

**Re-presenting China through Retranslation:  
A Corpus-based Study of *Liaozhai Zhiyi* in English**

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by

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# Chapter I

## Introduction

This chapter aims to provide some basic information related to this study. Section One presents the research questions that will be examined in this study. Section Two provides a brief introduction of Pu Songling's life and the context of his composition of *Liaozhai*. Section Three analyzes the features of *Liaozhai* as a key Chinese cultural text and explains the reasons for using *Liaozhai* as a case study in retranslation. Section Four concludes this chapter by pointing out the significance of this study.

### 1.1 Research Questions

This dissertation aims to investigate how the retranslations are shaped by the social, political and cultural relations between the source and target cultures and how retranslations reconstruct the image of the source text and the source culture by comparing retranslations of *Liaozhai zhiyi* (hereafter refer to as *Liaozhai*)—a key Chinese cultural text written by Pu Songling (蒲松龄, 1640-1715)—into English done in the colonial period (1842-1917), the decolonizing period up to the end of Mao's rule (1917–1978), and the “open-door” period (1978-today).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The literal meaning of the Chinese title 聊斋志异 is “strange tales told in the study room named Liaozhai”.

## 1.2 Songling Pu and His Collecting of *Liaozhai*

Songling Pu<sup>2</sup> is a Chinese writer best known as the author of *Liaozhai*. He was born in 1640, just four years before the Manchu conquest of China, which marked the end of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) and the beginning of the Qing dynasty (1644-1911). He was born into a declining gentry family in a small village in Zichuan (淄川) county outside the city of Ji'nan (济南) in Shangdong province, as the fourth son to a father who had to abandon a scholarly career to make a living as a merchant, as the family finances dwindled. At the age of nineteen, Pu made himself known by placing first at the county examination and was awarded *xiucai* (秀才), a title for scholars who were allowed to study at the county or prefecture levels. He did not attain the title of *linsheng* (廪生), reserved for students receiving a government stipend, until 1683. In 1711, at the age of seventy-two, he became a *gongsheng* (贡生), a scholar recommended by the local government for further studies in the national capital. He never succeeded in passing the imperial examination despite repeated attempts throughout his life.

Attending the imperial examination was an important part of life for Chinese scholars at that time because the examination system provided them the chance to obtain a high position in the government overnight, which would be a great honor not only for the family but also for the place where they were living. The imperial examination began in the Sui (581-618) and became established in Tang dynasties (618–907). Gradually, it developed into the main means for recruiting officials into the government. It was held every three years at three levels: local, provincial and national. The latter examination,

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<sup>2</sup> Pu is the family name and Songling is the given name. In China, the family name is put before the given name.

which is called the *dianshi* (殿试), was held in the imperial court under the personal charge of the emperor himself. The local and provincial examinations were called *zhoushi* (州试) and *shengshi* (省试), respectively. In 1905, the imperial examination was abolished in China.

In 1670, Pu was briefly employed as a private secretary to a friend and district magistrate. For most of his life, he managed to support himself and his family by working for wealthy gentry families in the area. In 1679, he was employed by Jiyou Bi (毕际有, 1623–1693) as a resident tutor to Bi’s grandson, a position he occupied for thirty years.

Pu was an avid reader of *zhiguai* (志怪), which literally means “records of strange events.” When he was in his twenties, Pu began to collect anecdotes and stories of strange happenings. According to legend, Pu set up a stall on a busy thoroughfare and offered free tea to passers-by in exchange for their stories of unusual experiences or events. Knowing of his interest, his friends and relatives sent him raw material from everywhere. He compiled these anecdotes and stories by adding his own world view, as well as the source of most of the stories. It is unknown how much of the collection had been completed by 1679, the year dated on his own preface to *Liaozhai*. For many decades, *Liaozhai* was circulated in manuscript form. It was not published until 1766, fifty-one years after Pu’s death. In the 1766 edition, there are 455 stories. Later, more stories were gradually found and added to the first edition. Now *Liaozhai* edited by Qikai Zhu (朱其铠) and published in 1992 contains 497 short stories.

The language of *Liaozhai* reflects a scholarly orientation—the stories are full of literary and historical references or poems, which makes it very challenging for readers to



understand. So Chinese scholars made annotations to the stories. Three annotated versions are well-known: those by Zhan'en Lü (吕湛恩, 1825), Zhenluan Feng (冯振峦, 1825) and Minglun Dan (但明伦, 1842). Feng's annotation was completed in 1818, but it was not published until 1891. Later editions of *Liaozhai* were accompanied mainly by these three annotations. Popular modern editions include the annotations compiled by Youhe Zhang (张有鹤), which were published in 1962 and reprinted in 1978, or the ones by Zhu Qikai (朱其铠), which were first published in 1986 and reprinted frequently.

### 1.3 *Liaozhai* as a key Chinese cultural text

“Texts of various types and genres and in various forms (textual, audiovisual and visual)” which “play central roles in presenting and representing the culture to itself and in defining its cultural others (people, places, and customs)” are defined as a key cultural text (qtd. in T. Lee 111–112).<sup>3</sup> *Liaozhai* occupies a significant position in Chinese literary history. It “represents a monumental legacy. The author elevated the classical tale to a level of artistry and intellectual sophistication unprecedented up to his time” (Altenburger 163). Its cultural representativeness has been repeatedly noted by scholars. As André Lévy, a French sinologist, argues, “No literary work may claim deeper roots in Chinese culture than the *Liaozhai zhiyi*” (83). Two translators of *Liaozhai* expressed the same opinion. John Minford, a professor at the Australian National University, contends that *Liaozhai* is generally seen “as the pinnacle of fiction in Chinese classical language” and representative of Chinese culture (xii). According to Herbert A. Giles, a professor of

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<sup>3</sup> No author is provided. This definition can also be seen at <http://gtr.rcuk.ac.uk/project/DB4B217D-9379-4BD1-8961-7C47F5A7D7AC>

Chinese at the University of Cambridge, the abundant use of allusions and adaptations in *Liaozhai* “would seem to have been co-extensive with the whole range of Chinese literature,” with which only a work by Thomas Carlyle can compete (xxx–xxxi).<sup>4</sup> Since its publication in 1766, *Liaozhai* has been widely read in China and is as “familiar throughout the length and breadth of China as are the tales of the Arabian Nights in all English-speaking communities” in the Victorian Era (Giles 1880 xvi). For these reasons, *Liaozhai* can be considered a key Chinese cultural text.

A most distinctive feature of *Liaozhai* stories is their diversity. The stories contained in the collection vary greatly in terms of genre, thematics, major characters and length. Among the 497 stories, there are love stories, ghost stories, horror stories and stories about nature. Major characters in the stories include scholars, officials, businessmen, villagers, ghosts, spirits, gods, demons, and animals. The length of a story also varies from only 31 Chinese characters to 4322 characters. Overall, *Liaozhai* is seen as advocating traditional Chinese values while criticizing the society of the author’s time, and it presents a broad overview of Chinese culture.

The translations of *Liaozhai* is also characterized by diversity. Diversity in the original work and its translations is the reason for using this text as a case study in retranslation. The following two parts will analyze the diversity of the *Liaozhai* stories themselves and the diversity of the English translations.

#### **1.4 *Liaozhai* as Pu’s Utopian World**

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<sup>4</sup> Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881) was a Scottish philosopher, social critic, essayist, historian, biographer, translator, editor and teacher during the Victorian Era. His literary style is characterized by heavy employment of allusion and metaphor.

William Bascom (1912–1981), an American folklorist and anthropologist, has identified four main functions of folklore: 1) to escape in the fantasy from the social restrictions; 2) to validate culture by justifying its rituals and institutions; 3) to educate through illustrating moral principles and describe the consequences of failing to strictly obey them; 4) to maintain conformity to the accepted patterns of behavior as a means of social control (343–347). *Liaozhai* is Pu's escape into fantasy from his reality. In order avoid being punished for criticizing the society, Pu resorted to supernatural stories to eulogize the pursuit of love as against arranged marriage, to glorify values and criticize problems, and to share information about strange events or phenomena, to rather than advocate superstition. The educational function of *Liaozhai* was recognized from the very beginning. Menglai Tang (唐梦赉, 1628–1698), a Chinese writer in Qing Dynasty, points out in his forward to a manuscript of *Liaozhai* that Pu's aim in writing *Liaozhai* was to glorify virtue and to censure vice.<sup>5</sup> Sidney L. Sondergard, a professor of English and its most recent English translator, argues that Pu makes his tales implicitly didactic by employing supernatural characters, such as a fox spirit, to impart ethical lessons (1: xxv).

According to James Nagel, an emeritus professor of American Literature at the University of Georgia Athens, a didactic story is “a work of short fiction that is designed to teach a moral lesson” (295). The purpose of didactic literature is “to define the values of a society” (Corcoran and Beers 121). *Liaozhai* was meant to educate and to share stories about strange phenomena as well. Virtues are glorified and vices are censured. In the original text, 219 of the total number of 497 stories (44.1%) aim to teach moral

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<sup>5</sup> Quoted from *Liaozhai Zhiyi*, edited by Zhu Qikai (朱其铠) and published in 1989, page 2.

lessons and to define the social values of Pu's age. Of these, 103 (20.7%) stories glorify values and 116 stories (23.3%) criticize various individual weaknesses or social ills.<sup>6</sup>

These 219 stories have an obvious didactic function. Pu's didactic purpose is less overt in the remaining 204 stories, which mainly describe strange events or phenomena (41%); 74 stories (14.9%) are about romance. 109 (22%) of the 497 stories contain sexual references. For convenience of expression, in this study the term "didactic stories" specifically refers to the 219 stories that aim at glorifying values or criticize various individual weaknesses or social ills. Those stories with a less overt didactic function will be excluded from the category of didactic stories.

The dominant method to teach a moral lesson in the *Liaozhai* stories is related to karmic consequence and fatalism. The word karma is derived from Sanskrit *kri* (to do), which literally means action. According to Judy F. Pugh, a professor of anthropology at Michigan State University, karma refers to "the person's store of moral codings, which are considered both consequences of prior actions, either in this lifetime or in a past lifetime, and causes of future activities or conditions; it also refers to actual events, qualities, and conditions which are considered to have been affected by this store of moral codings" (134). All actions produce their effects. Good action brings reward and bad action causes punishment. "Karma is an ancient Eastern tradition, which many people in the West warmly welcome" (Thomson 34). Nowadays, it is still quite common for Chinese people to use the term karma to explain their experiences. The western religious belief of going to heaven or hell after death is a good example of karmic

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<sup>6</sup> Please see Section 3.3 (page 30) for the details of categorizing the themes of the stories.

consequences. Aesop's fables in Greek and the fairy tales of the Brothers Grimm in German are two well-known western collections of stories aimed to educate. To some extent, *Liaozhai* can be described as a Chinese Aesop's fables for adults.

In addition to recounting various strange events or phenomena, Pu created a utopian dream world in which virtues are rewarded and vices are punished; men and women can communicate freely and become very good friends; friendship can overcome the restrictions of the natural world; lonely scholars, businessmen or officials who are far away from home, are often visited by beautiful spirits or ghost girls at nights, who understand them and have the supernatural power to help them.

### **1.5 Diverse *Liaozhai* Stories and its Diverse Translations**

*Liaozhai* has been frequently translated into English. Since Karl F. Gützlaff, a Prussian Protestant minister, published the first English translation of nine stories in the journal *Chinese Repository* (Vol. 11, No. 4) in 1842, twenty-one translators have rendered *Liaozhai* into English. Nine translations were published in journals or included in collected volumes, and the remaining twelve were published individually as books. There have also been three reprints of the 1880 translation by Herbert A. Giles and one reprint of the 1989 translation by Denis C. Mair and Victor H. Mair. Most of them are direct translations from Chinese; only one is an indirect, or relay, translation. These translations span three important periods in Chinese history: the colonial period (1842–1919), the decolonizing period up to the end of the Mao Era (1919–1978), and the “open-door” period (1978–today).

The thematic diversity of the *Liaozhai* stories makes the translator's selection of stories for translation potentially significant. The number of stories selected varies greatly, from half of a single story to a complete translation of all the 497 stories. Translations published in the early stage tend to have a smaller number of tales, while recent translations contain many more stories. Among the twelve books published individually, five contain only twenty-five or fewer stories, about one twentieth of the total number in the source text. Another three translations contain about fifty stories each. One has 84 stories. Two contain more than one hundred stories: one has 164 stories, while the other has 194. Only the latest translation, in six volumes, contains all the stories of the original. The final volume of this translation was published in January of 2014. Therefore, the selection of stories for translation represents an interesting category of analysis.

Translations of *Liaozhai* also display great variety in the paratextual material included to "frame" the different translations. According to the French literary theorist Gérard Genette, paratexts are "those liminal devices and conventions, both within and outside the book, that form part of the complex mediation between book, author, publisher, and reader: titles, forewords, epigraphs, and publishers' jacket copy are part of a book's private and public history that mediate the book to the reader" (i). In the translation context, Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar defines paratext as "presentational materials accompanying translated texts and the text-specific meta-discourse formed directly around them in the form of reviews or advertisements prepared for the work in question" (*Politics and Poetics* 203). Genette refers to the former as "peritext" and to the latter as

“epitext,” which could also include letters and relevant archival documents (4-5). In this study, paratext refers narrowly to the materials *within* the book, that is, peritexts. The genre of paratexts in the different translations of *Liaozhai* varies from translator’s prefaces to introductions of the source text and the author, notes, illustrations, glossaries, tables, maps, works cited, etc. Some paratexts comprise just a few pages, while in other translations the paratextual material comprises more than one hundred pages, about one fourth of the book’s length. Some translations contain extensive notes, while some have no notes at all. The functions of the paratexts will be discussed in later sections.

The variety of *Liaozhai* translations can also be connected to the varied profiles of the translators. Six of the ten translations in the third period were done by native Chinese speakers, while the remaining four translations were done by non-native speakers of Chinese. One of the four translations was published in China, but the other three were published in western countries. This enables me to investigate whether translation directionality, which “usually refers to whether translators are working from a foreign language into their mother tongue or vice versa” (Beeby Lonsdale 84), as well as sponsorship, had an impact on the image construction of *Liaozhai*. In other words, how are the translations done from the translator’s native language (hereinafter referred to as NL) into the foreign language (hereinafter referred to as FL) different from those done from FL into NL?

In summary, the English translations of *Liaozhai* provide rich material to explore how key cultural texts “travel” across linguistic, socio-political and cultural borders. Specifically, my study will address the following two questions: How are the

retranslations shaped by the social, political and cultural relations between the source and target cultures through the choice of which stories to translate, the application of different translational approaches, and the modulating role of paratexts? And how do retranslations reconstruct the image of the source text and the source culture?

## 1.6 Significance

Translation scholars Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi argue: “Translation has been at the heart of the colonial encounter, and has been used in all kinds of ways to establish and perpetuate the superiority of some cultures over others” (16). Colonialist translations from the dominated language served to provide the colonial powers with knowledge of the colony, to empower the colonizers, and to justify their colonization. These purposes were achieved through the choice of translation materials—texts that “help create a desired image of the colonized or confirm prevalent orientalist images are more readily translated and circulated” (H. Wang 201)—the kind of translation strategies used, and the use of paratextual materials. However, translation from a dominated language into a dominating language can also be a means of decolonizing. Through an in-depth analysis of the whole translation history of *Liaozhai*, which spans the colonial and decolonizing period in China for more than one hundred years, this longitudinal study provides strong and solid support for the claim that a translation is shaped by its socio-cultural context, as traced in the shifting relationship between China and the West, revealing the role of translation to be both constituted by those relationships and constitutive of them, that is, contributing to their evolution.



In addition, this research will also contribute to translation studies by addressing the following important issues in translation studies:

**1. A quantitative study of literary translation.** Most research done in the field of literary translation is supported with individual examples and cases. The subjectivity that inevitably enters in the selection of these individual examples negatively affects the validity of the data. This study provides a new thematic quantitative approach to literary translation studies. In order to reduce subjective judgment, a corpus of all existent English translations of *Liaozhai* that are available was collected. Then, each story in the original work was assigned a prevalent theme type based on several indicators, such as plot, the author's commentary, the actions, events, etc. The themes of stories in the target texts (TTs) were then examined to see whether any changes were made. The image of the original work and the image of each translation were determined based on the proportion of each type of theme. Most of the data used to support the arguments in this research is quantified.

Much of the previous corpus-based research in translation studies has focused on linguistic features of translations (lexical density, type-token ratio, frequency of a word, sentence number and average sentence length, etc.) or on their pedagogic applications. Unlike that research, the present study investigates longitudinally how retranslation is related to its social-cultural context by analyzing the thematic preferences of the translators in the three historical periods under investigation.

