代與清代小說。最後一段的「中國豆腐」和上述這些文學作品又有什麼關係呢？亦是本論文關注的重點。

關鍵詞：瞿秋白 高爾基 屠格涅夫 托爾斯泰 翻譯理論

從傅蘭雅到嚴復： 「自由」概念在中國語境中的重寫與構建

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「自由」是中國現代化過程中引入的核心概念之一。傅蘭雅漢譯的《佐治芻言》是最早引入西方自由概念的著作，譯者根據中國傳統文化將「liberty」、「freedom」等概念大多進行了改寫，譯為「逍遙」、「逍遙遊」等；清末嚴復翻譯的《群己權界論》是譯介西方自由概念的另一部重要著作，譯者對中西自由概念及其區別進行了創造性的翻譯和構建。本文從社會學的視角出發，通過具體的文本分析和個案研究，探討「自由」概念在中國譯介的過程，分析譯者、社會與文化之間的相互作用與影響。

A Comparative Study on the Sci-Tech Translation in China and Japan in the 19th and Early 20th- A Perspective of Appraisal Theory

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Translation has always played an instrumental role in the popularization of knowledge. As history shows, the modern phenomenon of science and technology transfer is closely linked to the Scientific and Technical translation (Sci-Tech translation), especially in the context like China and Japan. Sci-Tech translation deserves to be the object of more intensive research. This study aims to find out how the value system or norms in this period (19th and early 20th) affect the Sci-Tech translation in Japan and Chinese. In order to answer this question, by comparing several Sci-Tech Chinese and Japanese translations and using appraisal theory, the study takes qualitative approach to the analysis of Chinese and Japanese translation of Sci-Tech texts in terms of evaluation. The Evaluation was defined by Thompson and Hunston (2000) as the broad cover term for the expression of the speaker or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about. To put it concretely, this study exams translation to see is there any differences/similarities in expresses one's opinion in the Sci-Tech translation between China and Japan in this period (19th and early 20th).

The Warning of Modern Translatability and the Last Ship of Fools in the 19th Century China: *Lao-t's'an's Travel Diary* and its Sciences of First *Canali*

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Construction of the National Language through Hybridity: Chu Si-gyŏng's Translation of *Three Heroes in Building Italy*

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One of the remarkable contributions of recent post-colonial research in translation studies is that it draws attention from the time-old discussion about good/bad translation to the question of asymmetrical power relationship that made translation carried out and the inquiry into the question of the representation of translation itself. Among others, Lydia Liu sheds light on the way the West and the East met beyond dichotomy of domination/resistance or foreign impact/self-generated development while Naoki Sakai examines the “schema of configuration” of translation, that is, the schema of equivalent exchange between two different languages.

Taking into consideration these post-colonial approaches, my primary concern is to reveal the ambivalence of both translation and colonial modernity that constituted a key to the modernization of Korea in the 19th and early 20th century. My argument is that the establishment of the modern Korean writing system, *Han'gŭl*, was inseparably related to the translation and reflected the demand of modernity for a nation-state. My focus will be put on the translation of Liang Qichao's 意大利建國三傑傳 (*Three Heroes in Building Italy*) by Chu Si-gyŏng, the proponent of linguistic nationalism and the exclusive use of *Han'gŭl*. I will illustrate that Chu's translation exclusively in *Han'gŭl* was a project to elevate vernacular script to the national language, removing traces of Chinese words by covering up Chinese characters with *Han'gŭl*, but it resulted in a producing a hybridity different from both traditional *Han'gŭl* and the writing styles with Chinese characters.

創制「共和」：共和觀念在清末的輸入與吸收

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「共和／國」作為 18 世紀兩場革命（美、法）的遺產，與革命有千絲萬縷的聯繫。清末智識階級，無論立憲派抑或革命派，都從日譯歷史、政治書籍中吸收了作為實踐的「共和／國」思想，取「推翻王權建立的新國」之義。另一方面，

多數清末智識階級接受譯介的美國建國史後，開始幻想複刻美式革命的成功並最終建立一個富強的共和國。由此，作為革命口號的「共和／國」又沾染上了理想國的色彩。要理解晚清民初之「共和」何為，必須注意到，其時「共和」的政治學內涵並未清晰確立，主要夾雜於美式革命的憧憬中，而「建立無王的富強國家」的革命意義卻廣為流傳。

「版權所有，翻刻必究」： 從清末民初譯書著作權案看國人對譯書版權的認識

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近代西學東漸，大量西文書籍被翻譯引介入中國，在開拓國人視野的同時，也對中國近代社會政治、經濟文化發展產生了巨大影響。譯著書籍需譯著者付出勞動才能完成，譯著者亦據其著作權取得相應的報酬。然而，起初國人對於譯書版權並不認同，認為版權之設必阻礙西學輸入。伴隨現代化的進程，國人終于認識到「著述譯纂之業最難，敝精勞神」，「國無版權之法，其書必稀，往往而絕」，惟有尊重譯著者著作權、保護譯書版權，方為正軌。本文試從檔案文獻記載的幾件清末民初譯書著作權案探討國人對於譯著者著作權及譯書版權認識的轉變與影響。

才德並重：晚清俾斯麥傳記諸譯本中的權臣形象

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自戊戌前後，域外英雄人物傳記大規模進入中文世界，俾斯麥傳記正是其中一類。據筆者統計，晚清時期至少出現了七種俾斯麥傳記，無論傳教士、改良派、革命派，都希望借此召喚中國的俾斯麥橫空出世，推動中國的現代化。可是若繩之以儒家道德規範，俾斯麥可謂才勝於德，於是譯者不得不設法調適其形象。俾斯麥青年時代好鬥不羈，譯者則多稱讚其「俠氣」；主政時倡導鐵血政策，實行專制，譯者均強調其「大公無私」；外交場上折衝樽俎，運用權謀，譯者都以「忠君愛國」來闡釋。譯者筆下的權臣形象才德並重，衝擊了史傳書寫傳統與儒家德治傳統，塑造了新型英雄典範，推動了英雄崇拜浪潮。

Modulations of Literary Canons in Chinese Translation History: A Diachronic View on Intermediary Languages

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This paper has the ambition to identify paradigms of canon-making in foreign literatures, not only for Chinese but also for all languages that have actually served as intermediaries (and thus sources) for translations into Chinese. It is obvious that that canons of translated literature are not congruent with the canon in the language of origin, and it is likewise obvious that, to give an example, the canon of Russian literature in Japanese in the 1920s was different from the 1950s. In order to understand the underlying complex processes of interliterary communication, a number of perspectives have to be taken under scrutiny: socio-economical, ideological, and not least in the social history of education, given that linguistic skills available at a certain moment in history within one language community tend to shape the perception of one particular other literature. For the time being, two paradigms may be safely identified: 1) around 1900 the canon formed by Lin Shu's 林紓 translations which is still of overwhelming influence, although, as well known, he did not master any foreign tongue; 2) since the late 1940s the canon of *littérature engagée* from all languages in the countries of the then Soviet block, though hardly any Chinese literary translator mastered Hungarian, Polish, Yiddish, Serbocroatian, or Czech, and only few Russian. The multiple interferences resulting from this and similar situations shall be sketched in the paper.

Trans-cultural Connections in Early Twentieth Century Chinese Literary Feminism

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Throughout the late Qing and early Republican period (ca.1890 - ca.1935) in China Western feminist thought became a part of the *xinxue* 新學 (new knowledge) that both male and female reformers applied to strengthen and modernize the nation. Problems concerning gender and the radically changing parameters of women's status

and identity were thus often subsumed within and subordinated to the larger project of cultural transformation. Recently, however, many scholars have unearthed new texts and proposed readings of women's literature of the early 20th century which highlight moments of emancipation and empowerment in women's cultural productions (Barlow 1993, Lu 1993, Liu 1995, Larson 1998, Wang 1999, Dooling 2005). In many cases, women's emerging discursive power to imagine and inscribe new possibilities of gender through effective literary opposition to male domination is intricately intertwined with the translation and rapid dissemination of Western liberal-humanist feminist discourses and modernist experimental fiction. In order to further expand the growing body of scholarship concerning the formation and diversity of women's incipient modern subjectivities at this transitional moment in Chinese history, I focus here on New Women (*xin nuxing* 新女性) writers who are indebted to their late Qing feminist-activist fore-mothers and simultaneously strongly influenced by American and European New Women iconoclasts whose ideas and treatises were being introduced to Chinese readers at this time.

The feminine counter-hegemonic texts I will examine here are Ding Ling's 丁玲 (1904-1986) "夢可 *Mengke*," 1927), Lu Yin's 盧隱 (1898-1934) "Sacrificed to the Era" (時代的犧牲者 *Shidai de xishengzhe*, 1928), Lu Yin's "A Woman's Heart" (女人的心 *Nuren de xin*, 1934), Xie Bingying's 謝冰瑩 (1906-2000) "Abandoned" (拋棄 *Paoqi*, 1932), Chen Xuezhao's 陳學招 (1906-1991) "Happiness" (幸福 *Xingfu*) and Cheng Ying's 沉櫻 (1907-1986) "Woman" (女性 *Nuxing*, 1934). The thematic foci, creative literary strategies and innovative character-types these texts present bear a strong resemblance to Olive Schreiner's (1855-1920) short stories and the novels of Edith Wharton (1862-1937), Virginia Woolf (1882-1941), Willa Cather (1873-1947) and Rebecca West (1892-1983), whose works were being translated and published in contemporary feminist journals such as *Zhongguo nübao* 中國女報 as well as the May Fourth journal *New Youth* (新青年 *Xin qingnian*). In particular, Virginia Woolf's famous lecture and book entitled "A Room of One's Own" was translated into Chinese in 1920 and became a source of great interest and much debate among Chinese women writers.

By means of a comparative analysis of Chinese New Women texts and Western New Women fiction I argue that Ding, Lu, Xie, Chen and Cheng drew upon, adopted and utilized many of the themes and techniques their Western literary counterparts had used to portray the multi-layered and complex interior world of the feminine self. At the same time, the Chinese women literary pioneers were strongly influenced by earlier feminist intellectuals of late Qing China, especially Qiu Jin 秋瑾 (1875-1907), Chen Xiefen 陳撷芬 (1883-1923) and Shi Pingmei 石評梅 (1902-1928), as well as Jin Tianhe's 金天翮 (1874-1947) *Warning Bell for Women* (女界鐘 *Nujiezhong*,

1903), the first book-length analysis of the subject of Chinese women, and Ma Junyu's 1902 translation of Herbert Spencer's (1820-1903) *The Rights of Women* (Chapter XVI of *Social Statics*, 1851). Their work was also impacted by the large number of foreign feminist treatises that were translated into Chinese in the 1920's, such as the works of Ellen Key (1849-1926), Yosano Akiko (1878-1942), Yamakawa Kikue (1890-1980) (the Japanese feminist who had translated August Bebel's (1840-1913) *Women Under Socialism* (1904) into Chinese), Margaret Sanger (1879-1966) and Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1860-1935).

This study sheds new light on the achievements of *xin nuxing* Chinese New Women authors not only as literary pioneers but also as important contributors to feminist debates of the 1920's and 30's. Positioning them at the intersection of late Qing/early Republican Chinese feminist activism, translated foreign feminist discourses and translated Western modernist feminine fiction, I analyze both their fictional and theoretical writings and, in so doing, deepen our understanding of Chinese women's writing in the early 20th century.

Translation & Modernisation in the 19th C: the Japanese-Egyptian connection

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The history of translation and modernisation, per se, provides scope for the examination of how programs are designed and delivered and to what degree of success. In this respect, in studying the history of translation and modernisation in 19th Century Japan it would be interesting and relevant to examine how Japan in its attempts to become developed, modern and strong looked west. However, when Japan did she only looked to Egypt.