**2. Documenting changes in translation norms.** This research shows how translation norms changed in the colonial period, the decolonizing period, and the "open-

door” period, as well as how translation directionality influenced translation product.

Directionality has been studied mainly for its cognitive impact on the translation process, especially on the interpreting process (B. Wang 2011, Jensen 2009, Pavloviæ 2007, Chang 2007, Malkiel 2004). There is a lack of research on the impact of directionality on translation products. This study will examine how directionality affect the product of translation through the reconstruction of a literary work in another language and culture.

## **Chapter II**

### **Literature Review**

#### **2.1 Retranslation**

Retranslation has been defined in various ways by translation scholars. Sebnem Susam-Sarajeva, a senior lecturer in Translation Studies at the University of Edinburg, for example, defines retranslation as “subsequent translations of a text or part of a text, carried out after the initial translation that introduced this text to the ‘same’ target language” (“Multiple-entry visa,” 2). According to Şehnaz Tahir-Gürçağlar, a professor of Translation and Interpreting Studies at Bogazici University, the term retranslation most commonly denotes “either the act of translating a work that has previously been translated into the same language, or the result of such an act, i.e., the retranslated text itself” (“Retranslation,” 233). Though Susam-Sarajeva’s concept of retranslation focuses only on the product while Tahir-Gürçağlar’s includes both the process and the product, both emphasize that retranslation must occur into the same target language. S. P. E. Almberg, a translation scholar, on the other hand, defines retranslation broadly. She argues: “to retranslate is to translate again or to translate back, but retranslation can also imply indirect translation, meaning translating not directly from the original but via another translation in a third language” (925). Retranslation, for Almberg, comprises not only translation from the same source text into the same target language, but also relay

translation as well as back translation.<sup>7</sup> In this study, I will use Almberg's definition so as to have a broad view of the reception of *Liaozhai* in Anglophone countries.

Although retranslations occupy a prominent place in the long history of translation practice, the phenomenon of retranslation remains relatively under-explored in translation studies. In the limited scholarship on retranslation which has mainly been published since the 1990s, and especially in the past several years, scholars have attempted to generalize features of retranslation into what is now often referred to as the *retranslation hypothesis* (Koskinen & Paloposki 2003; Brownlie 2006). According to Tahir-Gürçağlar, the retranslation hypothesis was first introduced by the French translation scholar Antoine Berman in a special issue of the journal *Palimpsestes* ("Retranslation" 233). Yves Gambier explains Berman's retranslation hypothesis as follows: "a first translation always tends to be more assimilating, tends to reduce the otherness in the name of cultural or editorial requirements [...] The retranslation, in this perspective, would mark a *return* to the source-text" (qtd. in Koskinen and Paloposki "Retranslations in the Age," 21).<sup>8</sup>

This claim, however, has been challenged by scholars in a number of case studies (Koskinen and Paloposki 2003; Susam-Sarajeva 2003, 2006). The result of their research suggests that retranslation cannot always be simply characterized as domesticating at first, then increasingly foreignizing. Temporal sequence—translation followed by

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<sup>7</sup> Relay translation means translating from a translation into a third language. Back translation is translating the target text back into the source language.

<sup>8</sup> Yves Gambier's article "La Retraduction, retour et détour" was published in French in *Meta* 39 (3), 1994, pp. 413-417. Here is what he wrote originally: une première traduction a toujours tendance à être plutôt assimilatrice, à réduire l'altérité au nom d'impératifs culturels, éditoriaux [...] La retraduction dans ces conditions consisterait en un *retour* à texte source."

retranslation—is not the only factor to consider. The profile of a retranslation is affected by ideology, translation norms, the translator, the target reader and other factors in the target culture.

Another question that has been commonly posed is the reason for retranslation. The two reasons—changing social contexts and translation norms—are often discussed (Brownlie 150). Irmeli Helin summarizes five reasons for retranslation: (1) changing language; (2) changing society; (3) changing ideologies; (4) changing culture; (5) changing interaction between languages and cultures (qtd. in Pakkala-Weckstrom 309).<sup>9</sup> Tahir Gürçağlar summarizes the motivations for retranslation: (1) various changes, including changes in social contexts and translation norms; (2) ignorance of previous translations; and (3) competition with previous translations (Tahir Gürçağlar 2009: 235–236). However, two Chinese scholars, Mingwu Xu (许明武) and Chuanmao Tian (田传茂), find that the Chinese retranslation boom in the 1990s was mainly profit-driven (243–257).

In addition to the above socio-cultural factors, scholars have also observed the role of translators in retranslation. Lawrence Venuti argues that a retranslation may be motivated by the “retranslator’s personal appreciation and understanding of the foreign text” (“Value” 30). A translator may also initiate a retranslation because of “mistranslation and unsolved problems” made or left by previous translators (Z. Yang 48).

Venuti also analyzes the value created by retranslations. According to him,

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<sup>9</sup> Helin’s original article “Kääntäjä ja yhteiskunta—uudelleenääntämisen yhteiskunnallinen viitekehys” was published in *Kielen matkassa multimediaan*. Näkökulmia kääntämisen tutkimiseen ja opiskelemiseen, ed. Hilkka Yli-Jokipii, 145–164. University of Helsinki Publications of the Department of Translation Studies 1. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.

“retranslations maintain and strengthen the authority of a social institution by reaffirming the institutionalized interpretation of a canonical text” (“Value” 26). He contends that through reinterpretation, retranslations can make a foreign text that is peripheral in the domestic literary system achieve a central position in the domestic literary system. In addition, retranslations help elucidate some important issues in translation studies, such as the translator’s agency, his/her intentions to translate, the circumstances under which the translation is produced and the social influences of the translation (Venuti “Value,” 27–28).

As a relatively new discipline, translation studies still needs to address many questions concerning retranslations. This research aims to investigate how the broad political and cultural context of source and target culture relations shapes the retranslation of a key Chinese cultural text.

## **2.2 Translation as a Subjective Norm of Image-making**

The role of translation in creating the image of an author, a foreign work and the attendant representation of a foreign culture has been addressed by a number of translation scholars. Maria Tymoczko argues that “translations form images of whole cultures and peoples, as well as of individual authors or texts, images that in turn come to function as reality” (*Early Irish* 18). In 1990, André Lefevere expressed a similar view. According to him, “translation is one of the most obvious forms of image making, of manipulation, that we have” (“Genealogy” 26–7).

In the context of “unequal exchange” (Casanova 288), translations can even

influence the image the source culture has of itself. Richard Jacquemond, a Professor of Arabic Literature and French translator, argues that orientalist translations from a dominated language into a dominating language reinforced the image of the “orient” as “stagnant, mysterious, strange, and esoteric” (qtd. in H. Wang, “Postcolonial approaches” 201).

Translation scholars have also discussed translation as a highly subjective activity which is, however, constrained by the society in which it is produced. The whole process of translation, from the selection of what to translate to the reception of the published translations, is constrained by factors such as ideology, poetics and patronage (Lefevere, *Rewriting* 2–10).<sup>10</sup> As a result, we should expect that the images of a culture created by different translations at different times and in different political contexts will differ, as will the reception of the text and the image of its culture of origin.

How are the images of a foreign text and a foreign culture shaped by the broader political and cultural context of source and target cultural relations? I believe retranslations supply rich material to answer this question. Retranslations of the same foreign work into the same target language produced across a range of historical and cultural circumstances provide researchers with the opportunity to identify and analyze the extent to which these translations were shaped by the political and cultural context, inscribing the translators’ choices within larger historical-cultural developments. While recognizing the important role played by translators and other agents in creating retranslations, we must also recognize that those “choices” are shaped by the cultures in

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<sup>10</sup> Lefevere’s concept of poetics has two components: (1) literary devices, genres, symbols, motifs, prototypical characters and situations, and symbols; (b) the role of literature in the social system (*Rewriting* 26).

which the translation was produced and the relationship between the source and target cultures. And so, while it is important to focus on individual choice, it is also important to recognize the cultural and political forces shaping those choices.

### **2.3 Research on *Liaozhai* and its Translations**

The English translations of this key Chinese cultural text are largely under-investigated. Most of the research that exists has been done by Chinese scholars. Haijun Li (李海军), a professor at Hunan University of Arts and Science, is the most active in this field. In 2009, Haijun Li and Yunfeng Xiong (熊云凤) reviewed the current research on the English translations of *Liaozhai* done in China. They focus on the following three aspects: 1) the history of *Liaozhai*'s English translations; 2) case studies of individual translations; and 3) comparative study of several translations. They point out three problems in this research: insufficiency in quantity and broadness, plus highly repetitive studies on certain translations, such as Giles', Mairs' and Yang et al.'s translations.

In an article published in 2008, Wang Yan (王燕), a professor at Renming University of China, establishes the earliest English translations of *Liaozhai*. She believes that Gützlaff's translation of nine *Liaozhai* stories is the first translation. After examining Gützlaff's life and religious convictions, she concludes that the reason for Gützlaff's criticism of *Liaozhai* as superstitious is that he looked at this Chinese work from his western religious perspective instead of from the point of view of Chinese Taoism. She then summarizes the three main features of Gützlaff's translations: 1) his translation of each of the stories is just an untitled outline with many mistranslations; 2) his



introduction mainly discusses Taoism, but none of the stories he selects mentions Taoism; 3) he did not mention the literary achievement of *Liaozhai* because *Liaozhai* does not help the Anglophone reader to learn the Chinese language or Chinese history. At the end Wang points out the influence of Gützlaff's translation on westerners' opinion of Chinese literature, on subsequent missionaries working in China and on Samuel W. Williams, another *Liaozhai* translator.

Two other Chinese scholars also traced the English translation history of *Liaozhai*. In the article "Following the Traces of Pu Songling," published in 2009, H. Li made a very detailed list of all the translations contained in other books, the translations published individually and the translations published in picture books or comic books. He makes a few short comments at the end of each entry. H. Li's list also contains books that adapted or collected previous translations, which are excluded from this study because they are not new translations. Three years after H. Li's publication of the above article, Yongsheng Wu (吴永昇) and Jinhui Zheng (郑锦怀) made another diachronic study of English translations of *Liaozhai* from 1842 to 1946. In this article, Wu and Zheng provided very detailed information about each translation, including information about the publication, the translators and the purpose of each translation.

From the perspective of cross-cultural translation, Chunfang Long (龙春芳) and Xin Xiong (熊欣) compare the similarities and differences between Giles' and Mairs' translations of *Liaozhai* in three respects: treatment of cultural information, the purpose of the translation, and the translation strategies used. They argue that with detailed annotations, Giles rendered cultural information more accurately than Mairs because

Giles' translation was intended to introduce Chinese culture, while Mairs focused on readers' comprehension. Different purposes resulted in their different application of translation approaches and strategies. Giles tended to preserve Chinese otherness, while Mairs domesticated more. In Schleiermacher's words, Giles tended to bring the reader to the author, while Mairs tended to move the author to the reader.

In the article "Analysis of Dialogue Translation in *Liaozhaizhiyi* in Perspective of Relevance Theory," published in 2014, Yuan Du (都媛) and Jirong Chen (陈吉荣) argue that due to the double influence from the SL and TL contexts, translators should make continuous reference to the two contexts to produce the best translation. They conclude that it is important to introduce relevance theory<sup>11</sup> into translation.

In 2014, H. Li published the monograph entitled *From Cultural Manipulation to Cultural Harmonization: A Study of the English Translation of Liaozhaizhiyi*. It is the first book-length study of the English translations of *Liaozha*. This book is composed of seven chapters. The first chapter introduces the English translations of *Liaozhai* and reviews the research about the translations, which are mainly covered in his two articles introduced above. Chapter Two discusses the development of descriptive translation studies and its application in this book. Chapters three, four and five characterize the translations made by three groups of translators: early western sinologists, current western sinologists and Chinese translators. In each of the three chapters, H. Li examines three or four translations, focusing on the strategies applied and providing a great number of examples. Chapter Three discusses the early sinologists' cross-cultural manipulation of translations.

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He argues that Gützlaff adapted and rewrote *Liaozhai* for his purpose of spreading Christianity; Allen rewrote it to satisfy English readers' reading expectations; while Giles rewrote *Liaozhai* to protect the purity of Chinese literature by domesticating the sexual references because Giles believed Chinese poetry to be lofty and pure, leading him to delete the indecent parts (H. Li 63).<sup>12</sup> By combining the plots of two stories into one or adding what does not exist in the source text, Soulié's translation is actually a recreation in the name of translation.

Chapter Four discusses current western translators' respect for *Liaozhai*, with Mair, Minford and Sondergard as the case studies. H. Li argues that domesticating and foreignizing are both used in the first two translations, while Sondergard's translation is "a model of foreignizing translation" (97-105). In Chapter Five, H. Li uses the three translations by Quong, Yang et al. and Lu et al. as his case studies. He argues that under the dominating culture of the U.S., Quong showed her care for English readers by adding explicating information to the titles, paraphrasing or deleting allusions heavily loaded with Chinese culture in the author's commentary. The purpose of Yang et al.'s translation, H. Li argues, is to introduce Chinese literature and culture to the world. This purpose is pursued through transliteration of culture-specific items and the addition of notes, although domesticating approaches can also be found. Lu et al.'s translation is mainly foreignizing.

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<sup>12</sup> I do not agree with this assessment of Giles's motivation. In the source book *The Civilization Of China* (published in 1911, page 128-129), Giles talks about Chinese high-brow literature and low-brow literature and their different readers. In the same part, he also introduces Chinese medical literature. It is, therefore, hard to conclude from this introduction of various types of Chinese literature that Giles's purpose of deleting sexual references in *Liaozhai* was to keep the pure image of Chinese high-brow literature as *Liaozhai* was not a work of refined poetry.

In Chapter Six, H. Li briefly discusses the cultural contexts of the three groups of translations introduced in the previous three chapters, then analyzes the translation trends from cultural manipulation to cultural harmonization. In Chapter Seven, he points out the innovation and limitations of this research, further research directions and its implications for future English translations of Chinese classics, concluding that: 1) future English translation of Chinese classics need the assistance of western sinologists, but Chinese translators are more needed to undertake the task, and 2) future translations should mainly apply a foreignizing approach to let the western countries have a better understanding of the real traditional Chinese culture and the real China (156–158).<sup>13</sup>

As H. Li mentions in his book, research on the English translation of *Liaozhai* is very rare in western countries (17–18). Only a few small discussions exist scattered in the paratexts of translations of *Liaozhai* or in studies of *Liaozhai* as a literary work. And almost all of them are about Giles' translation. For example, Minford asserts the value of Giles' translation while also pointing out its weakness caused by the translator's advanced age (xxxii). In the book *Collecting the Self: Body and Identity in Strange Tale Collections of Late Imperial China*, Sing-chen Lydia Chiang (蒋兴珍), a professor of East Asian Studies at Boston College, offers a brief discussion of Giles' translation. She argues that there exist two ironies in Giles' translation. One irony is that Giles counsels his readers to understand *Liaozhai* stories from a Chinese perspective, not from a European one, but “the avowed Chineseness of the moral terms in Giles' translation was

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<sup>13</sup> Here are H. Li's original words in his book: 以后中国典籍英译既需要西方汉学家的鼎力相助, 更需要中国当代英语学者和翻译家勇挑重担 (page 156) ... 以后中国典籍英译应该主要采取异化翻译策略。在提出文化多元化发展的 21 世纪, 无论是西方汉学家译入中国文化典籍, 还是中国英语学者和翻译家译出中国文化典籍, 其主要目的是向西方世界介绍真正的中国传统文化, 促进中西文化交流和发展, 让西方了解真正的中国 (page 157).

actually refashioned according to European standards.” (72). The other irony is that “Giles’ intentionalist and moralist representation of *Liaozhai* has turned out to be in keeping with the spirit and practice of the indigenous Chinese *Liaozhai* commentary tradition” (72).