Egyptian attempts at modernisation in the 19th century began with the rule of Muhammad Ali Pasha, the founder of modern Egypt (1805–1848), who began his campaign to modernize Egypt by establishing a strong army, a school of translators and a system of government as early as he established his rule in 1805. By the time his grandson Ismail Pasha was in power (1863–1879), Egypt was placing in force rapid westernisation programs which had rail roads, telegraph posts, a postal system

and modern cities in Cairo, Alexandria, Suez and Port Said. In 1869 the Suez Canal was opened and Verdi wrote *Aida* for the opening of the Egyptian Opera House.

Egypt's modernization programs overlapped for with those during the Meiji period (1858–1912) in Japan for both programs were initiated by a formal decree. Japan turned to Egypt to learn how to renegotiate its treaties with western powers, to manage its debts and to administer its colonies. Japanese interest in Egypt is attested by the number of books published on Egypt like Shiba Shiro (1853–1922) who in 1890 wrote *A short history of modern Egypt*, frequent visits to Egypt and talk about Egypt with the British who opposed Japan's occupation of Korea.

The paper examines the Egyptian connection to the Japanese modernisation efforts and casts some light on what the Egyptians concluded when comparing their 19th century modernisation experience to the Japanese.

嚴復譯《原富》與中國經濟思想近代化進程 ——以 **economy** 譯名為例

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本文擬從翻譯史的角度，探究嚴復譯《原富》中 **economy** 漢語譯名「計學」的來源和意義，闡述其本原與蛻變過程，並結合「計學」與 **economy** 在中國歷史上漢語譯名之間歷時對比和歸類見微知著地揭示「計學」一詞所體現出的中國經濟思想的資本主義化進程，從而闡明《原富》對中國經濟思想近代化進程的影響；同時探究譯作在具體運作上是如何克服西方經濟學的多樣性和複雜性，如何結合本國實際找到最佳的翻譯模式以體現對新的資本主義經濟學的認識，如何推動中國經濟思想的近代化進程等問題。

The “Passion of Cut Sleeve” and Modernization: Pan Guangdan and his translation of *Psychology of Sex*

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The public’s perception of same-sex desire in China was nurtured and shaped by literature for centuries before the modern era. There is an abundance of Chinese literary metaphors and expressions for gay and lesbian love, such as Duan-Xiu (Cut Sleeve), Longyang zhi Hao (Love-of-Longyang), Feng Tao (Sharing-a-Peach), Dui-Shi (Feeding-Each-Other). This literary imbued erotic culture, however, seemed out-of-dated when Western sciences, particularly biology and psychology, were introduced to and translated in China in the early twentieth century.

This paper aims to challenge the seemingly one-directional dissemination of knowledge from the west and argues that the process of translation in fact involves more complex interactions between China and the west, the traditional and the modern. It examines Pan Guangdan’s 1946 translation of Havelock Ellis’ *Psychology of Sex*, especially Chapter Five “Homosexuality” and Appendix I on homosexuality in Chinese historical and literary documents. By analyzing Pan’s translation of terms from western science and his annotations and examples of same-sex desire found in Chinese literature and anecdotes, the paper hypothesises that the translator not only questioned the applicability of Ellis’ theory of sexual inversion in homosexuality to the Chinese context, but also tried to recover the marginalized traditional homosexual discourse and intervene in the prevalent modern sexual discourse transplanted from the West. Translation in twentieth century China, therefore, was by no means a simple strategy of modelling western discourses, but rather a process of seeking out and reconstructing cultural memory and identity as well as of initiating indigenous scientific studies.

The World of Fiction, Fiction of the World: The Popular Translation of Modernity in *Short Story Magazine*

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Over the last several decades, the May Fourth/New Culture movement's proprietary claims on the fashioning of Republican-era Chinese literary and cultural modernity have been challenged by renewed examination both of the movement's late Qing precursors and of its contemporary and alleged "other," the Mandarin Duck and Butterfly school. Much attention has been given to the practice of translation in the late Qing; studies of the Butterfly school, however, have tended to focus on literary polemics and original works of literature. In order to challenge the presumption of a May Fourth monopoly on the mediation of modernity through translation, this paper investigates the roles of translation in the early period of the journal *The Story World* (*Xiaoshuo shijie* 小說世界). *Story World* was launched by Shanghai's Commercial Press in 1923, two years after its flagship fiction journal *Short Story Magazine* (*Xiaoshuo yuebao* 小說閱報) was taken in hand by champions of the progressive "May Fourth" literary and cultural agenda of the Literary Research Association. The Association predictably savaged the newcomer as the bastard child of commercialism and "feudal" ideology. Examination of *Story World*'s contents, however, reveals a popular Chinese modernity constructed in good measure through the translational appropriation of foreign texts. Drawing from the perspectives and methodologies of the burgeoning field of periodical studies, such examination also challenges us to broaden our definition of "translation," and to consider the construction of modernity through the complex synergy of translated and "original" texts, illustrations, and advertisements in the pages of the Republican-era mass-market periodical.

Translating International Legal Terms in East Asia: The Case of *Territory*

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When and how were the international legal terms translated into East Asian languages? How many IL terms of *Wanguo gongfa* (萬國公法), the first IL text in East Asia (translated by W. A. P. Martin in 1864) survived? Why are the *territory*-related terms in the modern IL textbooks of East Asian countries so similar? By analyzing the works of public international law published in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, this presentation will clarify the process of translating international legal terms in East Asia, with a particular emphasis on the *territory*-related terms such as *occupation*, *accretion*, *cession*, *prescription*, and conquest. At the same time, this presentation will show the unique roles of China and Japan in this translating process of *territory*-related international legal terms in East Asia.

Culture in Transformation: Translation and Cultural Subjectivity in the Late Liang Qichao

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The question of translation in Liang Qichao (1873-1929) has been much studied as an exemplary case of the introduction of Western civilization into China, in some instances via Japan as an intermediary. Liang, however, not only practiced translation as a means to grapple with modern Western discourses; he also theorized translation as an indispensable concept for historicizing Chinese cultural transformation. My paper intends to shed light on this largely neglected aspect of Liang's engagement with translation by particularly examining his essays on literary and cultural history written in the post-World War I era, including "Translated Literature and Sutras" (Fanyi wenxue yu fodian 翻譯文學與佛典; 1920), "What is Culture?" ("Shenme shi wenhua 什麼是文化"; 1922), and "Du Fu, the Sage of Affect" ("Qing sheng Du Fu 情聖杜甫"; 1922). Drawing on an intricate mixture of Buddhist thought, Western philosophy, and modern biology, the late Liang uniquely conceptualized translation as

an essential agency that allows culture (*wenhua* 文化) to retain its creativity and thus to survive by causing its transformation (*hua* 化). He then put this concept at the heart of his envisioning of Chinese modernization as an organic cultural historical process. My reading of these treatises aims to conclude by considering how the late Liang's idiosyncratic concept of translation allegorizes his configuration of modern Chinese cultural subjectivity, which was his intervention in the post-May Fourth cultural crises.

普魯士憲法的建構理念與大清欽定憲法大綱的「高級法」背景 ——以「國家理由」思想在清朝語境下的演變為中心

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1908 年清朝《欽定憲法大綱》的制定，標誌著中國國家現代化過程中國家建構理念的重大改變。雖然清朝的立法理念仍然是君主至上，但其法理學依據與十九世紀中前期盛行於歐洲大陸，尤其是德國的「國家理由」思想建立了緊密的聯繫。欽定憲法大綱制定者對「國家理由」與中國傳統皇權思想進行了獨特的雙向詮釋。本文將對這種跨文化的雙向詮釋進行解讀，以考察該文件的制定者如何將德國專制主義的思想工具「國家理由」觀與中國傳統的皇權至上思想結合起來，融構出兼具中西專制主義特色的《欽定憲法大綱》。

從「同路人」到「革命人」：魯迅與瞿秋白的俄國文學翻譯

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魯迅從 1928 年至 1930 年從日本譯介了許多左翼文藝理論，認識瞿秋白後則不再從事此一理論「硬譯」，改與瞿秋白合作翻譯他擅長的俄國文學作品。從 1931 年秋天到 1934 年春天，兩人共同翻譯了許多俄國「同路人」與「革命人」的小說。對魯迅來說，蘇聯革命前後的文學發展，是作為建設中國文藝的借鑑，這是魯迅透過「革命人」瞿秋白身上看到的對中國無產階級文化的熱切期望。本文希望透過分析兩人各自或共同合作翻譯「同路人」與「革命人」的小說，以理

解魯迅與瞿秋白兩人對文學與革命之思想，以此回應日本學者丸山昇所謂「作為方法的 1930 年代」。

關鍵詞：魯迅 瞿秋白 普羅文學 俄國文學 1930's

從柏格森的《創造進化論》的翻譯看中國現代性 ——論張東蓀對柏格森哲學的翻譯與繼受

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一般而言，西方現代性時間的起始點始於文藝復興，而到了啓蒙運動，哲學才獲得她獨立的位置。所謂獨立的地位，意指哲學從中世紀的宗教傳統，對上帝的崇敬中，轉化為以人為中心的討論，這種轉化必然隱含了「理性」的探討。啓蒙運動之後，伴隨而來的工業發展，科技進步，某種程度來說都可以看做是理性的發展與延伸。科學也成為十九世紀中國面臨西方強權入侵時，具體追求的現代化目標。

相對於胡適倡議的民主與科學，自 1930 年起任教於燕京大學哲學系的張東蓀（1886–1973）則以為西方現代性的關鍵在於哲學，唯有從思想下手，才能取得現代性的關鍵。張於 1920 年與 1921 年著手翻譯法國哲學家柏格森（Henri Bergson, 1859–1941）的著作，《創造進化論》以及《物質與記憶》，今日看來乃深具意義。首先，柏氏這兩本著作恰好反省西方理性的問題；其次，張雖與英國分析哲學家羅素（Bertrand Russell, 1872–1970）有過往來，但在思想上卻不親近，反而選擇柏格森，這意味著張對西方哲學並非毫無選擇的接受；第三，柏格森思想中的時間觀「綿延」與流變，易於與中國原有的思想接枝，透過著作的翻譯，他也成為中國對西方現代性思想的交流與接受的第一批學者之一，不少學者（如熊十力等）便因為翻譯的引入，受柏氏思想影響。如此看來，我們不僅可以看出柏格森思想的重要性，也可從翻譯的引入，看到其思想於中國現代性的發展的重要性。

因此，本篇論文將環繞著譯者張東蓀，討論以下幾個問題：首先，略述柏氏思想如何回應西方自己的現代性問題；其次，柏氏思想對張的思想上產生什麼影響？即，我們要討論張的思想中，有哪些柏氏的哲學？第三，張氏如何進行概念上的轉換，除了回應中國自己的現代性問題之外，也討論其對中國思想的延續產生了什麼影響，即在這部份我們要討論柏格森哲學在中國的繼承與接受問題。

Revolution in the Realm of Translation: On the Transformation of Late Qing Translation Practice

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In the years during and after Yan Fu 嚴復 (1853–1921) was engaged in his large-scale effort to translate key works of Western social science and philosophy into Chinese, there were frequent complaints, not so much about the difficulty of the Chinese he was using, but that he was bending his results in the direction of his own intellectual agenda. While it is quite justifiable to defend his tendency to add his own interpretations to the work he was translating, it is difficult to deny that this practice added a layer of opacity to the Chinese versions of the texts he was translating. In looking over the pages of *The Eastern Miscellany* (《東方雜誌》) from the period after the science-educator Du Yaquan 杜亞泉 (1873–1933) took primary editorial responsibility for that journal after 1911, however, the translations from Western languages being cited are quite different from Yan's: while still written in classical Chinese, the classical Chinese is the simple, non-allusive language of, say, the palace memorial rather than the allusion packed style of Yan Fu. Thus, when reading accounts of Western ideas from the period after c. 1910, only a very few years after Yan Fu produced his translations, the reader no longer has to surmount the numerous stylistic and erudition hurdles intentionally erected by Yan Fu. This paper will explore the various steps in this transformation with a focus on how the newer translators envisioned their role.