My study is different from H. Li’s research in three respects: 1) the object of investigation, 2) the analytical approach taken, and 3) the interpretation of the data. Regarding the object of investigation, H. Li’s book examines ten English translations of *Liaozhai*, comparing the translation strategies applied. However, the criteria for the selection of these ten translations are not provided. In each chapter, he just mentions something like: ... these three (or four) representative translators and their translations will be discussed. By contrast, my study investigates all 21 English translations that could be found, examining the paratexts, the selection of texts for translation, as well as the translation approaches taken. In terms of the analytical approach taken, H. Li supports his arguments with numerous examples that demonstrate the translation strategies used (approximately one quarter of the book’s length). My study classifies the theme of each story in the STs and TTs into four categories and calculates the ratio of the four themes in each translation. Most data used, such as the proportion of supernatural stories, the number of notes and number, etc. are quantified. The analysis of those quantitative results is triangulated with an analysis of the paratextual material and of the translators’ biographies. Finally, Li offers an analysis of his partial corpus that sees the translation history of *Liaozhai* as moving progressively back toward the source culture, which allows him to privilege the work of native Chinese translators as representing the ideal of

“cultural harmonization.” Analysis of the entire corpus of *Liaozhai* translations, including Sondegard’s complete translation of 2014, disrupts this developmental post-colonial narrative. The structure of H. Li’s major begins with early manipulative translations, then moves to the translations of modern western sinologists, ending with Chinese translators’ harmonious translations with the aim of introducing Chinese culture to the world. The book ends with a discussion of the changes in the historical and cultural contexts of these translations. My discussion is organized around the three historical periods in which the translations were produced. In the third period, translations made in Chinese contexts are discussed separately from the translations produced in the west, but are not seen as on a higher plane of development or harmonization. The reception history of *Liaozhai*, viewed in its entirety, is, I feel, too complex and contradictory to support such a reading.

## **Chapter III**

### **Methodology**

#### **3.1 Corpus**

In order to answer these research questions, I created a parallel corpus that contains the 497 short stories in the source text and all the English translations that I have collected, including the individually-published books, as well as the partial translations published in journals or as excerpts in other books. In the source text, historical and literary references, allusions, metonyms, customs, religious beliefs, measure units and other culture-specific items in China were marked. Translation strategies, such as deletions, additions, adaptations, bowdlerizations, etc. were marked in the TTs. Due to the fact that corpus tools currently available, such as WordSmith Tools and ParaConc, cannot be used to compare so many texts of such a big parallel corpus side by side and extract data related to their literary features as conveniently as it does to extract data on linguistic features of a text, all the corpus analysis and data collection had to be done manually.

Statistical information was collected from the following: 1) the STs: the title of the source text, the prevalent themes, CSIs and major characters in the story (such as scholars, officials, animals or spirits and ghosts); 2) the translators' profile: life experience, nationality, profession and translation directionality; 3) publishing information: the publisher and the date and place of publication, as well as the number of stories published; 4) the TTs: the title of the target texts, prevalent themes, paratexts and translation

strategies. These data were used to analyze whether the translations produced in different periods or places reveal different preferences for themes and characters, and, as a consequence, how the different preferences shape the image of *Liaozhai* created in each translation. I also attempted to establish a relationship between the translation and its social, political and cultural context, in particular, the nature of Chinese-Anglo relations.

Translation approaches and strategies employed by each translator were differentiated and analyzed. According to Wolfgang Lörcher, a professor and translation theoretician from Leipzig University, a translation strategy is “a potentially conscious procedure of the solution of a problem which an individual is faced with when translating a text segment from one language into another” (76). Therefore, a translation strategy is the basic method applied by translators to solve specific translation problems at the micro level, that is, how to render a text segment. Translation strategies include: substitution, adaptation, addition, compensation, deletion, explanation, bowdlerization and so on. Translation approach refers to a procedure or method to solve translation problems at the macro level, that is, how to solve the conflict between the author and the reader. In the German theologian and philosopher Friedrich Schleiermacher’s view, it is the choice whether to move the reader toward the author or move the author toward the reader. Translation strategies are part of translation approaches, which can also be identified in part from the selection of translation texts and paratexts accompanying the translation.

Statistical data on translation strategies was collected regarding the rendering of the STs into English, paying particular attention to the rendering of culture-specific items (CSIs). The broad translation approaches applied by each translator were examined, from



their selection of texts for translation and the paratexts accompanying the translation to the translation strategies they employed. The data was used to determine whether translators of *Liaozhai* in each period or from the same cultural context are similar in their application of translation approaches; how the translation approaches applied are linked with the broader socio-cultural context; and how translation approaches help to reconstruct the image of the ST and of the source culture (SC) for target readers.

### 3.2 Periodization

In order to test whether the political relationship between China and the West shaped the translations in terms of the stories selected for publication and the paratextual material accompanying the translation—and if so, how—it was necessary to begin with a periodization that reflected the changing political relationship between China and the West. Only then could I see whether the translations reflected those political shifts or not. James St. André, a professor of translation at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, offered a widely-accepted periodization of modern Chinese history in his book *China and Its Others*. St. André divides modern Chinese history into three periods: “late Qing (1829–1911), Republican Era and the PRC up to the death of Mao (1911–1976), and the contemporary period (1976–2010)” (16). While the translation history of *Liaozhai* falls rather neatly into the periods delineated by St. André, this study will periodize the translation history of *Liaozhai* into three, slightly different periods: the colonial period (1842–1917), the decolonizing period up to the end of the Mao Era (1917–1978), and the “open-door” period (1978–today). My considerations for doing so are given below.

In 1839, a few months after Lin Zexü (林则徐 1785–1850), a Chinese official appointed to abolish the opium trade, confiscated and destroyed illegal opium, blockaded trade, and imprisoned foreign traders, the first Opium War (1839–42) between China and Great Britain broke out. The year 1839 is, therefore, commonly regarded as the beginning of the late Qing period, rather than 1829, when nothing very important happened in Chinese history. The first Opium War ended with the Treaty of Nanjing, signed on August 29, 1842. In addition to “an indemnity to be paid to Britain by China of 21 million Mexican silver dollars” (Perkins 339–40), Britain also forced China to open five ports for foreigners and foreign business, “grant the British people the right of extraterritoriality, which means that ‘British subjects in China would be tried by British judges’, and “cede Hong Kong to Britain” (Carroll 16). From 1842 on, portions of China were gradually colonized by eight western countries. 1842 marks the beginning of the colonial period of China. The entrance of missionary and diplomatic personnel into China made possible the first English translations of *Liaozhai*, which were published in 1842, 1848, 1867, 1874, 1880, 1907, and 1913.

In 1917, Germany and Austro-Hungary returned their concessions in Hankou and Tianjing to China (Y. Zhang 64). After that, other colonizing countries successively returned their ceded territories to China. 1917, therefore, signifies the beginning of the decolonizing period in Chinese history.

Mao Zedong died in 1976, but his successor, Hua Guofeng, was a loyal follower of Maoism. His guiding principle was “Two Whatever,” which states that “whatever decisions Chairman Mao had made we would firmly support, and whatever directives

Chairman Mao had given we would persistently follow” (Zheng *China*, 22–23).<sup>14</sup>

Therefore, the two years under the leadership of Hua were actually a continuation of Maoism. In 1978, Deng Xiaoping came into power. His “open-door” policy brought China out of its past isolation of 29 years since the People’s Republic of China was founded in 1949 and enabled China to become an active participant in the world economy, as well as to provide the world with opportunities to learn more about China. Therefore, I consider 1978 to be a more important year than 1976 in this research.

### **3.3 Categorization of Dominant Themes of *Liaozhai* Stories**

According to Brenda Rollins, the theme of a story refers to “the entire message that the writer is trying to send with his story through the use of characterization, action, and images” (71). Norton believes that the theme of a story is “the central idea that connects the plot, characters, and setting” (qtd. in Barone 113). Determining the themes of the *Liaozhai* stories was a significant preliminary step in describing the image of the original Chinese work and its image reconstructed in various English translations. Rollins argues that “an author can express the theme of a story in four ways: 1) by the feelings of the main characters, 2) through the thoughts of the main characters, 3) through events of the story, and 4) through the actions of the characters” (71).

The dominant theme of each *Liaozhai* story in either the original work or the translations was decided upon close reading, taking into consideration the plot, including both the main plot and the subplot, the events taking place in the story, the author’s

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<sup>14</sup> The Chinese original is: 凡是毛主席作出的决策，我们都坚决维护；凡是毛主席的指示，我们都始终不渝地遵循。 Web. Feb. 8, 2014. < [http://news.xinhuanet.com/ziliao/2003-01/20/content\\_698196.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/ziliao/2003-01/20/content_698196.htm)>.

commentary, the feelings, thoughts and experiences of the main character and of the other minor characters.

The 497 stories in the ST were classified into the following four categories according to the dominant theme of each story: (1) stories with Type I theme (romance), that is, about romance between human beings and spirits, ghosts, celestials, etc.; (2) stories with Type II theme (values), which aim at glorifying values such as filial piety, modesty, loyalty, gratitude, sharing, honesty, righteousness, justice etc.; (3) stories with Type III theme (problem), criticizing problems (personal and social) such as incourteousness, ignorance, laziness, stinginess, addiction to gambling or alcohol, corruption, and other negative social phenomena, such as stealing and cheating; (4) stories with Type IV theme (other), recounting strange events or phenomena, including horror stories. All the stories that could not be assigned to the first three categories fall into the fourth.

### **3.4 Other Classifications**

Analysis of the paratextual material led me to trace additional, super-thematic elements: categories used by the translators or authors of the introductions, if not the translator, in order to frame the stories: overtly didactic, supernatural, feudal, and erotic elements. All the stories in Type II and Type III, which promote values and critique problems, that is, stories that “is designed to teach a moral lesson” or “to define the values of a society,” were classified as overtly didactic stories, a concept which has already been defined in Section 1.4 (page 6). Type I stories and Type IV stories were for the most part grouped as

non-overtly didactic stories. A few of the stories in Type I and Type IV contain a brief narration in praise of a value or criticizing a problem; however, the main goal of these stories is to describe a romance, a strange event or phenomenon,

Stories were classified as supernatural based on whether the story contained any supernatural elements, such as a supernatural character (a ghost, a spirit) or a supernatural event, such as a man suddenly changing into a tiger. Stories were classified as anti-feudal and non-anti-feudal based on whether a story aims at criticizing feudal society or describes a character whose behavior challenges Chinese feudal traditions or social expectations, such as feudal hierarchy, various restrictions on women or women's role as an obedient wife whose job was to take good care of the parents-in-law, the husband and the children. Stories with sexual references (or erotic as colonial translators claimed) were also tagged.

Stories with supernatural and anti-feudal elements, on the other hand, can be found across the thematic categories. A supernatural story with one of the four dominant themes can also be anti-feudal. For example, the supernatural story “Yingning” (婴宁) describe a fox girl's love with a young man. The girl, Yingning, is an anti-feudal character, whose behavior goes against the social expectation of feudal China for girls to be self-restrained. “Yingning” is both a supernatural and anti-feudal story with a Type I theme.

### **3.5 Data Collection**

Based on the above classification, the percentage of each type of story in the ST and in each translation was calculated. Other indicators that help to describe the image of the ST and TTs, including the percentage of supernatural stories, the percentage of stories with sexual references and the percentage of stories with anti-feudal elements, were also measured. The total number of notes that help to analyze the approaches applied in each translation was counted and the average number of notes per story provided by each translator was calculated and compared between native Chinese translators and foreign translators.

Two excel files were created, which allowed me to sort and compare data. One excel file contains 22 sheets listing the information of the original work and the 21 translations. The ST sheet contains information about the title, type of theme of the stories, names of all the translators who translated the story, number of Chinese characters, or length, as well as the presence of didactic, supernatural, anti-feudal, and sexual or erotic elements, as well as a commentary by the author. Each of the translation sheet lists the information about the title of stories translated, the type of theme, and the presence of didactic, supernatural, anti-feudal and sexual or erotic elements. The statistical data collected from the 22 sheets were put into the second excel file. The second file contrasted the statistical data of the ST and the 21 translations based on the percentage of stories on each type of theme, and the percentage of stories with didactic, supernatural anti-feudal and erotic elements. It is convenient to find out whether there exists a common pattern in each of the three periods and the shifts in each translation from the ST in terms of the given parameters. As a result, the image of *Liaozhai*

reconstructed in each translation and in each period is easy to trace. In the third period, translations made by native Chinese translators and by foreign translators were separated so as to see whether there exists any difference caused by directionality.

## CHAPTER IV

### Contradictory Translations of *Liaozhai* in the Colonial Period

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the English translations of *Liaozhai* produced in the colonial period, which are marked by fundamental contradictions: contradictions between the Victorian paratexts and their TTs, contradictions within the corpus of colonial TTs, and the coexistence of contradictory translation approaches within most of the colonial TTs themselves. This chapter is divided into three parts. Section One provides a brief overview to the historical and cultural context both in China and Great Britain other western countries, introduces a key concept that runs through this chapter—orientalist translation—and offers a discussion of all the English translations published in the colonial period. Section Two investigates the contradictions between the Victorian paratexts and their TTs, and the contradictions within the corpus of colonial TTs. This section also explores how two contradictory translation approaches—othering and domesticating—were employed side-by-side in the colonial translations. In light of these findings, Venuti's concepts of foreignization and domestication will be re-examined. Section Three discusses contradictions within the colonial TTs, mainly the contradiction between Soulié's TT and other colonial TTs. Section Four concludes that the English colonial translations of *Liaozhai* are marked by contradictions between the content, which tends to other or foreignize China, and the form, which domesticates the tales to suit



Victorian social and aesthetic norms. The reasons behind these contradictions will also be analyzed.

#### **4.1.1 The Opium War in China**

In the 17th and 18th centuries, the demand for Chinese goods (particularly silk, porcelain, and tea) in the European market and the self-sufficient economy in China created a trade imbalance between China and Europe. European silver kept flowing into China until the British East India Company began to transport opium grown on its plantations in India to the China coasts, thus reversing the silver flow. In 1839, the Daoguang emperor refused to legalize the opium trade. Zexü Lin took various measures to abolish the opium trade, which upset the British government.

In 1840, Britain launched the First Opium War with China as a solution to the increasing conflict between the UK and China. Following the Chinese loss of the Opium War and the signing of the Treaty of Nanjing on August 29, 1842, China was soon colonized by eight countries: the United Kingdom, Germany, Australia, Russia, Belgium, Japan, France, and Italy. As described in the preamble to The Constitution of the People's Republic of China, "feudal China was gradually reduced after 1840 to a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country" (qtd. in Hayes 211). The year 1842 marked the beginning of the colonial period in China and also saw the first English translation of *Liaozhai*.

After being defeated in the second Opium War (1856–60), China was forced to sign a number of unequal treaties with those colonizing countries. According to Spence, the unequal clauses contained in these treaties include "the extra-territoriality and consular

jurisdiction of foreigners in China; effectively removing foreigners from the sanction of Chinese authority; the restriction of the level of customs duties paid by foreigners; the provision of freedom of movement for foreign ships in Chinese inland and territorial waters; the legalization of the opium trade; freedom of religion and therefore missionary activities in China; and numerous other concessions” (qtd in Qi 75). According to the Memorandum of Paris Conference in 1919, “this assertion of exclusive authority and power has made each concession virtually ‘un petit état dans l’état.’” These treaties shaped the colonial period in China.

#### **4.1.2 The Victorian Era in Britain: An Age of Contradictions**

The Victorian era refers to the period from Queen Victoria’s ascension to the throne in June 1837 until her death in January 1901. Sherrie L. Lyons argues that “the Victorian period should be called the ‘age of contradictions’” (2). One of the great contradictions of that period was Victorians’ enthusiasm for science and technology alongside a popular fascination with the supernatural.

In the Victorian era, Western countries experienced the second industrial revolution.<sup>15</sup> Great developments in science and technology, such as iron manufacturing, railroads, electrification, invention of machine tools, production of chemicals and maritime technology, not only resulted in great increases in productivity but also brought

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<sup>15</sup> The first Industrial Revolution began in Britain in the late 18th century and lasted until the 1870s, with the mechanisation of the textile industry. The second Industrial Revolution commenced after the first half of the 19th century. Industry expanded from iron, coal and textile to steel, electricity, chemical and electricity under this revolution.

about enormous changes in people's daily life and beliefs. Many Victorians experienced great enthusiasm for science and technology, criticizing belief in the supernatural as the result of superstition and ignorance. The publication of Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* in 1859, which outlined his theory of evolution, sparked "an intense clash between science and religion," casting doubt on the reliability of religion and the existence of God (Wagner 2013: xix).

At the same time there was a fad for supernatural literature. Bown et al. describe the Victorians as "haunted by the supernatural." As they go on to explain, the Victorians "delighted in ghost stories and fairy tales, and in legends of strange gods, demons and spirits; in pantomimes and extravaganzas full of supernatural machinery; in gothic yarns of reanimated corpses and vampires" (Bown et al. 1). Although Victorians mocked themselves in satires and skits for their foolishness in believing supernatural stories, they also "believed in the supernatural" (Bown et al. 1).

#### **4.1.3 Orientalist Translation**

Edward Said used the term "orientalism" in three ways. First, orientalism is an academic discipline. Anyone who teaches, writes about, or researches the Orient,<sup>16</sup> no matter whether the person is an anthropologist, sociologist, historian, or philologist—either in its specific or its general aspects, is an Orientalist, and what he or she does is orientalism. Second, orientalism is a style of thought that distinguishes the East from the West in theories, literature, social descriptions and political accounts. Third, orientalism is an

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<sup>16</sup> Said's concept of the Orient is very broad. At its most inclusive, it refers to the non-West that encompasses the Middle East, Africa and the Far East Asia.

ideology, “a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient” (Said 2–3). It is a set of prejudices that started around the late eighteenth century, serving to “bolster a sense of European superiority over the East and thus implicitly or explicitly legitimate imperialism and colonialism, the exploitation of subjugated peoples deemed culturally and racially inferior to the dominant culture” (Kontje 56). In the present study, the third definition of orientalism is applied. Orientalist translation refers to translations produced by orientalist translators who hold orientalist prejudices against the Orient—the culture, the people and their thoughts—weaving these prejudices into their translations with the explicit or implicit aim of justifying colonization and Western hegemony. Said criticized this orientalist prejudice, arguing that Europeans’ ideas about the Orient, their reiteration of European superiority over Oriental backwardness, also constitute a hegemony because it usually overrides “the possibility that a more independent, or more skeptical, thinker might have had different views on the matter” (7).

Hui Wang (王辉), a Chinese professor of English language and literature in Shenzhen University, argues that translation from a dominated culture into a dominating culture constructs orientalist images of dominated cultures through the choice of translation materials, the use of paratexts as a colonizing space, and the domestication of STs to suit Western values, paradigms and poetics (201). This was largely the case with the English translations of *Liaozhai* in the colonial period.

#### **4.1.4 An Overview of English Translations of *TaLiaozhai* in the Colonial Period**

During the 75 years of colonial rule in China, from the beginning of the Chinese colonial

period in 1842 to the first return of German and Austro-Hungarian concession territories in Hankou and Tianjing in 1917, marking the beginning of decolonization, seven translations of *Liaozhai* appeared in English. The translations were primarily published in Britain or Hong Kong, a British colony during that period. These seven translations extended across the Victorian and Edwardian eras. The Victorian era encompasses the reign of Queen Victoria, from 1837 to 1901, while the post-Victorian era includes the reign of King Edward VII, from 1901 to 1910, known as the Edwardian era, and the years leading up to 1917. Five translations of *Liaozhai* were published in the Victorian era, and two were published in the Edwardian era.

All translators of *Liaozhai* in the colonial period were male. The seven translators and the years of the publication of the translations are as follows: Karl F. Gützlaff (1842), Samuel W. Williams (1848), William F. Mayer (1867), Clement Francis R. Allen (1874–5), Herbert A. Giles (1880), Walter Caine Hillier (1907) and George Soulié de Morant (1913). All the translators, except Gützlaff and Williams, were diplomats. Soulié was the only French diplomat, while the other four were British diplomats.

Although Gützlaff and Williams were missionaries, they both supported the diplomatic work. Therefore, to a certain degree, the two missionary translators can be considered quasi-diplomats. Gützlaff was a missionary to the Far East, but he occasionally worked as an interpreter assisting foreign opium smugglers along the Chinese coasts. Later, he was employed by the British government as an interpreter and advisor during the First Opium War of 1839–42 and assisted in negotiation of the treaty of Nanjing (Foster 110). Williams was also a missionary. In 1833, he sailed for China to

take charge of the printing press of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at Guangdong, China. From 1848 to 1851 Williams was the editor of *The Chinese Repository*, a monthly journal published in Guangdong between 1832 and 1851 to inform missionaries working in Asia about the history and culture of China, current events, and documents. He helped with the negotiation of the Treaty of Tianjin, an unequal treaty between China and the US, which was signed in 1856. In 1862, Williams was appointed as Secretary of the United States Legation at Beijing (Bliss 474).

Three of the colonial translators turned to teaching at the end of their careers. Williams became the first Professor of Chinese language and literature at Yale University in 1877; Giles began to work at Cambridge University in 1897 as a professor of Chinese language; and Hillier taught as a professor of Chinese at King's College London after working as a diplomat for nearly 30 years. It was during his time as a professor that Hillier did the translation. Table 1 provides the profiles of the colonial translators and the number of stories translated by each.

Table 1: Profiles of Colonial Translators

Full Name	Lifetime	Year	#	Nationality	Profession	Direction
Karl F. Gützlaff	1803–1851	1842	9	Prussia	missionary	FL→FL
Samuel W. Williams	1812–1884	1848	2	America	missionary	FL→NL
William F. Mayer	unknown	1867	0.5	UK	diplomat	FL→NL
Clement F. R. Allen	unknown	1874~1875	18	UK	diplomat	FL→NL
Herbert A. Giles	1845–1935	1880	164	UK	diplomat	FL→NL
Walter C. Hillier	unknown	1907	13	UK	diplomat, professor	FL→NL
George Soulié	1878–1955	1913	20	France	diplomat	FL→FL

Note: Year refers to the year of publication. # refers to the number of stories translated by the translator.

Most of the translators had the same translation directionality. Except for Gützlaff

and Soulié, they all translated from a foreign language (FL), Chinese, into their native language (NL), English. Gützlaff and Soulié translated from a FL, Chinese, into another FL, English.

The first five colonial translations were published in the Victorian era. Hillier's and Soulié's translations are the two post-Victorian translations. Britain was the publishing center of colonial translations. Four of the seven translations were published in London, two in the British colony of Hong Kong, and one in Guangdong Province of China. The translations of Williams and Soulié were also published in the United States (see the following Table 2).

Most of the colonial translations were published in journals or books aimed at providing information about China to Anglophone readers. Gützlaff was the first person to introduce *Liaozhai* to English readers. In 1842, *Chinese Repository*, "a journal produced in China by the missionaries for an audience largely composed of other Westerners involved with China" (Harris 318), published between May 1832 and 1851 nine *Liaozhai* stories translated into English by Gützlaff. Although the stories were much shortened, Gützlaff's introduction to *Liaozhai* and the image of *Liaozhai* he constructed gave the Anglophone readers the first impression of this work.

Mayer<sup>17</sup> and Allen's translations were also published in periodicals, and Williams' translations of two stories were included in a two-volume book that he authored, *The Middle Kingdom: A Survey of the Geography, Government, Education, Social Life, Arts,*

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<sup>17</sup> Mayer's translation was included in *Notes and Queries On China and Japan*, a monthly periodical edited by N. B. Dennys. It was published on the last day of each month to satisfy the needs of foreign residents in China and Japan (Dennys 1). Allen's translation was published in seven volumes of *The China Review: Or, Notes and Queries on the Far East*, a journal published in Hong Kong from 1872 to 1901.

*Religion, & of The Chinese Empire and Its Inhabitants*, published in 1848. A second edition was put out in 1876. Hiller's translations of thirteen *Liaozhai* stories were also included in a book he wrote, but his was a textbook used to teach the Chinese language: *The Chinese Language and How to Learn It: A Manual for Beginners*.

Giles was the first person in the colonial period to publish his translations as an individual book. He had originally intended to make a complete translation of *Liaozhai*. However, he wound up translating only 164 stories. Among the partial translations of *Liaozhai*, Giles' translation contains the second greatest number of stories. Zhang Qingnian et al.'s translation, published in 1997, contains the most: 194. Like Giles', Soulié's translations were published together as a book. But of the 25 stories in his collection, only 20 stories can be found in the original *Liaozhai*. It is hard to trace where the other five stories he translated are from.

With the exception of Giles, the number of stories translated by colonial translators is relatively few. Gützlaff translated only 9 abridged stories, Williams, 2, Mayer, 0.5, Allen, 18, and Hillier, 13. The following table provides the publication information for all the colonial translations.

Table 2: Publication Information of Colonial Translations

Translators	Year	Place	Publisher	Title
Gützlaff	1842	Canton	Printed for the proprietors	<i>Liau Chai I Chi</i> , or <i>Extraordinary Legends from Liau Chai In Chinese Repository</i>
Williams	1848	New York & London	Wiley and Putnam	<i>Liau Chai</i> , or <i>Pastimes of the Study in The Middle Kingdom: A Survey of the Geography, Government, Education, Social Life, Arts, Religion, &amp; of The Chinese Empire and Its Inhabitants</i> .
Mayer	1867	Hong Kong	Charles A.	<i>Liao Chai Chih Yi</i>



			Saint	in <i>Notes and Queries On China and Japan</i>
Allen	1874–5	Hong Kong	China Mail Office	<i>Tales from Liao Chai Chih Yi in China Review or Notes and queries on the Far East</i>
Giles	1880	London	Thos. De la Rue & Co	<i>Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio</i>
Hillier	1907	London	K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.	In <i>The Chinese Language and How to Learn It: A Manual for Beginner</i>
Soulié	1913	London	Constable & Co.	<i>Strange Stories from the Lodge of Leisure</i>
		Boston & NY	Houghton Mifflin Company	

Note: Year refers to the year of publication.

#### 4.1.5 Contradictory Translations in the Colonial Period

The translations of *Liaozhai* produced in the colonial period are marked by fundamental contradictions. Colonial translators constructed contradictory images of *Liaozhai* between their paratexts and TTs, as well as among different TTs.

The German theologian and philosopher Friedrich Schleiermacher argued that there are only two ways that a translator can make the two complete strangers—the author of the original work and the target reader of translated texts—truly meet and enable the latter to understand and to enjoy the work of the former as correctly and completely as possible:

Either the translator leaves the author in peace, as much as possible, and moves the reader towards him; or he leaves the reader in peace, as much as possible, and moves the author towards him (qtd. in Lefevere *Translating Literature* 74).

These two translation approaches are termed foreignizing and domesticating by Lawrence Venuti (20). Schleiermacher believes that the two approaches are “so completely separate

from each other that one or the other must be followed as closely as possible, and that a highly unreliable result would proceed from any mixture, so that it is to be feared that author and reader would not meet at all” (qtd. in Lefevere *Translating Literature* 74). However, both approaches were used in the same translation made in the colonial period.

Colonial translations also present a challenge to Venuti’s argument about the functions that foreignizing translations and domesticating translations perform in relationships between dominating and dominated cultures. Venuti argues that, by manifesting a cultural otherness in TTs and “disrupting the cultural codes that prevail in the target language,” foreignizing translation seeks to “restrain the ethnocentric violence of translation” (20). In his opinion, foreignizing translation is a “strategic cultural intervention against the hegemonic English-language nations and the unequal cultural exchanges in which they engage their global others,” “a form of resistance against ethnocentrism and racism, cultural narcissism and imperialism” (20). Domesticating translation, by producing “the illusion of transparency, a fluent translation”, is an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target-language cultural values (1995: 20). Rather than restraining the ethnocentric hegemonism in Western translations from the dominated culture into the dominating culture, however, keeping the otherness of the ST and SC in the colonial translations of *Liaozhai* demonstrates the translators’ orientalist prejudices and their desire to justify colonization and hegemony by discrediting China, while domesticating translation is used to conform to the social codes and cultural mores of the dominating target culture. Moreover, Venuti, following Schleiermacher, suggests that foreignizing and domesticating are a pair of opposing translation approaches that

serve two contradictory purposes, while in the colonial translations examined here, the two approaches exist side-by-side. Hence “othering” will be used in this study instead of “foreignizing”, as the political implications that Venuti embeds in the term “foreignization” prove not to hold true for the English colonial translations of *Liaozhai*.

The contradictory colonial translations of *Liaozhai* will be discussed in the following two parts, focusing first on the contradictions between the Victorian paratexts and their TTs, and, second, on the contradictions among the colonial TTs themselves.

#### **4.2 Contradictions between the Victorian Paratexts and Their TTs**

With the application of the two opposing translation approaches, othering and domesticating, Victorian translators constructed contradictory images in their paratexts and TTs. By othering *Liaozhai* stories in the paratexts and in their selection of texts for translation, Victorian translators created an image of *Liaozhai* and China as superstitious, allowing them to criticize the Chinese people for being “unimprovably” ignorant (Williams xv). Inferiorizing China in this way served to justify the colonizing war that Great Britain waged against China and its subsequent colonization of parts of China. For Victorian orientalist translators, othering China was part of their mission as diplomats.

At the same time, Victorian translators domesticated *Liaozhai* stories to reflect Victorian values, moralizing *Liaozhai* in their TTs by presenting it as a collection of didactic stories. Moralizing *Liaozhai* served to align it with strict Victorian morality and publication codes of the Victorian era.

Victorian morality refers to a set of social values that influenced the Victorian era

and were spread across the world as a consequence of the British Empire. It encompassed values intended for personal development, such as honesty, thrift, efficiency, respectability, self-help, seriousness of character, sexual restraint, prudery, duty and self-control” (Wagner 2013: xix; see also Mitchell 259–271). Victorian morality represented a strict code of conduct with low tolerance for crime and with an emphasis on “morals, manners, and proper behaviors” (Boyer 2013: 453). The publication of a series of obscenity laws known as the Obscene Publications Acts reveals an important aspect of the Victorian era to be “linguistic prudishness: verbal references to sex, sensuality, bodily functions, and sensual parts of the body were avoided, or euphemisms were used” (Brownlie “Narrative theory” 157–158). As Perrin notes, novels had to be written “suitable for teenage girls” (3).

#### **4.2.1 Othering China**

Victorian translators of *Liaozhai* othered China in three distinct ways: 1) by depicting a superstitious, magical and erotic *Liaozhai* in their paratexts; 2) by choosing stories containing supernatural elements or magic tricks to support the image depicted in the paratexts; and 3) by constructing an image of a superstitious and backward China through the employment of translation strategies, such as deletion or adaptation.

##### **4.2.1.1 Othering China in Victorian Paratexts**

Orientalist translators “are seldom shy of turning the paratextual space—prefaces,

introductions, notes, appendixes, and so forth—into a colonizing space where cultural differences are interpreted as signs of the inferiority of non-Western cultures” (H. Wang 201). Victorian orientalist translators exoticized China by creating a superstitious, magical and immorally erotic image of *Liaozhai* and an image of an ignorant and irrational China that is inferior to the Occident. Othering China in Victorian paratexts has three implications: 1) the image depicted in Victorian paratexts reveals Victorian translators’ orientalist prejudice against China; 2) it demonstrates Victorian translators’ aim of using paratexts as a space to justify colonization; and 3) it creates a superstitious image of *Laiozhai* that also reflects Victorians’ attitudes toward science and religion.

All the translators in the colonial period provided an introduction to *Liaozhai* before their translation (Table 3 lists information in the paratexts). The words used to describe *Liaozhai* in the introductions include: “superstitious” (Gützlaff 204, Mayer 25), “immorally erotic” or “coarse” (Williams 561, Giles xx–xxi.), and “nothing scientific” (Soulié vii), while the Chinese people are presented as “inferior, ignorant, deeply superstitious” and “almost unimprovable” (Williams xv).

Table 3: Information in the Paratexts

Translator	Year	Content of Paratexts	Pages
Gützlaff	1842	1. materialism as the most prevalent system of thinking in China 2. Chinese priesthood 3. a brief introduction to the author and <i>Liaozhai</i>	3/9
Williams	1848	1. a brief commentary on Chinese literature 2. a brief introduction to <i>Liaozhai</i> 3. a brief commentary on the story translated	0.5/1.5
Mayer	1867	1. a brief introduction to the author 2. a brief introduction to <i>Liaozhai</i> and its annotated version 3. superstition in the Chinese mind 4. a brief commentary on the story translated	1/1.5
Allen	1874–	1. a brief introduction to the author and the work	1/54

	5	2. a brief introduction to <i>Liaozhai</i> and its annotated version 3. commentary on <i>Liaozhai</i>	
Giles	1880	1. the translator's life leading to the translation 2. purpose of translation: to correct the distorted image of the source culture 3. biographical overview of Pu Songling 4. history of <i>Liaozhai</i> 5. commentary on <i>Liaozhai</i> : popularity, style and moral 6. appendix: A. Ten Courts of Purgatory & B.	43/855
Hillier	1907	1. modification of the original texts to make it understandable for learners 2. Giles' translation 3. colloquial style; the Chinese characters	3/109
Soulié	1913	1. purpose of translation: a. to introduce real Chinese literature to Westerners b. to understand the everyday life and worldview of the Chinese 2. <i>Liaozhai</i> 3. difficulty of translation: different legends and superstitions; different mindset, characters 4. more literal translation than literary translation	7/175

Note: "Year" refers to the year of publication. "Pages" refers to the number of pages of paratexts among the total number of pages of the whole translation.