Rejuvenating the Nation: Translation, Nationalism and the Creation of Children's Literature in the Early Twentieth Century in Korea

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In Korea the period from the 1890s through the 1910s is known as the Enlightenment (*Kyemonggi*) when translation of foreign texts played an essential role in opening up the society to modernization. One of the most important aspects of establishing a modern nation was the definition of the concept of citizen, and there

was a recognition that children belonged to a distinct category. As part of the conflict between “young people” (*sonyon*) vs. “old people” (*noin*) the potentiality of children (*adong*) became a focus of the enlightenment project. Therefore there was an emphasis on the need to train children to become citizens of the modern nation, and magazines and publishing companies deemed the translation of foreign literature to be particularly useful in educating children.

One of the most important publications of this time was *Sonyon* (*Boys*), a magazine edited by Ch’oe Namson, which first appeared in 1908. *Sonyon* provided a space for discussions about the experiences of youth as independent members of a modern nation. Through the translation of foreign works such as Aesop’s *Fables*, Ch’oe aimed to awaken young people to the necessity of preparing themselves to build a modern nation. Publication of materials for children increased greatly during the 1920s. Pang Chonghwan’s collection of translated children’s stories, *Sarangui Sonmul* (*Love’s Gift*), 1922, aimed to instill a sense of nationalistic pride in Korean children suffering under Japanese colonial domination. I also examine translations of other works, such as *Sherlock Holmes*, which inspired a quest for knowledge.

Translation of Western Classical Literature in Japan: Focusing on Shigeichi Kure

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In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Western great powers forced Japan to open up, and the national isolation of Japan came to a close. Japan started to westernize. The government established a new educational system, built the University of Tokyo in 1877, and invited many teachers from Western countries. A German-Russian scholar, Raphael Von Koeber (1848-1923) was one such invited professor. While he taught at the University of Tokyo, he laid the foundation for classical studies in Japan. Besides teaching philosophy and art, he taught the Greek and Latin languages.

Under his influence, many pupils started to learn the classics and hence the classical studies movement as we know it today was born. The Classical Society of Japan was founded in 1950, and now has over 500 members. The first president of the Society was Shigeichi Kure (1897–1977). He majored in classics at the University of

Tokyo because he wanted to study the origin of the Western civilization which had influenced the revolution that Japanese society was undergoing.

Among his research activities, his translations are especially noteworthy. In all, he translated and published about one hundred works of Greek and Latin literature. His translations are sometimes praised and sometimes criticized, mainly because of their special style. His translations include modern Japanese words, archaic Japanese words and poetic Japanese words all together. Although his work has met with both approval and disapproval, it is certain that Kure has contributed to the spread of Western classical literature in Japan through his translations.

At the conference, I will discuss his translations and his translation technique, and explain the Japanese historical background.

感傷主義的跨國之旅： 晚清小說寫作和翻譯中的情感政治

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1905 年出版的小說《苦社會》長期以來是清末赴美洲華工遭遇小說中最受重視的一部作品，1981 年還被節選翻譯成英文，發表在《亞美雜誌》上。但至今沒有被認真研究。本文認為這部小說是建構一種新型比較文學研究很好的切入口。通過對其解讀，批評者可以窺見一個大的動態，即清末的情感政治、中美關係及小說寫作和翻譯史幾者之間的聯繫。近代中國盛行中國人對國難「麻木」的話語，這個話語最初在傳教士的寫作中出現，之後被許多近代中國知識分子引用闡發。也正是在此時，政治色彩濃厚的感傷主義小說在中國蓬勃發展，融合翻譯小說的影響，提出了種種塑造新型情感模式的方式。林紓 1901 年翻譯的《黑奴籲天錄》就可以解讀為對原文《湯姆叔叔的小屋》中感傷主義的改寫，為《苦社會》的寫作提供了文學背景和淵源。本文最後重點提出，《苦社會》是對清末中文感傷主義小說的再創造，也與美國感傷小說在現代主義文學潮流中的發展歷程相契合。

韓國近代時期梁建植的翻譯活動與中國小說的接納

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梁建植作為中國文學的先驅，在韓國近現代文學史上，其成就可謂相當顯著。當時大部分知識分子都崇尚日本及西方的先進文明，紛紛東渡日本留學之際，在中國與我們的傳統被貶斥的社會背景下，梁建植卻關注了與中國的交流狀況，並強調了傳統文學與新文學的和諧發展。追求新文化、新文明，摒棄舊傳統的時期，梁建植所堅持的承前啓後的文學思想，在吸收和接納中國小說方面是怎麼反映出來的，他所設想的社會形態是什麼樣的呢。筆者通過本篇文章，站在與以往的研究截然不同的角度，著眼韓國與中國文化交流的現況。

Rewriting, Transposition, Translation? Shen Congwen's "Kan Honglu" and Pu Songling's "Fengxian"

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When talking about translation, we frequently come across the somewhat vague term 'spirit of the text', the 'thing' which stands 'outside' of the original's particular words, and which has to be conveyed into the translated text. The question of the 'spirit of the text' came to my mind when my last translation work brought together two writers, living 300 years apart: Pu Songling and Shen Congwen. Shen Congwen's remarkable story "Gazing at a Rainbow" tells of a 24 hours encounter between a man and a woman, during which the woman reads a story written by her companion. At the end of Shen's story, which coincides with her finishing reading the story within the story, the man says he has in fact written the story of Qingfeng, one of the better known heroines amongst the beautiful ghost-women in the *Liaozhai*. Other than Shen's legitimizing his fantasies about his lover, I wondered whether there are any connections between his story and his predecessor's, and if there are, what is the nature of the 'inspiration' and what is conveyed of the older story? In fact, something of Pu's text does reveal itself in Shen's story through its structural detail. The most striking recurring feature is the delusion of time—the 24 hours' story is suffused with temporal indications, in fact, almost in every paragraph. The erratic movement of time is a characteristic of some of the *Liaozhai*'s stories, and sometimes seems to

contribute significantly to the creation of the strange. The new story feels like a kind of a transference of the fantastic layer in the original into a psychological one, as it were the contemplation of life and the creative process. Is “Gazing at a Rainbow” a kind of a modern transposition of a latent spirit, based on particular structural constituents? A kind of a ‘translation’ of Qingfeng?

New and translated concepts of time and history in late Qing discourse

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My paper will focus on diverging and conflicting ideas of historical time and discuss in which ways translated historical works from the West shaped the emerging concept of a teleological course of history and the discourse on the origin of a Chinese nation. I will, in this context, look at the ideas of writers whose voices were influential at the time but who in the standard histories of modern China often are overlooked or neglected, such as Huang Jie, Huang Ren or Liu E.

The first translation curriculum in Hong Kong: St Paul’s College and the legacy of the Morrison Education Society

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Officially founded in 1851 in Hong Kong, St Paul’s College was one of the cradles of modern Chinese ideas. Many renowned intellectuals and scholars had close ties with this College. For example, John Fryer was the principal of the college in 1863. The British scholar James Summers, who started the Japanese version of the *Chinese Repository*, once studied at the College. Wang Tao, who does not require any further introduction for the Chinese intelligentsia, wrote several pieces of articles to praise the academic ambience of the college. Ng Ting Fong, an important figure for the modern judicial system in Hong Kong and modern diplomacy of China, was, among many other famous people, a student at the college. These facts should be

enough to bring out the historical importance of St Paul's College to modern China. The questions remain to ask are 'why' and 'how'.

Many scholars are aware of the fact that the college occupied an outstanding position in the making of a modern China. Some researchers have embarked upon researches on the missionary background of St Paul's college, while others started from the perspective of education. However, it seems that no researches have ever mentioned that its success was largely due to the establishment of a translation curriculum. Based upon a large number of unexamined archival materials acquired from the British Foreign Office, the present paper will try to supplement previous discussions with the thesis that the awareness of the need of a translation programme was caused by social and governmental plight in Hong Kong and the UK at that time. During the course of exposition, we shall investigate the nature and genesis of one of the earliest translation programmes in the territory and perhaps even in Asia, and its lineage with the Morrison Education society.

性法・萬國公法・國際法 ——近代中國對國際法秩序的想像與詮釋

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近代西方國際法傳入中國，以「性法」、「公法」翻譯“natural law”、“law of nations”、“international law”等法律用語。對西方法律用語的解讀、詮釋與翻譯，既是建構普遍價值與知識體系全球化過程的重要一環，同時又是本土對外來知識/概念解碼、編碼、改造、調適的課業，折射出人們對外來思想價值的想像與願景，以及在近代國家/國民建構的歷程中法秩序所起的作用。本文意旨，在於通過考察晚清以來出現的「性法」、「公法」、「萬國公法」、「國際法」等幾個關鍵法律用語的產生歷程，並以日本為參照對象，探究近代中國對近來「新世界」法秩序的想像與詮釋。

Literary Translation and Modernization during Meiji Period of Modern Japan

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This essay aims at explaining how translation played an important role in the process of Japanese modernization. The author uses the sources in Japanese, English, and Chinese, covering the themes of Meiji restoration, Western literature, and political thought. Views of Japanese, Chinese, and American historians are considered in balance.

This essay is divided into five parts: the first part tells the background of the rise of literary translation during Meiji restoration. The second part points out that translation played a key role for the birth of modern Japanese literature. The third part interprets how the Meiji political novels were influenced by the Western political thoughts through the translation of Western novels and political theories. The fourth part emphasizes that the translation of Western political novels into Japanese catalyzed the *jiyuminken* (freedom and popular rights) movement in Japan which accelerated political democracy of modern Japan.

Lu Xun and Evolutionary Thinking

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This paper engages with one episode of the historical and political unfolding of the discourse of evolutionary biology in 19th century and 20th century China. Specifically, it looks at Lu Xun as an anchoring figure whose writing engages and critiques a variety of evolutionary theories on the laws of nature and the position of human beings within them. Lu Xun's short story "Some Rabbits and a Cat" (1922) figures centrally because it allows Darwinian laws of nature, human subjects and politics to play out in the organic totality of life. The second portion of the essay covers Lu Xun's encounter with Yan Fu's Tianyan lun 天演論 (On Evolution) in which Yan Fu shuns the scientific understanding of "nature" and its "laws" by insinuating different epistemological claims into his rendering of Thomas Huxley and

Herbert Spencer. Lu Xun's fascination with Tianyan lun and his later essays on science reveals his concern over the mutual constitution of politics and the laws of nature. In the third section, Lu Xun's engagement with Peter Kropotkin's mutual aid theory is also examined. Lu Xun finds that the root of mutual aid is the feeling of sympathy. This reference to sympathy is his attempt to link the human subject with perceived laws of nature. This paper attempts to shed light on how the interconnection between human beings, nature, science, and politics were discussed in China during a tumultuous period.

Forensic Science in English Detective Stories and Their Translation into Chinese around the Turn of the 20th Century

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The role played by translation during the late Qing period has been highlighted in many researches, and the translation of detective stories is of course not a new area of academic inquiry. When the differences between the east and the west, the difference between Chinese Gong'an (court case) and western detective stories in particular, have been acknowledged, the Chinese translation of English detective stories merits further research and inquiry. Actually, western detective stories, especially English ones, are fraught with advanced knowledge and technology and associated with modernity. In lieu of this, we can observe the interest in the relationship between detective stories and the rise of forensic science. In terms of cross-cultural communication, it is indispensable to answer the following questions: How the part embedded with forensic science was translated into the less-technologically-oriented cultures, Chinese in this particular case? How was the translation perceived and accepted? What is the impact and influence on the local community, the creation of Chinese detective stories for example? This paper will focus on several aspects of forensic science, medicine and photography to be specific. How are western medicine and photography applied in English detective stories, and how are they presented in the Chinese translation? Case studies will cover masterpieces from Arthur Conan Doyle and less known writers like L.T. Meade, etc. Such forensic science is gradually acknowledged and appropriated in local detective writings, and examples will be taken from Cheng Xiaoqing and other writers at the beginning of the 20th century.