While talking about his purpose in translating nine stories of *Liaozhai*, Gützlaff claims that it was to give his readers some general idea of the work. If they are familiar with true Christianity, he contends, they will feel "the utmost contempt for such superstitious fables" (204). According to Williams, *Liaozhai* is among those books that "form the common mental aliment of the lower classes" (561). Few stories in *Liaozhai* "have any ostensible moral to them," and a majority should be rejected because of "their immorality, or ridiculous from their magic whimsies" (561). If judged by Western standards, most stories included in *Liaozhai*, are "not only destitute of probability, but also bald and prosaic in the extreme," and some stories are indecent (Mayer 25). The two stories translated by Williams both aim at moral education: punishing a stingy man or a thief.

Allen categorizes the *Liaozhai* stories into three types: 1. stories of "nothing more

than accounts of what we know to be clever conjuring tricks”; 2. histories of extraordinarily virtuous or clever men and women; 3. fairy tales of ghosts, foxes and spirits, but the bulk of the book consists of fairy tales with the proper accompaniment of human ghosts, foxes, and good and bad spirits &c.” (1874, vol. 2: 364). Giles expresses a similar opinion about *Liaozhai* but in a milder and less direct way. While explaining why he gave up making a full and complete translation of *Liaozhai*, he states that some of the stories are coarse and “quite unsuitable for the age in which we live, forcibly recalling the coarseness of our own writers of fiction in the eighteenth century” (xx–xxi).

Common criticism of *Liaozhai* and China in Victorian paratexts, first, demonstrates the translators’ common orientalist prejudices. Victorian translators highlighted the supernatural elements of *Liaozhai*. Consequently, they criticized *Liaozhai* for being irrational and non-scientific, and attributed this to the mental inferiority of the ignorant and almost unimprovable Chinese people.

The immorally erotic image of *Liaozhai* depicted in Victorian colonizers’ paratexts also demonstrates colonial translators’ orientalist prejudices for while 109 of *Liaozhai*’s 497 stories contain sexual references, making up 22% of the total, the sexual references in the original are not lengthy or detailed descriptions but only brief mentions of sex, such as “sleep together,” or “make love.”

Othering China in Victorian paratexts through constructing superstitious, non-scientific and erotic imagery of *Liaozhai* and criticizing the Chinese people for being inferior and ignorant reveals the colonial orientalist translators’ aim of using paratexts as a space to justify colonization. Williams explicitly expressed this purpose in his

introduction, stating that his mission to go to China was to spread the doctrine of Christianity; to advance the cause of Christian civilization among the Chinese” and “diffuse a juster knowledge” in China (xvi); to educate those “conceited, ignorant and almost unimprovable” Chinese (xv); and “rescue the people from sedition, rapine, and utter anarchy” (3). In Williams’s opinion, the suffering of the Chinese in the colonizing war was meant to fulfill “their mission of punishment” (5). “When the purifying, elevating, and regenerating influences of true Christianity come to their aid,” Williams concludes, “certainly a new era in the history of the Middle Kingdom will begin” (13). In Victorian paratexts, invasion and economic plunder are presented as a noble action designed ultimately to save the colonized country and people. For colonial orientalist translators, paratexts serve as a space for their political propaganda.

#### **4.2.1.2 Othering China in Victorian TTs**

The superstitious, magical and problematic imagery depicted and criticized by Victorian translators in their paratexts is concretized and strengthened in Victorian target texts. Except for Allen’s, all Victorian translations have a higher percentage of supernatural stories than the original work. Othering China by maintaining Chinese exoticism is mainly achieved through: 1) selecting supernatural stories or stories with acts of magic; 2) rewriting and changing non-supernatural stories into supernatural ones; and 3) deleting the author’s comment or other parts of a story in order to highlight the supernatural elements.



Gützlaff (204), Williams (xvi) and Mayer (25) state clearly that their purpose in translating *Liaozhai* is to give the readers some idea of how superstitious the work is, and to provide an example to demonstrate the superstition deeply rooted in the Chinese mind. The stories included in their translations are meant to serve this purpose. No matter whether the original story is supernatural or not, all the stories presented in their translations become supernatural through their manipulation. The following table reflects these changes.

Table 4: Supernatural Stories in STs and TTs

Author/Translator	Year of Publication	Supernatural in ST	Supernatural in TT
Pu Songling	1776	75.2% (374/497)	
Gützlaff	1842	77.8% (7/9)	100% (9/9)
Williams	1848	100% (2/2)	
Mayer	1867	100 (0.5/0.5)	
Allen	1874	61.1% (11/18)	66.7% (12/18)
Giles	1880	79.3% (131/164)	
Hillier	1907	61.5% (8/13)	
Soulié	1913	85% (17/20)	

Among the nine stories that Gützlaff picks out, two stories contain no supernatural element. One is about how a man who mediates the relationships between the brothers of a big family and turns their hatred into love. The process is long and painful. However, in Gützlaff's shortened translation, it happens suddenly and magically while they are making customary sacrifices at their parent's grave (206). Another story is about how a younger brother helps his older stepbrother who is being abused by the stepmother. Gützlaff rewrites the story so that a supernatural power saves the younger brother, who in the original story, is actually saved by a man. In this way, Gützlaff changes a non-supernatural story into a supernatural one by rewriting the plot, making all

the stories presented in his collection supernatural.

The only story that Mayer translates is about a man's friendship with a fox spirit. The first part of the story recounts how a man with the family name of Che sees a fox transformed into a handsome young man who comes to his home to drink with him every night. Although Che is cheap, he is generous toward the fox, offering it wine. The second part of the story recounts how the grateful fox spirit repays Che's kindness and generosity by helping Che to do business and become rich. Mayer, however, only translates the first part of the story. His deletion of the second part changes the dominant theme of this story from Type II (values), praising the value of gratitude, into Type IV (other), merely describing a supernatural event. (See Table 5 in Section 4.2.2.1, page 55).

Allen is an exception among the Victorian translators. His translation is the only one in the colonial period that includes a lower percentage of supernatural stories (66.7%) than the original work (75.2%). In his translation of 18 stories, 12 of them are supernatural. However, Allen has a preference for stories with descriptions of magic tricks performed by human beings rather than by supernatural characters, such as ghosts or immortals. That being said, stories with magic tricks are perhaps most closely associated to the supernatural stories as both involve defying logic. In Pu's original collection, 11.9% (59/497) of the stories describe magic tricks, which are usually performed by Taoists or members of the White Lotus Society. The magic tricks look very supernatural, such as flying on a paper bird or turning an empty winter garden into a warm pavilion on a lake full of blooming lotuses with maidens serving delicious food. The percentage of magic stories in Allen's translation is 27.8% (5/18). Giles' translation

also has a slightly higher ratio of magic stories than the original work: 15.2% (25/164).

The superstitious otherness of *Liaozhai* is also strengthened in Williams, Mayers, Allen and Giles' translations with the deletion of Pu's commentary on the stories.

*Liaozhai* represents Pu Songling's dream of building a utopian world in which virtuous people are rewarded and wicked men or women are punished. He comments on many of the stories mainly to highlight their moral by praising the characters for their virtues or criticizing problems reflected in the story. The length of his commentary varies from a few words to very long statements, which are on occasion much longer than the story itself, although they tend to be very short. All the stories that Williams, Mayers, Allen and Giles translated are from the well-known annotated versions by Dan Minglun. Dan not only kept Pu's commentary but also added his own to fortify the morality of the stories. None of these four translators, however, rendered the commentary. The absence of the author's comments weakens the didactic function of the stories, and, in some cases, may even change the theme of the story.

For example, the ST of Giles' translation titled "Snow in Summer" consists of 425 Chinese characters. The story itself consists of only 109 characters, while the number of characters in Pu's commentary on the story is 316. With his lengthy commentary, especially the ending part, Pu made the purpose behind his writing of this supernatural story about snowfall in summer very evident. Instead of promoting superstition, he satirizes the long-standing social problem of flattery in people's manner of addressing one other. But Giles only translates the short story, leaving out the lengthy commentary. Without this commentary, the story in Giles' translation becomes very superstitious,

suggesting that people in the story can cause the snow, which the Dragon King makes fall during the heat of summer, to stop by addressing the god of the temple in a flattering way so as to please the deity. A story written with the aim of criticizing flattery becomes one that describes a supernatural event while appearing to endorse flattery.

In terms of conveyance of meaning, Sondergard's translation, the only complete translation of *Liaozhai*, is also the closest to the ST and so will be used throughout the dissertation to highlight the approaches of the other translators. A comparison of Giles' translation of "Snow in Winter" with Sondergard's reveals the effects resulting from the deletion of the commentary. All the notes included in Giles' and Sondergard's translations are made by the translators themselves:

**Snow in Summer**  
**translated by Herbert A. Giles**

ON the 6th day of the 7th moon [1] of the year Ting-Hai (1647) there was a heavy fall of snow at Soochow. The people were in a great state of consternation at this, and went off to the temple of the Great Prince [2] to pray. Then the spirit moved one of them to say, "You now address me as Your Honour. Make it Your Excellency, and, though I am but a lesser deity, it may be well worth your while to do so." Thereupon the people began to use the latter term, and the snow stopped at once; from which I infer that flattery is just as pleasant to divine as to mortal ears [3].

Notes:

[1] This would be exactly at the hottest season.

[2] The Jupiter Pluvius of the neighbourhood,

[3] A sneer at the superstitious custom of praying for good or bad weather, which obtains in China from the Son of Heaven himself down to the lowest agriculturist whose interests are involved. Droughts, floods, famines, and pestilences are alike set down to the anger of Heaven, to be appeased only by prayer and repentance.

The following is Pu's commentary attached after the story, which is translated by Songdergard but left out of Giles' translation:

**Summer Snow**  
**translated by Sidney L. Sondergard**

(Songdergard's translation of the story part is omitted here)

The collector of these strange tales remarks, "Social conventions change, with underlings flattering more to feed the conceited pride of those above them. By the fortieth year of *Kangxi*'s reign, even the manner of addressing others has changed from traditional custom.

A *juren* was called ‘uncle’ twenty years ago; a *jinshi* was called ‘lord,’ thirty years ago; a provincial governor was called ‘great lord,’ only twenty-five years ago. In the past, if a district magistrate happened to meet a county governor, he would refer to him as his senior officer; now this practice has been abandoned. Even a respectable scholar will offer compliments and lavish flattery, and no one thinks it strange. In recent years, the wife of a retired officer has become referred to as ‘Your Ladyship.’ In the past, such a title of respect was reserved for the mother of the retired officer; you’d never see such excesses except in the realm of fiction.

“In the *Tang dynasty*, the emperor wanted to confer the title ‘great scholar’ or *Zhang Shuo*. Zhang refused and declared, ‘A scholar never presumes to call himself ‘great,’ so I wouldn’t dare do so.’ Do those who are called ‘great’ today truly possess greatness? Originally, it was just a term used by villainous individuals to flatter someone, but because it pleased arrogant, wealthy men, and they claimed not to be suspicious about it, one after another, the entire world followed suit.

“At this rate, I imagine that in a few years, ‘uncle’ will be ‘lord,’ and won’t ‘great’ have to be added to ‘lord’? That’s just unbelievable!”

On the third day of the sixth lunar month, in the year 1707, at *Guidefu*, in Henan, a big storm of snow fell over a *chi* deep, freezing and killing all the grain in the fields, and it was a pity that the people didn’t know who to try to flatter into doing something about it, since the dragon lords’ magic later proved successful. How sad!

#### Notes

*Kangxi*: The Qing emperor who ruled 1652–1722.

*Juren*: A successful candidate in the provincial level of the imperial civil service examination.

*Jinshi*: A successful candidate in the highest level of the imperial civil service examination.

*Tang dynasty*: Imperial dynasty spanning 618–907 C.E.

*Zhang Shuo*: Zhang (667–730), whose courtesy name was Daoji, initially established himself as a plain-speaking person while serving as an assistant minister in the Ministry of War; see Zhu (2:1058n12).

*Guidefu*: The city of Shangqiu in modern Henan.

*Chi*: Measure equal to 1/3 meter.

### 4.2.2 Domesticating *Liaozhai* in Victorian TTs

In addition to othering *Liaozhai*, Victorian translators share another common preference in their translations: domesticating *Liaozhai* to suit Victorian values in their TTs by moralizing the *Liaozhai* stories. As diplomats or quasi-diplomat missionaries, Victorian translators were restrained by the social values and publication laws of the Victorian era. In order to suit Victorian morality, Victorian translators domesticated *Liaozhai* and Chinese culture in three ways: 1) by choosing didactic stories that were more appropriate for Victorian readers; 2) by erasing the erotic imagery of *Liaozhai*, either by deleting or bowdlerizing sexual references; and 3) by using Western concepts, for example, names,

concepts, measure units, allusions and other references in place of Chinese ones. Such domestication is used to align the translations with the social mores of the target culture.

#### **4.2.2.1 Domesticating *Liaozhai* through the Selection of Stories**

Although Victorian translators associated *Liaozhai* with superstition by selecting more supernatural stories, or even changing a non-supernatural stories into supernatural ones, resulting in the change of the dominant theme of some stories, the general image of *Liaozhai* presented in Victorian translations is didactic. Most stories in Victorian TTs are meant to educate with the theme of promoting values or criticizing weaknesses, themes that are mainly aimed at personal development. Romantic stories and stories with narration of horror and violence are seldom translated. This preference suggests an attempt to comply with Victorian morality, which emphasizes morals, manners, and proper behavior. It is also meant to suit the Victorian literary requirement of producing texts with young innocent girls in mind as prospective readers.

The Victorian translators' selection of stories reflects the Victorian emphasis on morality. As the following table (Distribution of Themes in Victorian STs & TTs) shows, the stories Victorian translators chose for the most part featured two types of themes: values and problems. Stories with a didactic function make up a major part of the stories selected. All the translations have a higher percentage of didactic stories than in the ST. But in the target texts of Gützlaff and Mayer, the percentage drops because they changed some stories with the theme of promoting a certain value into one recounting a strange event. The stories translated by Gützlaff, Williams, Mayer and Allen mainly concern

people and relationships between people; these stories are aimed at reconciling interpersonal relationships and promoting personal improvement rather than social progress.

Table 5: Distribution of Themes in Victorian ST & TT

Type of Themes	Pu (497)	Gützlauff (9)	Williams (2)	Mayer (0.5)	Allen (18)	Giles (164)
1. romance in ST	14.9%	11.1%				12.2%
1. romance in TT		—				—
2. values in ST	20.7%	44.4%		100%	61.1%	24.4%
2. values in TT		22.2%			—	25%
3. problems in ST	22.1%	33.3%	100%		11.1%	30.5%
3. problems in TT		—	—		—	32.3
4. other in ST	42.3%	11.1%			27.8%	33%
4. other in TT		33.3%		100%	—	—
didactic in ST	42.9%	77.8%	100%	100%	72.2%	54.9%
didactic in TT		44.4%	—	0	—	—

Note: The number after the name of the author or translators are the number of stories included in their work. M dash means the ratio is not changed in the target text.

The values lauded in the stories selected by the Victorian translators are mainly aimed at personal improvement, such as filial piety, kindness, gratitude, friendship, honesty, amending mistakes, love for one's fellow man, charity, wise parenting and solving problems smartly. Problems criticized by all the Victorian translators except for Giles include: snobbishness, discourteousness, maliciousness, ignorance, flaunting, abandoning children, viciousness, addiction, arrogance, hardship intolerance, dishonesty, eating words, greediness, ingratitude, selfishness, lack of charity, stealing, cheating, failure to repay debt, and obscenity.

Like other Victorian translators, Giles shows a preference for stories with the theme of promoting values and criticizing problems. The percentage of these two types of

stories in Giles' translation is somewhat higher than in the original *Liaozhai*, while the percentage of the other two types of stories is a little lower. In terms of the distribution of themes, Giles' translation is the closest to the original among all the colonial translations (See the above Table 5). What makes Giles distinct from the other Victorian translators, however, is his selection of stories aimed at criticizing social problems with the goal of social improvement. Among the 50 problem-themed stories, 17 deplore corrupt, brutal or irresponsible officials, the corrupt imperial exam system, the buying and selling of official positions, improper governing that leads to social problems, violence in court/legal system, flattery, invasion of foreign traders, and other dark sides of feudal society. Giles also translated some stories in praise of virtues, but the proportion is not as high as stories criticizing social problems. Among the 40 stories with a value-related theme, only six are in praise of good officials.