論晚清西方經濟學翻譯的發軔及其影響：以《富國策》為中心

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《富國策》是晚清中國的第一部西方經濟學譯著，系統介紹了西方經濟學的生產、交換、分配和消費等理論。該書於 1880 年由京師同文館翻譯出版，其譯者是京師同文館副教習汪鳳藻，後經總教習丁韞良鑒定，是京師同文館的經濟學課程教科書之一。該書並非完全按照原書逐句翻譯，而是採取補充說明、增加評論、調整、不譯等多種翻譯方法。作為最早傳入中國的西方經濟理論著作，《富國策》對晚清社會產生了深遠的影響，衝擊著「重農抑商」、「貴義賤利」的傳統封建經濟理念，促進了中國經濟思想的近代化，在整個西學東漸史上佔有重要的一席之地。

另一種進化論： 以威爾斯《星際戰爭》的晚清譯本為例

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我國對晚清翻譯文學的研究主要集中在兩個方向，一是研究晚清的翻譯是否符合原文；一是研究晚清翻譯文學如何影響清末新小說及五四新文學。兩種研究思路都把晚清翻譯文學作為「過渡」，或視它為不夠「現代」或不够「正確」的翻譯；或將它看作中國文學現代化過程中的一個環節。本文反對把晚清翻譯文學視為「過渡」，而是通過對心一翻譯的《火星與地球之戰爭》的分析，認為晚清翻譯文學是東西方遭遇之際對抗的場域。晚清翻譯文學正是通過這種對抗展現了那代人對中國以及世界的想像。

「翻譯一事，係製造之根本」
——曾國藩的翻譯贊助活動與晚清現代化

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**Historic Crisis and It's Aesthetic Redemption in Cross-cultural
Perspective: Early Lu Xun as a Translator**

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This paper reviews early Lu Xun's translation in tracing the evolution of his thoughts.

In early years, Lu Xun studied natural science in the hope of saving China from the historic crisis imposed by western powers. However, different from his predecessors and peers, Lu Xun views science as a matter of spirituality and morality. In this sense, he makes a lot of revisions, additions and omissions in his translations of Jules Vernes to create more aesthetic effects.

The 1906 spiritual crisis in Sendai ushered in the second phrase of Lu Xun's early years. Through cultural comparison, he attributes the historic crisis of China to the "materialistic" fever splashed in the western world since the 19th century. Thus he forms a cross-cultural perspective, and insists a spiritual salvation of the world through cultural synthesis, in which translation functions as a way of history making.

The first step of Lu Xun's salvation scheme is every individual's accomplishment of full self-consciousness (neiyao, 內曜). Lu Xun incarnates this idea in aesthetics as "Mara poetic power", which makes him obsessed with translating works characterized by descriptions of inner struggles, such as Leonid Andrejev's and Mikhail Artsybashev's short stories with Nietzschean heroes.

The second step requires all the self-enlightened individuals to coexist in spiritual equity through mutual understanding (fanzhuji, 反諸己). This makes Lu Xun interested in anti-war literature, such as Takekaji Miatsushi's drama, and Vasely Eroshenko's fairy tales, usually themed as humanitarianism, universalism, or even Animism.

京都美華書院與基督教翻譯小說的現代化

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京都美華書院由美國公理會創辦，光緒十一年（1886）前建於北京燈市口。該書館除了刊印西學書籍外，出版過多篇基督教漢文小說，其中大部分為翻譯小說。這些翻譯小說表現出早期基督教翻譯小說向現代化的「轉型」特點，無論是從小說的體制、語言、出版體式等，各方面呈現出既本土化，又有西方小說風格的現代化特點。機構雖然規模較小，可是位於京城，具有獨特的時代象徵意義。本文擬從兩方面入手分析：一、考察京都美華書院的歷史，主要從機構創立、譯者群、所刊的翻譯小說等方面進行書館簡介；二、以京都美化書院所刊的翻譯小說為例，探討基督教翻譯小說現代轉型過程中本土化與現代化的關係問題。

關鍵詞：京都美華書院 基督教翻譯小說 基督教漢文小說的現代化

晚清—民初對俄國民粹主義文學之漢譯與後來中國現代化方式選擇

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中國走向現代化過程中，一批所謂先覺知識分子譯介並實踐俄國文化，扮演了關鍵角色。然而，他們高調鍾情於蘇俄，起初與蘇維埃政府發佈的《對華宣言》有關，但宣言從未落實，甚至 1922 年蘇維埃政權穩固之後，還強化了向中國聲索利益的主張，但歷史進程沒有改變朝着親俄方向發展，原來還另有隱情，這便是：20 世紀最初 16 年，馬君武、周桂笙、芳草館主人、楊心一、周瘦鵑、李石曾、陳景韓（冷血）等一批完全不懂俄語的士大夫，在科舉制名存實亡尤其是廢科舉之後，看到民眾要急切改變社會的焦躁情勢，以及文人從吟詠詞賦和訓練琴棋書畫轉向閱讀情節驚險離奇、渲染俠義之暢銷書，便放棄士大夫的社會倫理，發揮文字之長，經由英文和日文譯介了大批倡導用恐怖主義手段對待達官貴人之俄國民意黨人作品，得到《新新小說》、《月月小說》等等報刊熱心呼應，形成了虛無黨小說風潮。這種盲目譯介產生嚴重後果：由於譯者欠缺關於俄國的知識，不清楚何謂虛無黨，一廂情願地添油加醋的翻譯，給本已風雨飄搖、動盪不安的家國，添加更多動盪，給後來接納激進的蘇俄革命奠定了基礎；認同性譯介虛無黨小說，與 1715 年以來俄駐北京傳教士否定性認知中國相去甚遠，卻和俄要進一步征服東亞戰略相契合；遮蔽了俄最重要文化——俄現代化歷程到 1830 年，

現代人文學術制度和教育制度日漸成熟，建構了系統化的俄國屬於歐洲國家的價值體系。

Western Antiquity and Chinese Modernity: Translation as Argument

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Based on critical case studies of the translation activities in relation to the Graeco-Roman materials in the *Xueheng* journal (*Critical Review* 學衡) and the *Short Story Monthly* (小說月報), this paper sheds light on the contrasting ways the so-called cultural conservatives and progressives situated and made use of the Western Antiquity in the discourse on Chinese modernization in the 1920s- 1930s. By using the core lexicon of Confucianism (e.g., *lun* 倫, *zhongyong* 中庸, *liyi* 禮義) to translate the key terms in Aristotle, Plato and Cicero, the *Xueheng* translators assimilated ancient Western philosophy to Confucianism, with the purpose to bolster confidence in the values of traditional Chinese culture, and provide an argument for the relevance of the Chinese antiquity and against its abandonment in the formation of modern culture in China. The contributors to the *Short Story Monthly*, however, tended to exoticize Graeco-Roman antiquity, favoring myths and poetry in their choices of subject matters, and at the same time presenting the Graeco-Roman poets (esp. Virgil) as “full of modern spirits”. While the *Xueheng* scholars allied themselves with the Western Antiquity to resist the idea of Wholesale Westernization, the *Short Story Monthly* underplayed the temporal dimension of the Graeco-Roman world, often collapsing it into the modern West. Thus, in their different ways, the two journals implicated the Ancient West into the post-May fourth modernization discourse, in the process of which they nuanced and complicated both “antiquity” and the “West” as contested concepts.

「富」：一個關鍵詞在近代中國的翻譯與演變

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本文旨在考察「富」這一概念的歷史淵源、涵義變遷，尤其是在翻譯西方經濟學術語時發生的挪移與衍變。文章認為，近代學人和西方傳教士對「富」的獨特理解與詮釋，帶有鮮明的時代印跡，不但體現出該思想觀念生成的歷史語境和文化差異，也呈現出翻譯主體的歷史解釋與重新敘述。在晚清民族自覺與符號認同的過程中，「富」逐漸成為政治行為和國家命運的標誌。

關鍵詞：「富」 翻譯 演變 標誌

斯賓塞《女權篇》的文本旅行與清末民初社會／性別觀念

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從 1902 年開始，「女權」這一概念開始在中國思想言論界流行和傳播。在這一傳播過程中，馬君武所翻譯的、英國社會學家斯賓塞的《女權篇》起了重要的觀念輸入作用。在馬氏的翻譯行為中，他如何將性別平等的觀念雛形提煉為「女權」一詞？日本譯本的中介作用以及馬氏個人的啓蒙思想對翻譯的結果有何影響？馬氏的翻譯對其他知識分子的言論以及清末民初的社會性別觀念又有何影響？本文擬從《女權篇》的文本旅行入手，分析圍繞「女權」觀念誕生與流傳的複雜面向。

被翻譯的「國民國家」 ——日本留學與創造社作家現代民族國家意識的形成

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留學日本的創造社作家通過日本這一媒介接受了現代「國民國家」、「國家」、「民族」、「種族」、「國民」等現代概念，從而形成了最初的民族國家意識。在這種接受過程中，起決定影響的因素有二：清末民初的留日學生和政治亡命客

對這些概念的翻譯和闡釋，和創造社作家自身的留日體驗。對現代「國民國家」概念的日本式闡釋，留學期間對日本現代「國民國家」體制和日本「國民性」的觀察，對「國民性」理論的接受，影響了創造社作家對自我與國家、自我與國民以及國家與民族等關係的思考，他們的現代民族國家意識正是在這種思考中成型的。

從「贊助人」到「抵拒者」： 張之洞與清季日文譯書主導下的近代化新路

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清季戊戌前後，在日本「興亞論」者的鼓動下，湖廣總督張之洞接受「同文同種」的說辭，與康有為、梁啟超等趨新之士一起，開闢了翻譯日本學術著作、以「東學」主導近代化的新路徑，成為清末日文譯書的重要贊助人。但隨後梁啟超一派把持「東學」話語權的現實，却迫使其對來自日本的新學理、新語彙日益抵拒。癸卯年參與重訂學制，張之洞嚴辭批評「日本文體」及和製新名詞，同時卻通過對明治日本「國粹」思想的創造性轉化，以翻譯文體問題為媒介，設想了一種文化引進模式：亦即代替「和文漢讀」式的直接搬用，嘗試用義理化的「國文」，來傳達功利化的「新學」。

Missionary Interpreters and Political Modernity in late Qing Imperial China

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Missionary interpreters working in the first two British embassies to China, the Macartney mission (1792–1794) and the Amherst mission (1816–1817), were viewed by China with much skepticism. For Chinese converts who provided linguistic mediation to the British in their diplomatic exchanges with the Chinese government, the “espionage” act of assisting foreigners with Chinese knowledge was condemned as treason by Qing China at the time. Likewise, western missionary interpreters recruited by the British embassies to mediate written and spoken exchanges with Qing China were considered a source of threat and danger to the Chinese government. Yet,

missionary interpreters emerged in 18th and 19th century China as a new community that would not accept being treated meanly. This group of interpreters, typically educated in the west and not used to being unquestionably submissive, would talk back.

Based on examples taken from the two embassy accounts, this paper analyzes how the non-conforming stance of these missionary interpreters confronted Qing China with the modern, and yet unwelcome, ideologies of equality between independent states and fundamental respect for members of embassies to which missionary interpreters belonged. This paper is significant in identifying these trailblazing interpreters who were the budding representatives of a missionary community that, in the next century, contributed as indispensable co-translators in late Qing China's drive to learn from western science and technology publications.