Table 6: Social Problems Criticized in Giles' Translation

Title of Stories with Order #	Theme: criticizing
36. The King	greedy corrupt officials
48. The Self-punished Murderer	a corrupt official being punished
56. Dr. Tsêng's Dream	a corrupt official
64. The Fighting Cricket	flattery and corruption among officials
72. The Wolf Dream	corrupt officials and his subordinates
73. The Unjust Sentence	violent case investigation—extort confessions under torture
91. Ingratitude Punished	an ingratitude general capturing his emperor for the enemy
92. Smelling Essays	arrogance and the corrupt imperial exam system
97. Bribery and Corruption	buying and selling official position
100. The Dutch Carpet	foreign traders' tricky invasion and killing
103. Justice for Rebels	improper governing
112. The Salt Smuggler	unfair salt law and salt smuggling
130. Cruelty Avenged	a brutal official being punished
139. The Butterfly's Revenge	frivolous officials
141. Snow in Summer	flattery appellation common existed in the society
142. Planchette	the irresponsible grading in imperial exam
146. Singular Verdict	absurd judicial decision



#### 4.2.2.2 Domesticating *Liaozhai* through the Application of Translation Strategies

The “immoral,” “erotic” imagery of *Liaozhai* depicted in Victorian paratexts is completely erased in all the Victorian TTs. Domesticating *Liaozhai* by erasing the sexual references appears designed to adapt *Liaozhai* to Victorian morality, rendering the stories appropriate for “a young innocent girl” to read. In order to avoid legal persecution, Victorian translator/publishers undertook self-censorship, which Siobhan Brownlie breaks down into three strategies: 1) minor omission; 2) substitution; and 3) leaving the offending word in the foreign language without explanation (158–159). Omission may be due to carelessness, but I believe the Victorian translators removed the sexual references on purpose. In other words, they deleted them rather than omitted them. Victorian translators erased the erotic image of *Liaozhai* from their translations by: 1) selecting stories with no sexual references; 2) deleting any sexual references; and 3) bowdlerizing sexual references.

Three Victorian translators —William, Mayer and Hillier—did not translate any stories with sexual references. Of the stories selected for translation by Gützlaff, Allen, Giles and Soulié, 3, 5, 27, and 8, respectively, contain references to sex or sexuality. However, all the “indecent”, “immoral” content was removed or changed in their translations. The following table reveals the number of stories containing sexual references as compared with the percentage in the original (Hillier’s and Soulié’s translation will be discussed separately in the post-Victorian section.)

Table 7: Sexuality in Colonial STs and TTs

Author/Translator	Sexuality in colonial STs	Sexuality in colonial TTs
Pu Songling	21.9% (109/497)	
Gützlaff 1842	33.3% (3/9)	0% (0/9)
Williams 1848	0% (0/2)	0% (0/2)
Mayer 1867	0% (0/0.5)	0% (0/0.5)
Allen 1874	27.8% (5/18)	0% (0/18)
Giles 1880	16.5% (27/164)	0% (0/164)
Hillier 1907	0% (0/13)	0% (0/13)
Soulié 1913	40% (8/20)	10% (2/20)

Note: 22% (109/497): 497 is the total number of *Liaozhai* stories. 109 is the number of stories containing sexual references. 22% is the ratio of the two numbers.

The primary strategy employed by Gützlaff, Allen, and Giles in translating sexual references is deletion. Since Gützlaff's version is a much shortened summary of stories, all the details, including the sexual references, were excluded. In Allen's translation, 5 of the 18 stories selected for translation contain a narrative related to sex or sexuality. In four of his TTs, however, the sexual references are deleted, while in one they are bowdlerized. In Giles' translation, too, deletion is much more frequently used than bowdlerization. Among the 27 stories that contain sexual references, Giles deletes the references in 20 of the stories and bowdlerizes them in the other seven. What is deleted can be just a sentence or part of a sentence, a minor omission as Brownlie says. It can also be a big part of the story. For example, the ST of Giles' "A Chinese Solomon" incorporates two stories describing how a county magistrate solves two complicated murder cases. The first one is about the murder of a husband by his wife's adulterer. Giles only translates the second part of the ST, removing any mention of adultery from his translation.

The following example shows how a sexual reference in the ST is completely eliminated in both Allen's and Giles' translations. Sondergard's translation of the same part will be used as a reference to help understand the meaning of the ST.

### Example 1

<p><b>Source Text (夜叉国)</b>  徐渐能察声知意，辄效其音，为夜叉语。夜叉益悦，携一雌来妻徐。徐初畏惧莫敢伸，雌自开其股就徐，徐乃与交，雌大欢悦。每留肉饵徐，若琴瑟之好。</p>
<p><b>Sondergard's translation (The Yaksha Kingdom)</b>  Little by little, Xu was able to recognize the sounds and significance of their grunts and to imitate their sounds, eventually speaking the yaksha language.  The yakshas were exceedingly pleased by this, so they brought him a lady yaksha to be his wife. At first, Xu was appalled at the idea, yet didn't dare admit it; but then the lady yaksha opened her thighs for him and he had sex with her. This made the lady yaksha very happy. She always saved some of her meat for him, and their relationship developed quite well (472).</p>
<p><b>Allen's Translation (The Country of the Sea Demons)</b>  Chü by degrees began to understand their language, and to be able to speak it. The savages grew very fond of him, and brought him a woman to be his wife. Chü was much afraid and did not want her at first, but he afterwards got very fond of her, and she got him good food (216).</p>
<p><b>Giles' translation (The Country of the Cave-men)</b>  and Hsü, too, gradually learnt to understand, and even to speak, a little of their language, which pleased them so much that they finally gave him a cannibal woman for his wife. Hsü was horribly afraid of her; but, as she treated him with great consideration, always reserving tit-bits of food for him, they lived very happily together (399).</p>

Bowdlerization is another strategy used to treat any mentions of sex. More straightforward expressions of sex, such as “make love” and “sleep together,” are replaced with less overtly sexual ones. For example, “make love” is changed to “get married,” while “sleep together” is changed to “sit together.”<sup>18</sup> “Having an affair with a neighbor's wife” is changed to “pay much attention to his neighbour's wife.”<sup>19</sup> The following table reveals how the same sexual reference is bowdlerized differently in Allen's and Giles' translations, and Appendix 5 lists the other six examples of bowdlerization in Giles' translation.

<sup>18</sup> Giles's “Chang's Transformation”.

<sup>19</sup> Giles's “The Man Who Was Thrown Down a Well”

## Example 2

<p><b>Source Text (画皮)</b>          女顾室无人，问：“君何无家口？”答云：“斋耳。”女曰：“此所良佳。如怜妾而活之，须秘密勿泄。”生诺之。<u>乃与寝合。</u></p>
<p><b>Sondergard’s translation (Painted Skin)</b>          She observed, “This place is really nice. If you pity me and want to save me, you must keep my presence here a close secret and not let it out.” Wang promised not to tell. <u>Then they slept together.</u></p>
<p><b>Allen’s Translation (Painting Skins)</b>          The girl replied, “This will do very well, and if you will have compassion on me I shall survive, but we must keep our secret, and not let any one know. Wang agreed with her. <u>So they were married (she being the second wife) and did not let any one know her history.</u></p>
<p><b>Giles’ translation (The Painted Skin)</b>          “And a very nice place, too,” said she; “but if you are kind enough to wish to save my life, you mustn’t let it be known that I am here.” Wang promised he would not divulge her secret, and <u>so she remained there for some days</u> without anyone knowing anything about it.</p>

Victorian translators also domesticated *Liaozhai* by using references and expressions that were familiar to the target readers. Such domestication provides translators a quick and convenient way to transfer the rough meaning of the ST, especially for the translation of a cultural specific item. Domestication also provides points of cultural comparison and makes a cultural specificity easier for readers to understand. For example, *pipa* (琵琶), a Chinese four-stringed, plucked musical instrument, was translated as ‘guitar.’ *Pipa* is Chinese specific. Although it is different from a guitar, by rendering it as guitar, translators save the trouble of explaining what it is, and readers understand it is a music instrument. In Victorian TTs, all Chinese religious people, regardless of whether they are monks or Taoists, are all domesticated as ‘priests.’ Other domesticated items include: allusions, units of measure, story titles, etc. The following table lists some examples in each translation.

Table 8: Examples of Domesticating Translation

Translators	Examples of Domesticating Translation
Gützlaff	道士 (Taoist) – priest of Tau; 僧 (monk) – priest of Budha;
Williams	道士 (Taoist) – Tau priest;
Mayer	鲍叔 (Pao Shu was Kwan Chung, i.e. as Damon was to Pythias)
Allen	琵琶 (pipa, A four-stringed Chinese lute) – guitar; 僧 (monk) – priest
Giles	里 (li, a unit of length equal to 500 meters) – mile (1,609 meters) 僧 (monk) – (Buddhist) priest; 道士 (Taoist) – (Taoist) priest Titles: 贾奉雉 – A Chinese Rip van Winkle (#74) 孙必振 – A Chinese Jonah (#98) 折狱 – A Chinese Solomon (#156) 太原狱 – Another Solomon (#163)

### 4.3 Contradictions within the Colonial TTs

Contradiction does not only exist between Victorian paratexts and the TTs, but also exists within the corpus of colonial TTs. Hillier and Soulié published their translation of *Liaozhai* in London during the transitional post-Victorian period, in 1907 and 1913, respectively. Hillier's translation of 13 *Liaozhai* stories, together with their STs, is included in his textbook for learning Chinese. Unlike the STs in classical Chinese used by Victorian translators, Hillier's STs are in modernized Chinese. Soulié's translation was published as an individual book. It is not known what version of *Liaozhai* Soulié used for his translation.

The two translations share some common features with Victorian translations, and also present some differences. However, the image of *Liaozhai* constructed in Hillier's and Soulié's target texts are completely different from one another in spite of the fact that Hillier's and Soulié's translations were published in the same city only five years apart.

Their translation purposes play an important role in constructing contradictory images among the two post-Victorian translations. Moreover, traces of social-cultural changes may also be responsible for the differences between Victorian and Soulié's translations.

#### **4.3.1 Hillier's *Liaozhai* as a Chinese Aesop's Fables**

Among all the colonial translators, Hillier is the only one who did not associate China with superstition either in his paratext or in his selection of stories. The translator's profession and the purpose of the publication play a significant role in Hillier's construction of a different image of *Liaozhai*. Hillier worked as a diplomat for almost 30 years (1867–1896) and, upon retirement, became a professor of Chinese at King's College London from 1904–1908. His translation of *Liaozhai* was done while he was teaching. Unlike other colonial translators, justifying colonization was not his aim. His purpose in translating *Liaozhai* was to assist Chinese language learners in studying Chinese characters and understanding the text. In the introduction, rather than using his paratext as a space to criticize *Liaozhai* and China, he only mentions the linguistic aspect of the STs, which are a modernized version of *Liaozhai*. And the ratio of supernatural stories is in fact lower than in the original.

Hillier's TTs, however, share two important features with the Victorian TTs. First, there are no sexual references. Hillier did not choose any stories for translation that contain sexual references. Second, like the Victorian translators, Hillier moralized *Liaozhai* in his translation. He shows the same preference for stories with a didactic function aimed at personal improvement. In his translation, didactic stories make up

84.6% (11/13) of the total number. Ten of the 11 stories are intended for personal improvement, and only one of them concerns social problems.

What makes Hillier's translation slightly different from the Victorian target texts, however, is his inclusion of relatively more stories about animals. Among the 497 stories of *Liaozhai*, 12 stories have an animal or a bird (not spirits of animals or birds) as the main character. 11 of them are about praising values, such as gratitude, love, correction of a mistake, bravery and intelligence. Only one describes the strange ability of a lion. Hillier translates three of the 11 stories. Birds and crickets are the major thread running through two other stories titled "The Talking of the Birds" (鸟语) and "Ts'u Chih" (促织) although the protagonist is not the bird or cricket itself. Therefore, five of the 13 stories Hillier translated feature birds or animals. These didactic stories, especially the ones with animals and birds as major characters or otherwise involved in the plot make the *Liaozhai* presented in Hillier's translation into a Chinese Aesop's Fables.

#### **4.3.2 A Romantic *Liaozhai* with Horror Stories in Soulié's Translation**

Soulié's translation belongs among the colonial orientalist translations. Like other orientalist translators, Soulié criticized *Liaozhai* as "having nothing scientific" (vii). However, the image of *Liaozhai* and China presented in Soulié's translation is different from that presented in the other oriental translations.

Unlike the other colonial-era translations, which are proper for young, innocent girls to read, Soulié's translation is different in the following four respects: 1) theme distribution and preference for romantic stories; 2) inclusion of a larger percentage of

stories involving horror and violence; 3) retention of sexual references; and 4) othering China with the addition of information not contained in the STs. Soulié introduced these differences through his selection of stories, his treatment of sexual references and through his application of translation strategies.

The shift away from a rigid Victorian code of conduct to a laxer society is evident in the first feature that differentiates Soulié's target texts from those of the other colonial orientalist translators—the distribution of themes. Reflecting the fact that morals, manners and proper behavior were not so strongly stressed in the post-Victorian period, and personal improvement was less a concern, Soulié's translation has proportionally fewer didactic stories, which mostly fall within theme Type 2 (values) and Type 3 (problems). Stories with the theme of Type 1 (romance) make up a distinctly larger part of Soulié's translations, another striking difference from all the other colonial translations. As the Table 5: Distribution of Themes in Victorian STs & TTs on page 55 shows, four of the seven colonial translators did not select any romantic stories to translate. Moreover, the proportion of romantic stories translated by Soulié (30%) is much higher than in the original work (14.9%), while the proportion in Gützlaff's and Giles' translations is somewhat lower: 11.1% and 12.2%, respectively.

The second most obvious difference is Soulié's inclusion of stories involving horror and violence. In contrast to the didactic image in Victorian translations and in Hillier's translation, Soulié's English version of *Liaozhai* is full of violence and horror. Table 9 shows the different ratio of stories involving horror and violence across the colonial translations. The percentage of stories involving horror and violence were much



less represented in the Victorian translations because they were considered inappropriate for young innocent girls to read. With the loosening of those strict Victorian rules and restrictions on publication, Soulié enjoyed more freedom to choose stories. In Soulié's translation of 20 *Liaozhai* stories, there are seven stories containing depictions of violence either committed by human beings or ghosts, such as killing, physical torture or psychological abuse, and five horror stories, usually ending with a murder. With the inclusion of these stories, Soulié not only presented an exotic, chaotic, and savage China to his Anglophone readers, problematizing and inferiorizing China as the Victorian translators had done, his *Liaozhai* also reflects the social change from the strict Victorian rules and restrictions on publication to a more casual modern society.

Table 9: Percentage of Horror and Violence Stories in Colonial TTs

Author/Translator	Year	Violence	Horror	Total of Violence & Horror
Pu Songling	1776	22.9% (114/497)	13.9% (68/497)	36.6% (182/497)
Gutzlaf	1842	22.2% (2/9)	0	0% (4/9)
Williams	1848	0	0	0% (0/2)
Mayer	1867	0	0	0% (0/0.5)
Allen	1874	22% (4/18)	6% (1/18)	28% (5/18)
Giles	1880	22.5% (37/164)	11.5% (19/164)	34% (56/164)
Hillier	1907	23% (3/13)	0	23% (3/13)
Soulié	1913	35% (7/20)	25% (5/20)	60% (12/20)

Note: The first number within the bracket is the number of violence or horror stories, while the second number is the total number of stories in the collection.

Although Hillier's and Soulié's translations were published in the same city only five years apart, the images of *Liaozhai* created in these two post-Victorian works are very different. In Hillier's translation, *Liaozhai* is presented as a Chinese Aesop's Fables, a collection of moral stories with more than one third featuring animals, while Soulié's translation presents *Liaozhai* as a collection of stories involving horror and violence. The

contradictory images presented in the two post-Victorian translations reflect the two different purposes of these translations: to edify and to inferiorize.

Third, the lifting of strict Victorian rules and restrictions on publication reflected a general loosening of sexual morality. This change can be identified in Soulié's treatment of sexual references in his STs.<sup>20</sup> Soulié's translations contains 20 *Liaozhai* stories, of which eight contain sexual references. Soulié rendered the sexual references in two of his stories but in an implicit way (see Table 10). For the sexual references in the other six stories, he just deleted them as the Victorian translators had done. The following comparison of Soulié's and Giles' translations of the same STs reveals the changing attitude toward sexual references in translating *Liaozhai*. Again, Sondergard's translation is used to assist in understanding the meaning of the ST. This small disparity in colonial translations suggests that change is a slow process.

Table 10: Sexual References in Soulié's TTs

1	<p><b>Source Text (画壁)</b> 舍内寂无人，遽拥之亦不甚拒，遂与狎好。</p> <p><b>Soulié's Translation (The Fresco)</b> In the silent house there was nobody, no one but the goddess standing in her long mauve dress and nibbling the flower that she had picked and that she still held in her hand. "I bow down," said the student, who knelt to salute her. "Rise! you exceed the rites prescribed," she replied. "I bend my head, not being able to bear the splendour of your beauty." As she did not seem to be discontented he continued telling her his admiration and his desire. <u>He approached, touched her hand; she started, but did not draw back. He then took her in his arms; she did not make much resistance.</u> <u>The moments passed rapidly.</u> They spoke to each other in a low voice... (13–14).</p> <p><b>Giles' Translation (The Painted Wall)</b> ...and found nobody else within. <u>Then they fell on their knees and worshipped heaven and earth together,* and rose up as man and wife...</u> (1: 10).</p>
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<sup>20</sup> As a Frenchman, Soulié's choice of romantic stories and his retention of sexual references might also reflect the fact that French literature has traditionally been more open in treating matters of sex and sexuality than British literature.

	Note: The all-important item of a Chinese marriage ceremony; amounting, in fact, to calling God to witness the contract.
	<b>Sondergard's translation (The Frescoed Wall)</b> Since there was no one else inside the quiet chamber, <u>he hastily embraced her, and meeting very little resistance from her, they proceeded to make love</u> (1: 25).
2	<b>Source Text (鲁公女)</b> 生大喜，遂共欢好。
	<b>Soulié's Translation (Love rewarded)</b> she smiled, and her smile had on him the effect of a strong drink on a hungry man; troubled and dazed, he lost the conscience of his personality and his acts (33).
	<b>Giles' Translation (Chang's Transformation)</b> Chang then offered her a seat, and they sat together chatting for some time (1: 238).
	<b>Sondergard's translation (Official Lu's Daughter)</b> Zhang was overjoyed, and together they were rapturously in love (2: 394).

The above comparison also reveals the fourth special feature that makes Soulié's target text different from the other colonial translations—his abundant additions. Instead of domesticating *Liaozhai* as the other colonial orientalist translators had done, Soulié othered *Liaozhai* by adding lengthy detailed descriptions of the setting, such as a house, a harbor or smoking opium at an opium bar. Sometimes he added a sub-plot, a description of a character or of a Chinese custom or practice, or even a dialogue between characters (as shown in the above comparison). As Soulié argued in the Preface to his translation, these additions equipped readers with much information about China, conveying the implied meanings so as to give his English readers “the same literary impression that the Chinese has” (vii). The additions are meant to further other China rather than to domesticate it, stressing its foreignness.

#### 4.4 Conclusion

Colonial translations of *Liaozhai* are marked by contradictions, both in terms of content and in terms of form. Contradiction does not only exist between the different images

constructed in Victorian paratexts and TTs, within the corpus of colonial TTs, it also can be found in colonial translators' employment of the two contradictory translation approaches, othering and domesticating, within a single translation. Contradiction in colonial translation of *Liaozhai* demonstrates that translation in the colonial period is not only a means of political and cultural hegemony but also reflects the contradictions in the target culture. For example, the focus on the superstitious stories serves not only to other *Liaozhai* but also to address the fascination within Victorian culture with the supernatural and the occult, suggesting that translations may be simultaneously othering and domesticating.

In terms of content, translators in the colonial period often constructed different images of *Liaozhai* in their paratexts from the ones constructed in their translations proper. In their paratexts, colonial translators inferiorized *Liaozhai* as a superstitious and erotic work, and China was typically depicted as an ignorant and backward country. Although Victorian translators also highlighted the theme of superstition and the supernatural in *Liaozhai*, going so far as to change a non-supernatural story into a supernatural one, the dominant purpose of most of the TT stories is to educate. *Liaozhai* in Victorian TTs was presented as a collection of superstitious but didactic stories mainly aimed at personal development, while Soulié's translation of *Liaozhai* demonstrates a romantic *Liaozhai* in a problematic world full of violence and horror, marking a transition between Victorian representations of *Liaozhai* and those of the de-colonial period.

In terms of form, contradictory approaches—othering China and domesticating *Liaozhai*—are employed side-by-side in the Victorian translations. Othering China was

meant to inferiorize China and justify colonization, while domesticating was done to align the texts with Victorian morality. But in Soulié's translation, othering China was consistently used both in his paratext and in his TTs.

The different images established in the two post-colonial translations can be mainly attributed to Hillier's and Soulié's different aims: to educate and to inferiorize. Translation purpose plays the most important role in constructing the image of *Liaozhai* in the post-Victorian period. All colonial translations except Hillier's purported to provide information about China, but actually provided evidence to discredit China with the aim of justifying colonization, whereas Hillier translated *Liaozhai* to assist students in studying the Chinese language, something that would become more common in the subsequent period.

## CHAPTER V

### Various Translations of *Liaozhai* in the Decolonizing Period

#### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the various representations of *Liaozhai* in this period. Unlike in the colonial period, where there was much uniformity in the image constructed of *Liaozhai* and in the profiles of the translators, the image of *Liaozhai* in the decolonizing period was marked by diversity. After providing an overview of the historical context in China and a brief introduction of English translations of *Liaozhai* in the decolonizing period in the first section, Section Two discusses the translations of *Liaozhai* for children, analyzing the reasons behind the different receptions of the two translations for children. Section Three analyzes Brandt's selection of five *Liaozhai* stories for a Chinese language textbook. Section Four examines how a woman actress / translator interprets *Liaozhai* from a women's perspective and reconstructs the image of this work in a romanticizing way. Section Five concludes that *Liaozhai* was diversely represented in the English translations of the decolonizing period due to the diverse social needs of the Anglophone readership of the time and the diverse motivations of the translators with special attention paid to Quong's *Liaozhai*.

##### 5.1.1 A Chaotic and Closed China

After being defeated in the second Opium War (1856–1860), China was forced to sign a number of treaties that included numerous unequal clauses, such as conceding concessions (or concession territories) to the victors. According to R. Keith Schoppa, a professor of Asian History at Loyola University, foreign concessions in China were “areas carved out of existing Chinese cities where foreigners now became the rulers. In these areas where many Chinese still lived, foreigners assessed the taxes and collected them; foreign police and troops patrolled there; foreign law was the authority there” (56). Important port cities, such as Shanghai, Tianjin and Hankou, all became concessions of the eight colonizing countries.

In 1917, Germany and Austro-Hungary returned their concessions in Hankou and Tianjing to China (Y. Zhang 64). After that, other colonizing countries successively returned their concessions to China. By 1947, all concessions conceded in the colonial period, except for Hong Kong and Macau, had been returned to China.

During this decolonizing period, China was in a state of war and undergoing significant domestic unrest, as evidenced in the various movements that sprang up. The New Culture Movement, for example, which began in the mid-1910s and ended in the 1920s, originated from disillusionment with traditional Chinese culture. Scholars like Chen Duxiu (1879–1942), Cai Yuanpei (1868–1940), Li Dazhao (1888–1927), Lu Xun (1881–1936), Zhou Zuoren (1885–1967), and Hu Shih (1891–1962), who received both a Chinese classical education and a Western one, began to lead a revolt against Confucianism. Based on Western values, especially those related to democracy and the promotion of science, they called for the creation of a new Chinese culture, which

included “promotion of vernacular literature; an end to the patriarchal family in favor of individual freedom and women’s liberation,” as well as women’s right to education, democratic and egalitarian rights, etc. (L. Chang 195).

These movements awoke the national consciousness of the Chinese people and accelerated the decolonizing process in China. On May 4, 1919, students in Beijing protested against the Chinese government’s weak response to the Treaty of Versailles, which would hand the German concessions in Shangdong over to Japan instead of giving them back to China (Dennerline 46). These demonstrations sparked country-wide strikes against imperialism, which involved people from all walks of life. What was originally a cultural movement turned into a political one. John B. Powell, an American journalist in China in the 1920s and 1930s, described in detail how the British government was forced to return its concession in Hankou to China in his book *My Twenty-five Years in China*:

More parades were organized, with banners denouncing foreign imperialism, and the British Concession was over-run. The British Concession was guarded only by a small naval contingent and a local volunteer corps and police force. Unable to cope with the excited demonstrators who stormed the borders of their Concession, and fearing a Debacle, the British Consul-General, an Irishman named O’Malley, ordered the British population to withdraw to British ships in the harbor which was accomplished without incident. Possessed of more political sagacity than most of his compatriots, Consul-General O’Malley immediately entered into negotiations with the radical Foreign Minister, Eugene Chen, and the outcome was the sensational Chen-O’Malley Agreement, whereby Great Britain agreed to return the British Concession at Hankow to China (136).

The decolonizing period in China was a period of conflict that witnessed a succession of wars: complex warfare among warlords, the First Civil War (1927–1937), the Anti-Japanese War (1937–1945) and the Second Civil War (1945–1949). The two Civil Wars were fought between the forces loyal to the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), which was founded in 1921, and the forces loyal to the Kuomintang (KMT)-led



government of the Republic of China. The KMT (Nationalist Party) was a party that originated from the Revive China Society (兴中会) founded by Sun Zhongshan (also known as Sun Yat-sen) in Honolulu in the United States in 1894. The Revive China Society “had as their aim the expulsion of Manchu imperial power from China and the enthronement of a native Chinese emperor” (“Kuomintang” 195; Fang 24–25). The First Civil War began in 1927 when the first collaboration between the CCP and the KMT failed, and it did not end until the CCP and the KMT collaborated one last time to resist Japanese invasion during the Anti-Japanese War. The American Air Force Bombers dropped atomic bombs on the two Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup>, 1945, respectively, to hasten the end of World War II in the Pacific. On August 15, 1945, Japan surrendered to the Allied Forces, ending World War II, as well as the eight-year anti-Japanese war in China. But the civil war resumed full scale in 1946, lasting until 1949 when the People’s Republic of China was established.

Believing that national strength could be achieved by building a self-reliant and self-sufficient economy (Lai and Kang 115), Mao led China back to a closed-door policy and launched a series of social and cultural revolutionary programs including: 1) the Great Leap Forward (1958–1960), “a movement to accelerate China’s economic growth by concentrating on collectivization, increased production and industrialization (K. Brown 44); and the Great Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), “at its heart a political campaign among elites where the battleground was the world of ideology, power structures and their accompanying language and symbols” (K. Brown 169). During the Cultural Revolution, universities and research institutes were shut down, and intellectuals

and students were dispatched to the countryside to be re-educated by peasants (Wei and Brock 23).

Against the backdrop of such chaotic political and social circumstances, which resulted in China's virtual disappearance from the international stage for thirty years, few English translations of *Liaozhai* were produced.

### **5.1.2 US-China Relations in the 1930s and 1940s**

Japan's invasion of China in 1931–1945 changed US-China relations as well as American people's attitudes toward China. On September 18, 1931, Japan invaded Manchuria in northeast China, which is known as the 9-18 Incident (September 18) or the Mukden Incident. "As the Japanese empire expanded into China," the Chinese historian Ellen D. Wu explains, "the United States offered the Chinese financial assistance and military personnel as a way to secure its own dominance over the Asia-Pacific region" (E. Wu 45). People in the literary field helped the American people understand the situation in China and supported the American government's economic and military aid to China. According to Wu, "Pearl S. Buck's Pulitzer Prize-winning novel *The Good Earth* (1931) and Metro-Goldwyn Mayer's Hollywood adaption (1937) introduced sympathetic portrayals of Chinese peasantry to millions of Americans" (45). The publishing magnate Henry R. Luce did the same "through moving depictions in *Life* magazine of Chinese women and children suffering at the hand of their Japanese oppressors" (45).

On December 13, 1937, Japanese troops captured Nanjing, the capital of the Nationalist government, "beginning a 6-weeks bloodbath in which an estimated 300,000

Chinese citizens were killed” (Berry 110). After the brutal Nanjing Massacre, “the circle of US religious workers and people with firsthand experience, including Buck and Luce, both born and raised there by their missionary parents, rallied with Chinese Americans to cultivate public awareness and support for war relief efforts” (E. Wu 45).

On December 7, 1941 Japan attacked the US Fleet in Pearl Harbor. The next day, the United States declared war on Japan and became an ally of China. In 1943, Song Meiling (宋美齡 1897–2003), Nationalist Chinese first lady, also known as Madame Jiang, made a state visit to the United States. Her visit cemented US-China relations and directly contributed to changing the American image of China. On February 18, 1943, she became the first Chinese and the second woman to address the U.S. Congress. Delivered in flawless English,<sup>21</sup> her speech, which emphasized the ideological kinship between the two countries and Sino-American unity in the war against Japan, was well received by both U.S. politicians and the American people (Lee 154). After that, she traveled all over the United States, “raising funds and making public speeches to large audiences” (“Soong Mei-ling” 148). Her visit was not only a diplomatic success for China, but also a success for herself and for Chinese culture. In March, she made the front cover of *Time* magazine as an international celebrity. The American people were enraptured by “her beauty, poise, and eloquence Americans” (E. Wu 45). And she helped create a positive image “for all things Chinese” (Jespersen 105).

### 5.1.3 Overview of English *Liaozhai* in the Decolonizing Period

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<sup>21</sup> Song Meiling went to study in the U.S. in 1908, as did her sisters and brother. In 1913, she registered at Wellesley College and graduated in 1917. She went back to China 1908.

In the decolonizing period, the publishing center of translations of *Liaozhai* switched from London to New York City. Four English translations of *Liaozhai* stories were published during this period under the names: Frederick H. Martens (1921), Jacob J. Brandt (1927),<sup>22</sup> Dagao Chu (1937) and Rose Quong (1946). Three of the four translations were published in New York. Only Chu's was published in London. Brandt's book was also published in Beijing. The number of stories translated by each translator is very small (see Table 11); the average number of stories translated by the five translators is 14.

Only Quong's translation was published as an individual work. The other three translations of *Liaozhai* stories were included in other books. Martens' and Chu's translations were for children, while Brandt's was for learners of the Chinese language. Marten's translation of eight *Liaozhai* stories is included in the book *The Chinese Fairy Book*, edited by Richard Wilhelm. This book was first published in New York by Frederick A. Stokes Company in 1921, but it was reprinted frequently. The most recent reprint came out in 2013. Chu holds the distinction of being the first Chinese translator of *Liaozhai*. In 1937, his little book *Stories from China: Put into Basic English*, which contains his translation of three *Liaozhai* stories, was published in London. Brandt's translation of five *Liaozhai* stories are included in his *Introduction to Literary Chinese*, a book originally written in Russian aimed at teaching the Chinese language to Russians. Brandt had never lived in an English-speaking country, but the English in this book is extremely idiomatic and elegant. It is unknown whether he translated it into English by

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<sup>22</sup> See Note 18 on page 77.

himself or the publisher sponsored the translation into English.

Table 11: Publication Information of Decolonial Translations

Translators	#	Year	Place	Publisher	Title
Martens	8	1921	New York	Frederick A. Stokes Company	In <i>The Chinese Fairy Book</i>
Brandt	5	1927	Beijing	North China Union Language School	In <i>Introduction to Literary Chinese</i>
			New York	Frederick Ungar Publishing Company	
Chu	3	1937	London	Kegan Paul & Co.	In <i>Stories from China</i>
Quong	40	1946	New York	Pantheon Books Inc.	<i>Chinese ghost &amp; love stories</i>

Unlike in the colonial period, the profiles of the translators in the decolonizing period are complicated and diverse (See the following Table 12). First, their nationalities are different. Martens was American. Brandt was a Russian who lived in China. Chu was Chinese, and Quong was a Chinese Australian. Second, their professional profiles were different. Martens was a composer and author. He composed a great deal of music, such as *Gesu Bambino* (1917), and also wrote books on music, such as *Violin Mastery* (1919), which was reprinted as recently as 2006, 2009 and 2010. Brandt was initially an administrator in the Russian Ministry of Finance, then became the director of a Russian school in China. He worked the rest of his life as a professor, publishing academic works on the Russian and Chinese languages and on Chinese history and culture. He was a very respected sinologist of his time.<sup>23</sup> Chu taught at a university in Beijing before he went to

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<sup>23</sup> Brandt's full Russian name is Iakov Iavovlevich Brandt. He wrote textbooks on the Russian language for Chinese students, books for learning Chinese. His book on Russian-Chinese translation, such as *The Russian-Chinese Translator* (1906) was considered at the time among the best Russian-Chinese learning materials. Chinese language books in English, such as *Wenli Particles* (1929), *Modern Newspaper Chinese: Progressive Readings with Vocabularies, Notes and Translations* (1935), and *Introduction to Spoken Chinese* (1943), were also published under his name. It is not clear whether these are translations from the Russian or originally written in English by Brandt.

study at the Orthological Institute at the University of Cambridge in the UK in 1934. Four years later, he went back to teach at a university in China. Quong was an actress and author.