「鄉里空間」的崩潰與「士紳共和國」的失敗 ——重讀溝口雄三的「辛亥革命新論」

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本文從溝口雄三的「辛亥革命新論」切入，考察溝口雄三如何將中國問題「翻譯」到日本語境，以及中國學者如何將日本語境中的中國問題「翻譯」進中國語境。借助回溯「紳權」及「民權」的歷史脈絡以及對費孝通、錢穆、余英時觀點的梳理，本文重審溝口雄三對「鄉里空間」與「各省之力」的強調，並由此擴展到日本學者自島田虔次以將對「近代」的論述。當中國問題「翻譯」到日本語境，中國問題即成為東亞現代性的問題。如何將這個東亞現代性的問題，再重新「翻譯」回中國語境？作者以對辛亥期間「劣紳化」的考察，從中國問題的內部給出答案。

在宗教與文學之間： 晚清入華傳教士艾約瑟的西詩譯介及意義

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倫敦會傳教士艾約瑟在華生活五十餘年，傳教佈道和譯介著述實為他的兩種主要活動。在《中西通書》、《六合叢談》、《萬國公報》、《西學略述》等處，他譯介了荷馬、彌爾頓、「穀伯爾」等西方詩人詩作，介紹了長詩、哀詩、「伊底羅詩」等西詩知識，多處發表了有關詩歌翻譯的看法。此外，他還與賓威廉、理一視等人合作譯出多種白話聖詩集。其譯介具有明顯的西學傳播性質，但又受到傳教意圖、傳教策略、傳教機構等影響，史料也是珍貴難尋。在晚近中國語境之下，這種譯介帶來了異質因素和視野參照，不失為一種特殊的文學歷史反映。

Early Japan Studies, Literary Translation, and the Shifting Space Between Cultures

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This paper considers the context surrounding the production and diffusion of English translations of Japanese literature from roughly 1860 to 1910, Japan's period of rapid modernization after opening to wider trade and relations the West. These works exhibit the volatility of translation as a technology, initiated to serve expansionist needs of state and commerce but resulting in a space for cultural definition from both directions.

The Western scholars who first approached the interpretation of Japanese language and culture for English readers—Frederick Victor Dickins, Basil Hall Chamberlain, William George Aston, and others—gave serious attention to literature. The introductions and translator's prefaces of their works reveal a shared understanding of literature as an expression of the writer's soul and by extension the essence of the whole culture, frequently drawing connections between the character of Japanese literature as they saw it and the nature of "the Japanese." While these scholars made some grating observations about Japanese poetics that were clearly grounded in orientalist assumptions, they were at the same time creating a forum for continued discussion and increasing understanding of Japan.

These men were not acting alone, however, and one must consider Japanese contributions when formulating how impressions of Japan were mediated for Western audiences: the Japanese teachers and associates of the Western translators who assisted with their work; the 18th and 19th century nativist scholars whose commentaries the English translators used; and individuals like Suematsu Kenchō and Saitō Shūichirō who produced their own English translations in this period. This paper outlines the field of information that existed between Japanese and Western agents in hopes of providing a more holistic picture of the early export of Japanese literary culture.

Translation and the Origin of Japanese Modern Art: 日本 *Nihon*, 近代 *kindai* and 美術 *bijutsu*

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In the late 19th century, when Japan transferred its cultural sights from China to Europe, the terms *kindai* 近代 (modern) and *bijutsu* 美術 (art) were coined. There followed the making of compound words such as *kindai bijutsu* 近代美術 (modern art), *Nihon bijutsu* 日本美術 (Japanese art), and *seiyō bijutsu* 西洋美術 (Western art). These terms were created with *kanji* (Chinese characters), by grafting newly arrived Western concepts onto existing *kanji* meanings, consequently their meanings went through several changes.

This paper examines the emergence of the three terms in the title (*Nihon*, *kindai* and *bijutsu*) in their social and historical contexts, using a number of critical writing on aesthetics (e.g. The *Bijutsu ronsō* 美術論争 exchange between Ogai Mori and Masakazu Toyama, and Tenshin Okakura's essays) and actual artworks (e.g. by Hōgai Kanō, Seiki Kuroda and Chū Asai) produced in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in Japan as points of reference. It will show how the borrowing of concepts brings with it adoption of values; how the changing meanings of these terms reflect shifts in relationships between the three cultural domains – 和 *wa* (Japan), 漢 *kan* (China) and 洋 *yō* (the West); and how 'Japanese Modern Art' 日本近代美術 (*Nihon Kindai bijutsu*) continues to suffer from an identity problem because of the elasticity of definition for each element of the compound in both its formative period and the following century.

翻譯言情小說的情感重構與東亞現代化：
以《野の花》和《空谷蘭》為例

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**The Modernization of China through the Translation of Grammatical
Lexicon**

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During the 19th century, the leading class of the Chinese empire promoted a great number of translations of the most important scientific works of that period. Their aim was to acquire the tools for the modernization of the economic structure of the country and for overcoming the technological and military gap with Western countries, which were putting China under military and economic pressure. The scholars who undertook the task of translating the Western works had to face the difficult creation of brand new sets of words so to provide Chinese language with an adequate lexicon for the notions introduced from the West.

At the beginning of the 20th century the idea took place that a Westernized description of the structures of the languages might help the education of the new generations of people.

My presentation will describe how the translation of grammatical lexicon was carried out in two of the most influencing Chinese texts of English grammar:

Yingwen hangu English grammar explained in Chinese, translation of Mason's *English Grammar*, written by Yan Fu and published in 1904;

Nashi Yingwenfa jiangyi, translation of *Nesfield's English Grammar Series*, written by Zhao Zhuo and published in 1909.

The aim of this research is highlight the intent to modernize Chinese education even by means of providing Chinese students with a more efficient description of language structures, that later was adopted for the description of Chinese grammar; secondly the peculiar lexical results of the effort of translating grammatical lexicon into Chinese will be shown.

文學想像與左翼批判：魯迅的「童話」翻譯初探

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本論文可說是探討魯迅的想像性文學創作的初步構想，藉由周作人的兒童文學理論以及魯迅於 1930 年代翻譯的諸多幻想性、寓言性的成人「童話」，重新認識魯迅文學中非現實、非理性的，諸多瘋狂、幻想、夢魘的成分，甚至是即興、無厘頭的表演。在這些翻譯、創作作品中，魯迅採用不同藝術表現形式，同樣保有對現實的關懷與批判。我想著重探討魯迅的文學想像，象徵與寫實的、想像與現實的複雜關係，特別分析一些想像性與富於童趣的作品，如《野草》、《朝花夕拾》、《故事新編》等，以具體說明想像力與童年趣味之間存在著一種神秘的關聯。從這些翻譯作品，也可看到魯迅受到十九世紀末、二十世紀初的歐洲象徵主義文學，特別是俄國白銀時代和東歐文學深刻影響的痕跡。

關鍵詞：魯迅 周作人 兒童文學 童話 寓言 想像 象徵主義

晚清商法之制定

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本文研究晚清對於商法的認識及其轉變，比較晚清商法與西方及日本商法之文字異同，並且解釋這些異同所反映出的歷史、文化脈絡。

近代若干重要法律詞語的形成 ——以清末民初的若干法律辭書為考察視角

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清末民初的法律辭書編纂與近代西方法學詞語的引進及發展互為促進，二者呈現出雙向互動的關係。考證「憲法」、「侵權行為法」、「繼承」等法律詞語的翻譯史與概念史，有助於揭示近代法律詞語的生成與演化規律。清末民初的法律辭書作為近代法律語言的記錄者，可真實客觀地反映西方法律詞語傳入中國時的最初漢語形態，是研究近代法律詞語形成、翻譯與傳播的理想腳本。

You Say You Want a Revolution?: “Kakumei” and the Japanese Proletarian Theater Movement

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The Marxist notion of the proletarian revolution was a problematic concept among Japanese socialists of the 1920s and 30s. The term “kakumei” became the standard Japanese translation of the newly imported notion of “revolution” as early as the 1880s through translations of Western historians and philosophers as well as theatrical and literary translations. However, “kakumei” was not a neologism, but rather was a Chinese compound used as far back as Mencius to describe a very different notion of regime change from those put forward by Marx and the Enlightenment thinkers. The new meanings that were mapped upon the word thus both temporally and spatially complicated understanding of the 1868 Restoration.

This paper looks at Sasaki Takamaru’s play *Tsukuba hiroku* (1930) to probe the ways that performance was a key cultural mode for understanding competing theories of “kakumei” and whether or not they could explain the Restoration. The play follows the participants of some of the violent uprisings of the Freedom and People’s Rights Movement of the 1880s, and foregrounds the role translation played in their intellectual discourse. This paper argues that it subtly challenges orthodox Marxist notions (particularly those put forward by the Comintern) of the Meiji Restoration. Further, it argues that the play was one of a series of productions by Sasaki that worked to renegotiate the rupture between history and modernity. While historical and theoretical attempts in Japan were often less than successful in situating Marxism in a Japanese context, the performative nature of *Tsukuba* succeeded in joining the Japanese intellectual tradition with the Marxist notion of revolution.

Pursuing Westernization through English Literature in Late-Meiji Japan

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After the Meiji Restoration of 1868 the modernization of Japan was enthusiastically promoted. The government implemented policies to increase the nation's wealth and military power (*fukoku kyōhei*) and to encourage new industry (*shokusan kōgyō*), using the West as the model for these processes of modernization. In this sense, Japan strove for equal standing with the 'great powers' of the West. Under this national policy of Westernization, introducing Western literature served as one of the essential tools for understanding the 'superior' thinking of these great powers, and translation consequently played an important role in this process.

In this paper, I will analyze the discourses of literature and of translation in certain literary journals around that time. Publishers and intellectuals understood and emphasized the need for literature in terms of its relationship with diplomatic events such as the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the Russo-Japanese War, which exerted great influence on the modernization (i.e. Westernization) of Japan. Through this analysis, I will illustrate that the reception of English literature via translation was inevitably connected to the national policy of Westernization.

Modernization, Translation, and Japan from a Minority Perspective

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When a wave of modernization came to Japan during the Meiji period, the government encouraged the translation of many western books into Japanese. These translations contributed to reshaping and modernizing the Japanese language itself. Part of the same modernization policy was the colonization of Hokkaido and of the Ainu people living there. Did translation affect the life of this minority and its cultures in a similar way?

This paper focuses on the Ainu translator, Yukie Chiri (1903–1922), and her collection of Ainu myths (1923). It contains transliterations of 13 Ainu myths into

Latin characters and their Japanese translations, and comes with an introduction by Chiri developing a vision for modernized Ainu within Japan. Understanding the importance this collection had and has to the Ainu people requires inquiring into why she could do these translations and what led to her particular choice of format.

A central role was played by the British missionary John Batchelor. Lifting the Ainu out of what he perceived as an ‘uncivilized’ state was part of Batchelor’s mission. Partially, Chiri’s translations achieved this by offering a foreign-language perspective on Ainu culture, opening the opportunity to leave it behind and, at the same time, to carry it forward into the future. This paper argues that the addressees of her translations were the Ainu themselves, and asks to what extent Chiri’s vision was a ‘translation’ of Batchelor’s or her own. Arguably, translation played an even larger role in the modernization of the Ainu than in mainland Japan.

Sake at Tiffany’s: Christopher Dresser and the Meiji Bureaucracy

Amelia SCHOLTZ

At the invitation of the Japanese government, the English design reform advocate Sir Christopher Dresser spent several months touring the potteries, foundries, and inns of Meiji Japan in 1876. Upon returning to England, he set to work writing what would be a best-selling account of his impressions of Japanese decorative arts, Japan, Its Architecture, Art and Art Manufactures (*JAAAM*). In the course of writing this narrative, Dresser received a package from Japan: the English translation of a Japanese government report on his movements and pronouncements over the course of his travels. He was shocked to discover that his Japanese translator, Sakata Haruo, and his guide, Ishida Tametake, had compiled his remarks and indeed published and circulated their report among Japanese merchants in 1877, years before he published *JAAAM*.

Dresser devoted the middle chapter of *JAAAM* to a denunciation of what he termed the report’s “laughable misunderstandings” of his words and “many facts altogether new to me.” Although the English report from which Dresser quotes is no longer extant, I have located the original Japanese report. In reading the original report and Dresser’s narrative together, I find translation being used to serve the Meiji regime’s economic agenda. The translation process simultaneously bolsters the English speaker’s authority by presenting him as knowledgeable, and undermines

such authority, by casting him in the potentially uncomfortable role of Japanese government mouthpiece.

從《天演論》到《原富》：以嚴復吳汝綸的書劄爲素材的考察

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嚴復在翻譯《天演論》和《原富》時都曾與吳汝綸有信函往還，專門討論翻譯的文體問題。本文以二人殘存信函爲素材，結合嚴復的翻譯實踐，討論政論性文章和技術性文章在翻譯上的異同，以及嚴復等如何試圖突破這種時代所造成的局限。

翻譯「現代」與反思「傳統」 ——論《現代》雜誌在 20 世紀 30 年代對中國現代性的建構

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《現代》雜誌被普遍認爲是培養出了中國第一支較爲成熟的現代派（主要指現代詩歌和新感覺派小說），但該雜誌所主張的「現代」的具體定義尚未被充分考察，其歷史價值也未得到全面關注。本文擬以施蟄存主編下的《現代》爲主要研究對象，在 20 世紀 30 年代的歷史背景中，還原「現代」的意義和內涵，論述《現代》在譯介選擇、文學主張和創作實踐中所呈現出的現代性面貌。聚集在《現代》周圍的施蟄存等人，在譯介西方文學、參與中國新文學建設的過程中，體現出了對五四傳統的反思，也正是在這一意義上，完成了他們對彼時中國現代性的建構。

漢譯聖經的文體及其影響

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馬禮遜（1782－1834）是新教來華傳教士第一人，他來華之後陸續完成了三個方面的工作，即聖經的漢譯、英華・華英字典的編纂、漢語的研究。第一項工作的聖經漢譯就是《神天聖書》全文的漢語翻譯。漢譯聖經的幾種文體中，《神天聖書》一般被劃分類為所謂的「文理」（Wenli，或 High Wenli）。但是，馬禮遜本人在從事聖經翻譯時，曾指出「聖經的翻譯應該講究忠實原文」。他同時也認為「聖經的翻譯以類似於《三國演義》的文體最為適合」。本文以《神天聖書》的四福音書為中心資料，通過這四福音書和《神天聖書》以前的一些漢譯聖經，以及馬禮遜兒子的《神天聖書》修訂本、裨治文、克陛存（E. C. Bridgman，M. S. Culbertson）等譯本之間的比較，探討以《神天聖書》為代表的初期漢譯聖經在文體上的特徵。

學在風雨飄搖時：晚清商務翻譯學堂初探

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晚清之世，志士亟求變國，遂有諸改革，教育即為其一。西國藉條約來華貿易，中外往還日頻，當時部分官員、商紳為應對如此變局，提倡設立「商務學堂」，外語翻譯與商學並習，兼及政治、格物等科，一以培訓商業譯才，翻譯外國商律及理論名著，以資國用，確立商業法制，並加以推廣，讓新興民商認清交易之法，二以教育精通內外方言的本土商務專家，或入仕充當顧問，或創辦企業，打破西人在華之經濟壟斷，大振國基。本文旨在討論商務學堂辦學緣起、宗旨理念、架構模式，伸述其現代意義，發明前人培育譯學、商學兼才之方法，古智今用，弘學利眾。

Textbooks as conduits for promoting modernity in Meiji Japan and modern China: Tales of the Golden Harbour Press and the Commercial Press

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In order to develop a new citizenry equipped with modern mentality conducive to the modernization efforts of Meiji Japan and modern China, the two nations were eager to adopt Western ideas of fundamental importance and disseminate them to the public through the milieu of cultural media. A substantial literature exists on the cultural transmission in East Asia. However, research has thus far focused mainly on such vehicles as literature, audio-visual media, and mass media including newspapers and magazines. Few studies have been carried out on textbooks as a device for cultural transmission when a modern school system was newly implemented in Japan and China in the late nineteenth century. Textbooks used in grade schools could influence the minds of young people in their formative years and affect the way they fulfilled their responsibilities to society as adults. Our paper examines how such fundamental Western ideas as *evolution*, *race*, and *competition* were translated into the national languages of Japan and China in elementary school textbooks in the subjects of language arts and morality published by the Golden Harbour Press and the Commercial Press, the two publishing companies that emerged in Japan and China respectively around the same time and collaborated in business for a brief period of time. Several key passages carefully selected from the textbooks have been examined to show how Western ideas were translated and contextualized for the purpose of educating young people of the two nations. Findings are discussed in a comparative perspective in search of broader implications.

現代性觀念在中國的建構過程與翻譯關係

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現代性觀念在中國的確立，很大程度上得力於對歐美文化的引進。但是，現代中國翻譯歐美文學作品是有選擇性的，大多限於現實主義或進步作家之作，除此之外的許多重要文學作品不受關注及翻譯。而且，在對進步作家作品或現代主義作品的翻譯中，又因為譯者價值觀所限，產生了很多誤譯現象。這樣的翻譯歷程，除了有助於便捷地解決當時中國的現實性問題之外，還促成了中國文化上的功利主義、影響了中國人全面認識世界文化等。

關鍵詞：現代中國 翻譯 現實主義 現代主義 誤譯

翻譯與政治現代化 ——20 世紀初留日學生雜誌《譯書彙編》與《游學譯編》研究

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在中國政治思想的現代化過程當中，西方思想的影響非常重要。其中，翻譯是為了解和傳播西方思想不可缺失的工具和路徑。本文關注這種情狀，要討論 20 世紀初留日學生所創辦的翻譯雜誌，《譯書彙編》(1900–1904)與《游學譯編》(1902–1903)。這兩份雜誌都在 20 世紀初在東京創辦的，並且都是以翻譯西方和日本的先進思想為宗旨的。當時這兩份雜誌向中國介紹西方和日本先進的政治法律知識和社會動態，對革命思想的傳播起到了促進作用。這樣的情況讓我們猜想翻譯對中國政治現代化的重要作用。據此，筆者認為，探討有關其具體的契機、進程及影響是為說明翻譯和政治現代化的關係非常重要的環節。在上述的問題意識下，本文要討論《譯書彙編》與《游學譯編》創辦和活動的情況和其意義。

本文大體上從時間和場合的角度切入該話題。首先，本文注意兩份雜誌創辦的 20 世紀初這個時間，當時，中國經歷過和西方與日本的衝突，在社會各個方面做出了多種新摸索。特別是，辛亥革命之前具有現代性的政治思想日益成熟。筆者認為，留日學生的政治意識不僅受到了時代氣氛意識，而且對此作出了一定的貢獻。在這個過程當中，他們所學習的西方和日本的先進思想和他們所創辦的翻譯雜誌起了不少作用。本文要分析兩份雜誌的內容，闡明他為什麼選擇和學習這些知識和思想、他們要傳播什麼樣的新思想、要實現什麼樣的新社會。第二，本文注意日本東京這個場合。當時日本是新知識、新思想最活躍的地方，還是新

知識分子的聚集地，也是中國學習和接受現代的各種文物和思想的主要路徑。因此日本成為了兩份留日學生雜誌的思想和知識背景。本文在這個角度，討論當時中國的留日學生所關注的知識和思想的歷史語境，並且注意當時中日交通和知識分子網絡分析留日學生所傳播的過程及其對中國國內政治或政治思想的影響和作用。

通過這樣的探究，本文從在 20 世紀初翻譯、中日交往、知識界的網絡的角度闡明翻譯實踐對中國的政治現代化的作用、意義與局限。

19–20 世紀《納氏文法》的編譯與民初的英文語法書

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《納氏文法》是清末民初最有影響力的英語語法教科書之一，在近代中國教育史有著重要的文化影響，已有鄒振環（2009）、陳滿華（2008）對該書的引進源流、內容結構、益群書社漢譯本及其對《新著國語文法》、《修辭格》的影響等問題做了開創性的研究。本文以文獻考據為基礎，通過實際文本對讀與歷史史料研究深入分析《納氏文法》系列存世文獻，進而考察該書與民初英文語法教科書的互動。

在內容上，一方面實地調查並整理與《納氏文法》相關的文獻資料——《學報》雜誌節譯本（1907）、益群書社趙灼譯本（1912）、益群書社陳嘉譯本（1931）、徐兆熊譯本（1921）三種中文譯本與沈彬《改訂納氏文法》（1917）一種英文改訂本。另一方面，對上述書目進行文本對讀，比較英文原本與中譯本、英文原本與英文改訂本、不同時代中譯本之間的形式與內容異同，進一步梳理《納氏文法》引進中國後在編譯方向上的發展變化。同時，結合民國初年英語教科書的編寫情況，在檔案史料整理的基礎上分析進入民國之後英語教育界對於《納氏文法》態度的具體轉變。

全文以上述內容為主幹，嘗試梳理出一條《納氏文法》從清末引進中國，借教會學校進入全國中小學堂，從出版社翻譯到社會性的個人翻譯，從奉若「聖經」到成為批判「靶子」的演進過程，從個案的層面總結中國文人對來自西方的英文教科書進行編譯的行為模式與接受理念。

關鍵詞：《納氏文法》 《納氏文法》漢譯本 英文教科書 編譯

美國政治學在近代東亞的傳播：文本與途徑 ——以 W. Wilson 的 *The State* 為例

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沃勒斯坦、狹間直樹、山室信一等學者的理論思考及相關研究提示我們從更高層次和更大範圍來探討：發源於歐美的 19 世紀社會科學學科的知識範式，是如何與歐美勢力在世界擴張的同時發展與擴散，進而成為欠發達國家學術體制的正統模式的。本文以美國第 28 任總統威爾遜的政治學名作 *The State: Elements of Historical and Practical Politics* (1889) 在中日兩國的多種譯本（《政治泛論》、《政群源流考》、《政治源流》等）作為研究對象，通過文本的對比分析，以及對翻譯與傳播途徑的調查，切入威爾遜的《國家論》在近代東亞的傳播史，進而討論其政治學知識對於近代東亞國制形塑的影響。

The Will to Evolve: The Thought of Darwin, Nietzsche, and Bergson in Early Republican China

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In twentieth century China, translation played a crucial role in supplying concepts to think about modernization and critique the culture seen as inhibiting modernizing Chinese society. Zhang Taiyan's translation of Herbert Spencer's article "Progress: Its Law and Cause" in 1898, Yan Fu's translations of Thomas Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics* in 1898, and Spencer's *The Study of Sociology* in 1903, caused social Darwinism to become the dominant paradigm in which the modern, time, and change were conceived by Chinese intellectuals in the first half of the twentieth century, prior to the translation of dialectical materialism into China. As a result, when the works of Bergson and Nietzsche were translated into Chinese in the first two decades of the twentieth century, their thought became subsumed under the vital need to evolve. This paper aims to first examine the odd nexus of social Darwinist, Bergsonian, and Nietzschean thought in China's early Republican period, and second investigate how Nietzsche's theories of the overman (*chaoren*), transvaluation (*chongxin guding jiazhi*), and the will to power (*quanli yizhi*) were used to supplement the non-participatory politics of social Darwinism by such intellectuals as Lu Xun,

Mao Dun, and Guo Moruo who translated Nietzsche in an effort to actively force China's culture to evolve. Finally, with the aid of Deleuze's interpretation of Nietzsche, this paper also points to how Lu Xun and Li Shicen developed non-Hegelian and non-teleological notions of causality before their conversions to Marxism due to the unique intellectual situation created by which European texts were available.

文學觀念的現代化進程： 以近代英華／華英辭典編纂文學相關詞條爲中心

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本文擬透過近代英華／華英辭典的編纂與流通，嘗試探索辭書中的文學觀念如何從傳統朝向現代化發展的歷程，尤其關注文學相關詞條（如 comedy, drama, fiction, literature, novel, poem, poetic, poetry, prose, tragedy, verse 等）的定義與內涵是否已藉由彼此參照、互涉、甚或排擠或取代，而使現代文學觀念群組形成，進而取代中國傳統的文學觀。本文將透過十九世紀下半葉至二十世紀初的三類重要英華／華英辭書進行考察（編譯者分別爲傳教士、日本知識份子及中國知識份子），尤其專注於比較 1866–1903 年間，以〔德〕羅存德（K. Lobscheid）《英華字典》（*English and Chinese Dictionary*）爲底本的英華／華英辭書群，以及 1908 年由顏惠慶主編，轉譯自英國納韜耳善本（*Nuttall's Standard Dictionary of the English Language*）的《英華大辭典》（*An English-Chinese Standard Dictionary*）之間，文學相關詞條是否形成了文學觀念群組，並進而確立了現代文學觀念。

Enlightenment and its Discontent: An Affective Turn in Late Qing's Translated Political Modernity

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The paper studies phenomenological associations and affective responses invited by keywords such as 革命 (revolution), 國民 (national citizen), and 自由 (liberty) in 意大利建國三傑傳 (“Biographies of the Three Heroes who Founded Italy”) and

羅蘭夫人傳 (“Biography of Madame Roland”) composed by Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873–1929) in 1902, and it is a preliminary attempt to explore the role emotion plays in the formation of translated modernity in late Qing China.

By contextualizing these biographies in the Chinese historiographical tradition and Liang Qichao’s political career, the paper tries to examine how the state of linguistic fluidity conditioned by an influx of translation allowed the late Qing reformer to engage his personal emotions, as well as the lyrical and the epic, in a mutually constitutive and dialectical relationship with some conspicuously foreign political concepts at a time of radical historical transformation. Apart from tracing these emotional resonances to the Chinese literary tradition and some of Liang’s most immediate experiences, the paper also questions whether this affective turn can be contributed to a larger epistemological crisis that surfaced in mid-Qing China but eventually failed to be resolved after new political possibilities promised by the late Qing reformist movement were being translated into frustrated hopes.

新教傳教士的翻譯活動對漢語新文體的影響

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新教傳教士一方面迫于清政府的禁教政策不得不進行文書傳教，同時他們又利用一切機會口頭化導底層民眾。在這種特異的實踐中，他們認識到了漢語問題的複雜性，並為尋找適合傳教的文體做出了可貴的努力。本文分析新教傳教士們的翻譯活動，以及在文體方面對 20 世紀初葉現代漢語造成的影響。

Modernization through Translation: Fukuzawa Yukichi’s Translation of Western Ideas

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Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835–1901) was a prominent scholar of Western learning at a time when Japan underwent a major social transition from the feudal society of the Edo period (1603–1867) to the Meiji period (1868–1912), which began with the

restoration of the Meiji emperor to the throne. Fukuzawa is credited with helping to introduce Western ideas and practices through his translations and original works, which contributed greatly to opening up Japan to modernization. While Fukuzawa was eager to adopt Western civilization in order for Japan to modernize, his idea of modernization did not equate with ‘westernization’, but was driven by the aim of resisting Western dominance, out of a fear that Japan might be colonized by Western nations. This paper investigates Fukuzawa’s views on the role of translation in the process of modernization, with a particular focus on translation contributing to the survival of the Japanese language and culture. This is linked to the development of the Japanese language through translating and introducing foreign concepts, as well as to the idea of educating the general population in their native language, both of which were important agendas for Fukuzawa. The paper examines how he devised ‘translation words’ and how he exerted efforts to develop his easy-to-read writing style in order to reach the masses with his message of importing useful Western knowledge.

Chinese Modernization in the War —Scientific Translation in *Xifeng* Magazine (1936-1949)

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The translation of modern western science had played an essential role in the modern Chinese development by “enlightening” the Chinese intellectuals and the common people in the late 19th and early 20th century. Yet the introduction of science seemed to be stopped by the invasion of Japan (1937-1945), after which the whole country was involved in the question of “surviving the war”. Among the translation magazines launched in the 1930s, *Xifeng* (West Wind) did not follow the mainstream. With “translating selected articles from Western journals and introducing European and American life and society” as its mission, *Xifeng* gave regular section for new information of science and technology in every issue, while other magazines gave voluminous coverage of subjects related to the warfare. Such terms as violence and humiliation were seldom seen in *Xifeng*. Instead, there was “modernization”. The paper examines the topics, genres and contents of those translated, analyzes the whole set of discourses established by the editors and translators, and discusses the significance of those translations in Chinese modernization. Instead of being “forced

upon” with the so-called nationalist emotions, *Xifeng* had created its own discourse and stance, chosen its own set of knowledge, and practiced its own way of modernity. The paper is a rebuttal about “Chinese modernization was totally stopped during the war”, proving that *Xifeng* fostered and accelerated development and circulation of modern sciences and the modernization process. It also forms an important part of the exploration of Chinese modernity in the 1930s and 1940s.

Rendering the “Zeitgeist:” Poetics and Political Thematic in Guo Moruo’s Translation of Goethe’s *Faust*

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This paper focuses on Guo Moruo’s decades-long engagement in translating Goethe’s *Faust* into Chinese. Pinpointing three key moments in Guo’s undertaking of this translation project, I argue that this translation text encodes the cultural politics of the Chinese Revolution in the early twentieth century. The first moment is Guo’s encounter with *Faust* during the May Fourth Movement. I trace Guo’s initial translation attempts back to the long-neglected translation fragments of 1919 and 1920. The poetic language in these fragments offers some missing links in the formation of vernacular “New Poetry,” and should be read in parallel with Guo’s idea that the translator is the mirror-image of the “Geschaeftiger Geist”. The second is Guo’s return to *Faust* as a cultural response to the failure of the National Revolution in late 1927. Translation thus became a site for the recovery of the traumatized political unconscious. The third is Guo’s translation of *Faust* Part Two in 1947, on which occasion he interpreted *Faust* as a “development of modern Zeitgeist.” Just as Goethe’s *Faust* is a nineteenth-century “world text” that embodies the experience and rhetoric of “contemporaneity of the non-contemporaneous”, so the ever-changing poetics and thematic in Guo’s project show how such a translation allegorizes the diverse historical experiences, discursive symptoms, and revolutionary agencies in modern China. One can thus discern a deeper mode of translation: political subjectivity resides in the constant cultural translation between different temporalities or crises, and embodies the experience of China’s modernization as condensed and yet incomplete.

鴉片作為翻譯對象： 1904 年聖路易斯博覽會上的煙槍與煙燈

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1904 年的聖路易斯世界博覽會，大清帝國展廳的藝術品當中，出現若干吸食鴉片用的煙槍和煙燈。當時在美國留學的幾名中國學生在展會上看到煙槍和煙燈立即向負責此次展出的工作人員提出交涉，並要求把這些展品從展廳中撤出。但他們的要求遭到拒絕。這件事情直到溥倫貝子出面干涉才得以順利解決。對於該事件，現有的研究主要集中在中國參加世界博覽會史上，個別涉及以後的立憲運動和經濟改革。而這次展出的若干煙槍和煙燈在折射帝國視野下的翻譯實踐問題上的獨特意義卻無人涉及。晚清的鴉片史，實際上也是「物」的翻譯史。1858 年《通商善後章程》之後，鴉片由原來的「毒」轉而被翻譯成「藥」，從而合法在中國市場流通。1904 年的世博會，鴉片再次被從「藥」翻譯成「毒」，作為大清帝國的形象代言人出現在世界舞臺上。鴉片作為被翻譯的對象，折射出的實際上是語言霸權下後發國家的現代化困境。

張之洞督鄂時期（1889-1907）的翻譯政策研究

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作為洋務運動的代表，張之洞在督鄂期間（1889-1907）興實業、辦教育、修鐵路，促成了當時湖北乃至中國早期現代化。而「中學為體，西學為用」的指導思想，使得當時湖北的翻譯活動尤為活躍，這與當時翻譯政策不無關係。通過分析史料，試圖厘清翻譯政策在當時文化語境下扮演的角色和產生的作用，對理解翻譯政策的社會功能具有現實意義。

關鍵詞：張之洞 湖北 翻譯政策

Two Chinese Protestant Intellectuals for the Modernization of China—Wang Tao and Hong Rengan—

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During the Late Qing dynasty, it was the third peak period that Western knowledge and Christianity was imported into China. It was a special era of internal crisis, Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Rebellion, and the external threats of foreign powers. Chinese assistants mostly remained anonymous in the affiliation or the cooperation with the Western Protestant missionaries. However, amidst the silence of these Chinese assistants to these missionaries, Wang Tao and Hong Rengan, as Christians, intellectuals and Confucianists, both display a different profile from those of other Chinese assistants to the Western missionaries during the Late Qing dynasty. Both worked with the famous missionary of translation of Chinese Classics, James Legge. Later, Wang focused on the emerging modern printing press in China while Hong Rengan fought for his Christian aspiration and new hope for a new China at the end of Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. They were not silent anymore. Wang Tao and Hong Rengan were more educated and harbored a more equal status in the discussion with the Christian missionaries. This paper aims to show the different Christian identities of Wang Tao and Hong Rengan and their work with James Legge, so as to compare their different roles with other Chinese assistants of the Jesuit and Protestant missionaries. Their extraordinary lives and their work with James Legge made a great contribution to the translation of Chinese Classics and later propelled the modernization of China.

‘Entering Into the Family of Nations’: Translation and the First Diplomatic Missions to the West, 1860s–1870s

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Since the Ming dynasty, there had been the imperial *Siyi guan* to take charge of the training of interpreters and diplomatic interpretation. But they handled only tribute missions from peripheral countries. As there had not been any school for the training

of Western languages, China had no qualified interpreters to deal with the Westerners, in particular the British. After repeated defeats by the latter at the two Opium Wars, China was forced to open its door and by 1861, foreign legations were established in Beijing.

As part of its modernization programme, the Qing government started to train its interpreters for Western languages in 1862, with the establishment of the Tongwenguan 同文館, School of Common Languages in Beijing. The present paper will first study how China's first generation of diplomatic interpreters to the West was trained in the School. It will then proceed to examine the language and cultural problems in the first few Chinese diplomatic missions sent to Europe and America in the 1860s and 1870s. Although several graduates were sent to accompany the missions as interpreters, they were not able to play an active role in interpreting, simply because their poor mastery of foreign languages. Among them, we will pay special attention to Zhang Deyi, who was appointed as interpreter for the first four missions sent by the Qing to the West. We will analyze how in these missions the Westerners were actually discharging the duties as diplomatic interpreters, and determine if Chinese interests were well taken care of.

保守與現代：清末西書翻譯的語言困境

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清末西書翻譯往往存在這樣的語言困境：一方面，譯者體認到文言文在翻譯西書和傳遞現代新知時的局限，力圖採用新的語言表達方式；另一方面，在濃厚的民族文化自大心理面前，譯者意識到只有文言文翻譯的西書才能迎合知識階層的審美趣味，達到傳播新知的目的。在開啓民智的啓蒙時期，翻譯西書最重要的功用是輸入現代新思想，本論文認為採用文言翻譯西書除了文化中心主義思想之外，與譯者對讀者接受心理的顧及、翻譯的功用等因素有關，是在特殊的語境下採取的翻譯策略，並非譯者的保守之舉。清末譯者的語言困境折射出引入和傳播現代新思想必須面臨又亟待解決的語言問題，為五四白話文運動的博興積蓄了能量。

Transmission of Modernity to China:

On English and Chinese Dictionary by W. Lobscheid

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This research tries to explore the transmission of modernity to China based on *English and Chinese Dictionary* (1866-1869) by W. Lobscheid (1822–1893), a German Lutheran missionary to China in the 19th century.

Due to the emergence of newborn disciplines, technologies, and ideas produced by the Western industrial revolution, new concepts constantly appeared and were added to English dictionaries. In the 19th century, dictionaries appeared in China before other types of works reflecting Western development and change, and thus contributed significantly to the translation between Chinese and English languages. When some new concepts were created in English and then translated and enter Chinese through the English-Chinese Dictionary gradually, the Western modernity these concepts represented was transmitted and accepted in some degree.

This research will be conducted in terms of history of ideas, lexical history and history study. It will first look at Webster's *American Dictionary of the English Language*, the basis of which W. Lobscheid compiled *English and Chinese Dictionary*. Focused on the new entries of the version used, it explores the historical background of these entries and the relevance of their modernity to western society. It also examines the corresponding Chinese words W. Lobscheid used, focusing on his way of "adding new meanings to Chinese." The research will also explore the way of meaning change of Chinese during the communication of Chinese and Western culture, compare the meanings of the same concepts in different language systems and analyze the reasons behind this evolution, thus to discover the process and function of passing modernity via defining the meaning of words in dictionary. Therefore, the research will make a significant contribution to history of ideas and lexical history, and provide a useful perspective to examine today's new words.

Modernizing Chinese Women: Translations of Biographies on Western Women in the Women Journals Edited by Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies Writers in Early Republican China

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Since the Late Qing, women's emancipation has always been taken as one of the central projects to modernize China. The construction of modern Chinese women is thus closely connected with the pursuit of Chinese modernity. Condemned as conservative and regressive by the May Fourth intellectuals, Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies writers are often neglected in studies on Chinese modernity and their works are rarely considered valuable or relevant to modernization in China. While a few studies begin to rediscover their contributions to Chinese modernity, their efforts to promote Chinese women's emancipation are still largely ignored. During early Republican China, Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies writers have edited various women journals and magazines in which they translated large numbers of biographies on western women. Through these translations, this paper will study how Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies writers actively respond to the call of women's emancipation by introducing various western women models as modern examples for Chinese women. What kinds of western women are introduced? How such foreign women are rendered by the translators to serve the project of Chinese women's modernization? How do traditional Chinese and modern western resources are adopted and combined? What kinds of modern self are constructed as examples for modern Chinese women? Through these questions, this study aims to analyze the alternative pursuit of Chinese modernity by Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies writers, which not only helps to rediscover the rich voices of Chinese modernity, but also serves as a critical reflection on the May Fourth paradigm.

Architecture by Translation: Beaux-Arts Classicism and the Creation of a History of Chinese Architecture

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At the beginning of the twentieth century, the first generation of Chinese architectural historians, as they would become known later, started their work on writing a history of Chinese architecture after returning from their education in the United States and Japan. Their modernizing project of writing an architectural history of China entailed two layers of translation: translation of ancient manuals in classical Chinese such as the *Yingzao fashi* into modern, accessible prose; and translation/transplanting of Greco-Roman art and architectural theory and method into the Chinese context. In this paper, I intend to examine the second layer of their translation. The early historians' background in the Beaux-Arts system and its influence on their work have been well-studied, but scholars seldom problematize the idea of translation itself. Borrowing from insight from Lydia Liu (1995) in her work of literary, translated modernity of China during roughly the same period, I intend to examine and analyze the role of translation in the creation of a Chinese architectural history during the first decades of the twentieth century, by situating the written works and design practice of the early historians in the larger socio-historical context of the early 20th century China, and more importantly, by problematizing the notion and practice of translation itself.

德齡郡主與清末中國的現代化

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清末，爲了維持封建統治，中國政府不得不開始有選擇地向一直所鄙夷的西方人學習。儘管姍姍來遲，中國的現代化進程還是被動地啓動了。作爲滿清少有的擁有海外經歷的貴族，德齡郡主通曉八國語言，深諳東西文化，自然而然地成爲深得慈禧信任的翻譯官和外事助手、光緒的英文教師和知心朋友，進而成爲晚清最高統治者身邊最有影響力的人物，扮演了中國最高統治者瞭解和認識西方的窗口與橋樑的角色。由於被服務者——中國君主至高無上的權力，德齡郡主成爲了清末對中國現代化進程最具影響力的歷史人物之一。

插圖的翻譯和基督教的本色化： 晚清漢語基督教翻譯小說中的插圖之研究

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插圖的翻譯是符號系統間的互譯。晚清較流行的漢語基督教小說往往有不同版本，其插圖的符號系統在不同版本中源變也各有差異。本文討論的是不同版本小說中被譯的插圖如何一步步地體現基督教的本色化。小說插圖再現基督教本色化的最早例子要屬傳記小說中身著儒服的利瑪竇肖像。班揚的《天路歷程》和《人靈戰紀》兩書之粵譯本插圖，則體現了譯者如何利用儒釋道和民間迷信的符號系統，逐步實現宗教的本色化。基督教小說中的插圖常出現佛教「西天指引圖」模式，實是譯者借用中土的符碼元素，將「宗教」進行翻譯／本色化。要之，被譯的插圖之意指不僅在基督教，反而更指向傳統土壤中長存的其它宗教元素。

清民之際知識精英的教育理想及其東方現代性訴求 ——以留德時代蔡元培的《中學修身教科書》及其與張元濟等出版人的互動為中心

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19 世紀以降，世界範圍內發生的全球化進程，及其背後隱藏的現代性問題，已經成為至今為止各國學者關注的「顯學」。而具體到亞洲場域，則主要凸顯為西力東漸與西學東漸的雙重背景。前者以西方的堅船利炮為標誌，後者則以西方各類著作的譯介為手段。但在具體的歷史演繹過程中，這兩者卻並非涇渭分明，道如鴻溝。具體到現代中國之建構與中國現代史的整體進程而言，研究者對思想史、政治史及其重要人物都已予以重視，但對知識精英與政治精英的互動關係問題關注還是不太夠。而這一點，很可能是理解現代中國形成與發展的樞紐性問題，具有大可開拓的學術空間。

岡千仞的翻譯與近代中國知識人學術思想的現代轉型

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岡千仞（1833–1914）是日本明治時期代表性漢學者之一，除傳統文史研究外，亦曾譯有《米利堅志》、《法蘭西志》、《訥耳遜傳》等書，並發表獨到的譯述原則與歷史評價，對晚清西學產生重要影響。1884 至 1885 年，岡氏來華遊歷，撰作《觀光紀游》等記錄觀感。他在書中反復指斥拘儒陋生矇於外勢，並提出改革措施，尤以仿效歐美為主。包括變風俗、廢科舉、建學舍、興實學等，是其長期關注西學的結果。此類建議雖不為當局所採，但得到滿清友人的稱許推崇，其後亦影響了中國近代知識人（宋恕、蔡元培、魯迅、周作人等）思想觀念的演進。

科學翻譯與文學訴求：以傅蘭雅（John Fryer, 1839–1928）為中心

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傅蘭雅是 19 世紀中後期在華活動的英國傳教士。他致力於科技文獻的翻譯，其數量和範圍在近代無人企及。研究發現，傅譯對中國文學的影響更大。一方面，百餘部科學譯著激發起國人的文化防衛心理，在晚清小說中有所體現；另一方面，傅蘭雅口譯和筆述相結合的方法，啟發了林紓等人的文學翻譯模式，推動中西文學比較。傅蘭雅在格致書院課藝及《格致彙編》問答中拉近中西文化距離，消解上述兩種影響的消極因素。因此，他舉辦的小說競賽，主題雖與前人相同，得到的響應卻異常熱烈。傅蘭雅後期赴美國講授中國文學，當有在中國的隱性緣由。

19 世紀末 20 世紀初「文明史」在日中兩國的翻譯、傳播與變異

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五四時期前後，中國作家跨國承接西方浪漫主義，吸納西方美學文論中「天才」議題。王國維在晚清強國強種脈絡中，轉化康德美學，定義天才是感性的直

覺揚昇，且天才產出有生不逢世之感。稍晚魯迅在日本弘文書院，接受尼采「超人」、「權力意志」觀點，以藝術家高度擴張自我、表現自我，是彰顯了新型的人格理想；但 1920 中期魯迅受普羅文學影響，轉向「沒有民眾，就沒有天才」的反天才論。民初以來的感傷傳統，則可見蘇曼殊、留俄知識份子瞿秋白，後者因與十九世紀俄國文學「畸零人」形象產生共鳴，自謂自己是在中國「士」傳統與馬克思主義思想間拉鋸，「完全破產的紳士」變成「城市的波西米亞人」，他的天才論狂妄中帶有廢物的自慚。棄醫從文的郭沫若，則從日譯文吸納德國文學但丁《神曲》、歌德《少年維特的煩惱》及佛洛伊德學說，他雜揉中國古老醫學，思考天才藝術家的生理質素。本文擬整理天才論的多元移植路徑，並觀察本土轉化之處。

構想「世界」：一種啓蒙嘗試

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本文選取了英國作家威爾斯于 20 世紀初的熱銷作品《世界史綱》為核心文本，在將其中譯本納入的基礎上，考察它在 20 世紀 20 年代中國的翻譯接受情況，以及其在中外語境中複雜的生成關係，並以此反思「世界」觀念在現代社會中的角色。從中可以看出，關於「世界」的知識在一定意義上構成了某種「逆返」——威爾斯將中國關於自我的言說摻入了自己的世界構想當中，而這個世界圖景又在中文譯介中參與了中國在 20 世紀初對中國/世界二元體系的建構。

新教傳教士的譯詞和漢語觀：以馬禮遜為中心

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西書漢譯的歷史可以上溯到明代天主教利瑪竇（Matteo Ricci, 1552–1610）來華之時。當時天主教傳教士翻譯的有關西方天文，地理，數學，歷史等知識的書籍中出現了許多新的漢語譯詞，這些詞彙至今仍然保留在現代漢語中。可是在譯書過程中首次有意識地做語言比較的還數 1807 年來華的新教傳教士馬禮遜（Robert Morrison, 1782–1834）。對馬禮遜來說翻譯並不是單純的語言對譯，而是在對兩種不同文化背景的語言有了深刻理解之後才能實現的一種語言轉換。

馬禮遜雖然沒有留下有關翻譯理論的專著，但在他的中英文書籍以及日記書簡中有多處提到他對漢語和翻譯的認識。比如他在第 2 部字典《五車韻府》的序言中提到翻譯時，寫道「雖然意譯比直譯要簡單得多，作者還是主張使用後者，因為他認為這種方法能準確地表達原義。不過要實現準確性和易解性兩全的話，有時是很難做到的。這種場合就應該靈活掌握」。也就是說雖然馬禮遜在翻譯時選擇直譯，可是他的最終目的還是要追求「準確性和易解性」。

本文想通過分析馬禮遜的中英文書籍以及日記書簡中有關漢語學習和翻譯工作的記述，考察一下他是如何追求漢語譯詞的「準確性和易解性」的，他的漢語觀是如何影響他的譯詞等問題。

Negotiating Chinese Modernity through “Foreign” Tears

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This paper examines two pieces of sentimental “foreign” stories in early twentieth century China: Lin Shu’s translation of Tokutomi Roka’s *Hototogisu* and Li Hanqiu’s pseudo-translation *Two Flowery Sisters* (zimei huagu). In both texts, romantic relationships suffer from the ordeal of having to choose between tradition and modernity. And the translator/pseudo-translator, by serving as a self-proclaimed go-between between the source culture (Japanese and English respectively) and the target audience, redirects the sentiments towards the transformation China has to embrace, often through commentaries. While Lin Shu blends Takeo’s sorrow for losing his dear wife with Lin’s own grief over China’s defeat in the First Sino-Japanese War, Li Hanqiu complicates George’s predicament between the virtuous Linna and the courageous Yingna with a looming image of traditional Chinese values giving way to “universal principles”. Thus, the tears that are originally supposed to be shed over the foreign love tragedies now also serves an outlet for the frustration in face of an apparent dichotomy between Chinese traditions and Western/Westernized modernity.

Drawing upon Charles Taylor’s distinction between a “cultural” and an “acultural” approach, I propose that in both Lin’s domesticated translation and Li’s foreignized pseudo-translation, the appropriation of sentimental emotions targeted at their imagined Chinese readership serves as an important mechanism to fill in the gaps between the cultural and the acultural, and between the untranslatable and the

translatable—if we consider literary translation as part and parcel of the larger project of “translating” modernity into the Chinese context. That is, if in the two stories, a “development” —along the acultural line —into the modern world system is envisioned as inevitable, the cultural negotiation, although somewhat overshadowed, finds itself embodied (or concealed) in the various layers of the sentiments.