Third, their translation direction is different. Martens was translating from an FL into his native language, English. It is not known who translated the *Liaozhai* stories in Brandt's book into English. Most probably it is a relay translation from Brandt's Russian translation. Chu's was translating from his NL, Chinese, into an FL, English. Quong was born in Melbourne to Chinese parents in 1879. In 1924, at the age of 44, she left Australia with an ambition to perform on the London stage (Woollacott 49–56). Her translation directionality is from her native language, Chinese, into her habitual language, English. Quong was the first female translator of *Liaozhai* and the only female translator in the decolonizing period.

Table12: Translators Profiles in the Decolonizing Period

Full Name	Lifetime	Gender	Nationality	Profession	Direction
Frederick H. Martens	1874–1932	M	America	composer, author	FL→NL
J. Brandt	1869–1946	M	Russian	teacher	FL→FL
Dagao Chu	1898–1987	M	China	professor	NL→FL
Rose Quong	1879–1972	F	Australia	actress, lecturer and writer	NL→HL

## 5.2 Translating *Liaozhai* for Children

The original *Liaozhai* was written for scholars, which is reflected in the fact that most of the male protagonists in the stories are themselves scholars. Moreover, the stories are usually about the life of scholars—their loves and dreams. The language of the stories

also reflects a scholarly orientation—the stories are full of literary and historical references or poems, which are beyond children’s ability to understand. However, two of the four translators in the decolonizing period, Martin and Chu, translated *Liaozhai* stories for children.

The translation of *Liaozhai* for children reflects the social demand for children’s literature at this time. Occupying a peripheral position within the literary polysystem, children’s literature first appeared in Europe in the seventeenth century. Modern children’s literature emerged in mid-eighteenth century Britain. According to Angela Sorby, a poet and literary scholar, the golden age of children’s literature began in the mid-nineteenth century in Victorian Britain, more or less with *Alice in the Wonderland* (1865), and ended with *Winnie-the-Pooh* (1926). Many books acknowledged as classics of children’s literature were published in this period (96). However, Britain fell much farther behind the U.S. by the 1920s in terms of the establishment of literary awards for children’s books, criticism and reviewing of children’s literature. America continued to lead the way in some key areas, such as awareness of race and culture in children’s literature, and the development of fiction for adolescents. (Pearson 20–21). It was in this social context that *Liaozhai* stories were first translated for children. Frances Carpenter’s book *Tales of a Chinese Grandmother* also contains three *Liaozhai* stories, but she adapted them from Giles’ translation rather than translating them herself. Nevertheless, her packaging of the stories, and specifically the title, reflects this period’s fondness for children’s literature.

Martens’ and Chu’s translations aim to introduce Chinese literature to young

English readers. However, the two books had a different reception. After its first publication in 1921, Marten's translation was frequently reprinted, especially in recent years. It was reprinted in 1922, 1971, 1998, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2012 and 2015. But Chu's translation has never been reprinted and no book review can be found.

What follows is a discussion of the reasons behind the different receptions of these two translations.

### **5.2.1 Selection for Children**

Cecilia Alvstad, a professor of literature and translation, summarizes five features of translated children's literature that have been commonly discussed by scholars: 1) cultural context adaptation, 2) ideological manipulation, 3) dual readership (the targeted audience includes both children and adults), 4) features of orality, and 5) a relationship between text and image (22). Gillian Lathey, a scholar of children's literature, argues that a successful translation of children's literature contains the following features: "affective content, creativity, simplicity of expression and linguistic playfulness" ("Children's literature" 31). Based on Lathey's argument, it can be summarized that the two key points characterizing a successful translation for children are: 1) successful selection of content that is creative and can arouse children's positive emotional response, and 2) translation skill to convey the content in a language that can attract and keep the attention of children.

However, the reason behind the different receptions of Martens' and Chu's translations is most probably due not to the two translators' translation skill but to their selection of stories. In terms of translation skill, Martens's translation proves not to be a



success although English is his native language, while Chu was translating from his NL into an FL. Most book reviews about Marten's translation on Amazon.com agree on two points: 1) the stories are very interesting; but 2) the language is hard to understand. The following is a quotation from one of the reviews:

While these stories were interesting, they were extremely hard to follow. The stories use an overwhelming amount of pronouns and it is easy to lose track of who is speaking. Furthermore, the material is extremely condensed so you'll often find characters in three or four settings within the same paragraph. The grammatical errors are also rampant, which was a clear oversight by any competent editor.<sup>24</sup>

In choosing *Liaozhai* stories, Martens (or maybe the editor, Wilhelm) and Chu share similarities. Unlike colonial translators' common preference for didactic stories, Marten's and Chu's translations have a higher ratio of stories that merely recount strange events or phenomena. In terms of theme distribution, the stories with Type IV themes (recounting strange events or phenomena), account for a majority of the *Liaozhai* stories selected as these stories feed a child's imagination (see the following Table 13). Half of the eight *Liaozhai* stories that Martens translated have the dominant theme of Type IV while two of the three stories selected in Chu's translation also address the Type IV theme. The ratio of Type IV stories in Martens' and Chu's selections, 50% and 67%, respectively, is higher than in the original work, 42.3%. Another similarity in Martens' and Chu's selection is that neither of them translated any stories with descriptions of violence. Therefore, the short life of Chu's translation is not due to the theme of the stories selected but probably due to the fact that the ideological values implanted in these stories did not

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<sup>24</sup> [http://www.amazon.com/Chinese-Fairy-Childrens-Thrift-Classics-ebook/dp/B00A0B09IM/ref=cm\\_rdp\\_product#customerReviews](http://www.amazon.com/Chinese-Fairy-Childrens-Thrift-Classics-ebook/dp/B00A0B09IM/ref=cm_rdp_product#customerReviews), visited on May 21, 2016.

fit the contemporary world.

Table 13: Distribution of Themes in Decolonial TTs

Type of Themes	Pu (497)	Martens (8)	Brandt (5)	Chu	Quong (40)
1. romance	14.9% (74/497)	25% (2/8)			45% (18/40)
2. values	20.7% (103/497)	12.5% (1/8)	40% (2/5)		10% (4/40)
3. problems	22.1% (110/497)	12.5% (1/8)	60% (3/5)	33.3% (1/3)	12.5% (5/40)
4. strange E/P	42.3% (210/497)	50% (4/8)		66.7% (2/3)	32.5% (13/40)

Note: The number after the name of the author or translators are the number of stories included in their work. Strange E/P refers to “strange events/phenomena”.

A major goal of children’s literature is to nurture and pass values down to the future generation. However, Chu’s book includes translations of some non-*Liaozhai* stories with values against social development. For example, the theme of “The Story of Chuang Tzu” is that a good woman will not marry twice, while the story “Learning Tricks” ridicules a person with a mental disability whose wrong use of three sentences learned from others becomes an insult to the three addressees. The idea that a good woman will not marry twice comes from a story in *Zuo Zhuan*, a book written in the Chinese Spring and Autumn period (approximately 771–476 BC) or the Warring States period (from around 475 to 221 BC) recording Chinese history from 772 to 453 BC (G. Luo 464). The values advocated in Chu’s book speaks against women’s rights and social development. Although Chu hopes to build up good feeling between his country and other countries through this translation (10), the result is that he was selling Anglophone readers some backward values that had been discarded even by the Chinese people in the New Culture Movement (See Section 5.1.1). The two translations of *Liaozhai* for children reveal that the content, especially the values and ideas contained in the target texts, is perhaps more important in determining the reception of a translation than the

quality of the translation.

### 5.2.2 Othering or Domesticating

Scholars have discussed whether to other or domesticate foreign realia in translations for children. Jan Van Coillie and Walter P. Verschueren, professors of children's literature, argue that, traditionally, most translators tend to adapt the source text to the target culture based on the assumption that "the linguistic and literary formation of the young reader, as well as his or her knowledge of the world generally, was too restricted to guarantee a sufficient degree of recognizability and empathy," but now translators tend to maintain a degree of otherness out of respect for the original text and culture with the purpose of providing children with an opportunity to get to know other cultures (viii).

In terms of translation approach, Chu's translation of *Liaozhai* is in accordance with the earlier tradition of translation for children. He tended to domesticate *Liaozhai* both in his selection and his application of translation strategies. He selected three stories that do not contain much that is specific to Chinese culture. Two of them are about performing magic arts, while the remaining one is about a man's three lives as a horse, a dog and a snake. In his translation, Chu used simple words and simple sentence structures. Considering that his targeted readers are "boys and girls of different nations" (10), he tends to over-explicate by annotating even some words that readers might know very well, such as pear, butterfly, fan, ivy, and turtle (see the following Table 14).

Table 14: Some Notes in Chu's Translation

pear	A sort of sweet fruit something like an apple (11).
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peach	Insect with beautiful coloured wings (17).
butterfly	A sweet stone-fruit, with a soft, hair-covered skin (61).
ivy	An evergreen plant, with dark green leaves, which is dependent on other plants or structures for support (69).
turtle	Sea-animal with a hard outer covering (74).

Contrary to the traditional tendency to domesticate for children, Martens chose to other China in his selection of stories and application of translation strategies. The following table shows that three of the eight *Liaozhai* stories translated by Martens contain dense descriptions of Chinese-specific customs or items. Moreover, these stories are seldom translated by other translators (see the following Table 15). For example, the story “The Frog Princess” has a long narration of the Chinese custom that a daughter-in-law should serve the parents-in-law and is responsible for various domestic chores, such as sewing, even when the daughter-in-law is a princess (279). In another romantic story “Rose of Evening,” the author provides very detailed descriptions of Chinese music and dance and the customs of the Chinese Dragon-boat Festival.

Table 15: Martens’s Selection of Stories with Chinese Otherness

Story Title	Theme	# of Translators	Chinese Otherness
The Dragon after His Winter Sleep	IV	2	A tiny dragon crawls out of a bamboo book. Then it becomes huge and flies into the sky.
The Frog Princess	I	2	traditional Chinese family relationship between daughter-and parents-in-law
Rose of Evening	I	3	lengthy description of Chinese music and dance

Note: Theme Type IV is about strange events and phenomena, Type III criticizes problems and Type I is romance.

Martens also attended to other Chinese realia in his application of translation strategies. He says in his introduction that the stories “have been retold simply, with no changes in style or expression beyond such details of presentation which differences

between oriental and occidental viewpoints at times compel” (vi). The meaning of each sentence is conveyed very closely to the original. The names of characters and places are rendered in *pinyin*, the Chinese phonetic system. Even a sexual reference, which is usually avoided in children’s literature, is rendered, albeit implicitly (see Table 16).

Table 16: Martens’s Translation of Stories with Sexual References

<b>Source Text (晚霞)</b> 遂以石压荷盖令侧，雅可幃蔽；又匀铺莲瓣而藉之，忻与狎寝。既订后约，日以夕阳为候，乃别。
<b>Martens’s translation (Rose of Evening)</b> Then they weighted the lotus-leaves with stones so that they made a cozy retreat, in which they could be together, and promised to meet each there every evening (288).
<b>Sondergard’s translation (Wanxia)</b> Afterwards they used stones to weigh down the edges of the lotus leaves, so they could bend them up to create a sheltered spot there; next they spread lotus petals over the area for comfort, and joyously proceeded to make love. Afterwards, they arranged to meet each day at sunset, then went their separate ways (6: 2110).

In her book *The Role of Translators in Children’s Literature*, Lathey argues:

“Translators have also sought to compensate for the child’s inevitable lack of life experience, or to strike a balance between filling gaps in children’s knowledge and the need to stimulate curiosity and enhance a tolerance of the unfamiliar” (7). At the two ends of filling gaps in children’s knowledge and the need to stimulate curiosity, if Chu went far in filling gaps in children’s knowledge, Martens went far to the other end in stimulating curiosity. However, in the competition of the two approaches to translating for children, readers appear to be more attracted by the foreignness of *Liaozhai* stories. Marten’s translation of *Liaozhai* stories is still frequently reprinted almost one hundred years after its first publication, despite the fact the stories are “extremely hard to follow,” as quoted

previously from a reader's review.<sup>25</sup>

### 5.3 *Liaozhai* in Brandt's Language Textbook

Five stories translated from *Liaozhai* are contained in Brandt's textbook for Chinese language learners. As in Hillier's volume, the stories were translated to assist students of the Chinese language. According to Guodong Yan (阎国栋), a Chinese professor at Nankai University, when Brandt began to teach in a Chinese language school, his students were westerners. Therefore, he needed a textbook in English (490).<sup>26</sup> Based on the book *A Self-instruction Manual of Written Chinese*, Brandt edited an English book titled *Introduction to Literary Chinese*, in which the English *Liaozhai* stories are contained. It was published in Beijing in 1927. The English edition of Brandt's book contains 40 lessons. Each lesson has three or four sections, including two texts, vocabulary, grammar and the translation of the texts. The texts vary in terms of genre type: there are short stories, documentary papers, judicial documents, newspaper articles and family letters. Three of the *Liaozhai* stories are divided into two parts across two lessons, while another two stories are divided into three parts across three lessons. The length of each part ranges from about two hundred to four hundred Chinese characters.

Not surprisingly for a textbook, Brandt's selection of stories displays a clear preference for the didactic—as with Hillier's. Brandt translated only stories with the

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<sup>25</sup> The translation of children's literature presents many challenges to translators. Not only does it require a very high degree of linguistic and cultural competence, but it also requires a good understanding of the features of children's literature in order to seek a balance between compensating for children's lack of knowledge and satisfying children's curiosity. Cognitive studies on children's ability to delight in and assimilate otherness might help with the balance.

<sup>26</sup> Quoted from Yan's Chinese book 《俄国汉学史: 迄于 1917 年》(*A history of Sinology in Russian*), published by Renming Publihsed House in Beijing in 2006.

theme of Type II (values) and Type III (problems), and these stories are all aimed at personal improvement. Among the five stories he translated, two of the stories praise values, as in the tale of a filial son and a repentant tiger. The tiger is personified. Feeling regretful for killing the only son of an old woman, the tiger takes on the responsibility of caring for her. The other three stories criticize personal failings: stinginess, laziness and maliciousness.

In the English translation of Brandt's textbook, Chinese characters are frequently inserted behind an English word. There is no annotation in the target text. The English edition of Brandt's textbook was reprinted or republished in 1936, 1944, 1954, 1964 and 1968. While reviewing the second edition, published in 1936, Lionel Giles (1875–1958), a sinologist and Keeper of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts at the British Museum,<sup>27</sup> describes it as a most useful book; the texts are “selected with great judgment,” and the grammatical sections are “perhaps the most distinctive feature of the book.”<sup>28</sup> The success of Brandt's textbook is attributed to his selection of materials and the convenient arrangement of the materials.

#### **5.4 Performing China: Quong's Romantic Translations of *Liaozhai***

Quong is the first woman translator of *Liaozhai*. She was a well-known dramatic actress and a lecturer. From her perspective as a woman artist, *Liaozhai* is represented as a collection of Chinese love stories. A romantic tone and Chinese-specific elements

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<sup>27</sup> He is the fourth son of the sinologist Herbert A. Giles, who first published his English translation of *Liaozhai* in 1880.

<sup>28</sup> Quoted from *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 4, October 1938, pp. 572-573.

permeate both the paratexts and her TTs. However, the image of a traditional China she established in the translation contradicts her personal life as a modern woman. Raised in Australia, Quong's *Liaozhai* can be seen as part of her "performance" of China for U.S. audiences. The following will discuss four features characterizing her translation: 1) her poetic and very Chinese paratexts, 2) her preference for stories about love, family and friendship, 3) her restricted rendering of sexual references, and 4) her performing of China through romanticized othering.

#### **5.4.1 Poetic Paratexts Full of Chinese Elements**

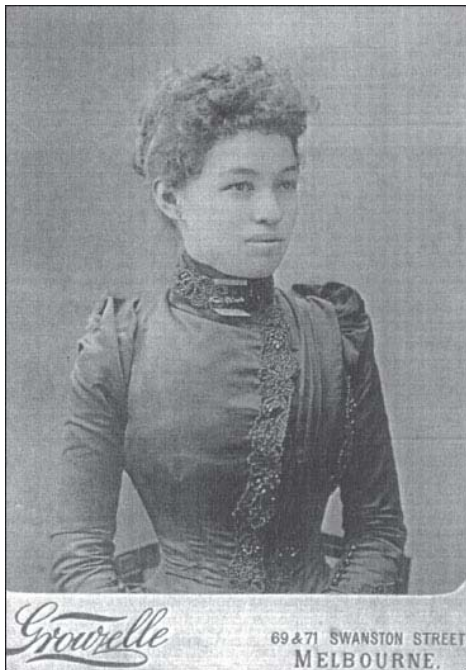
The paratexts in Quong's translation are very poetic and full of Chinese-specific elements. They are an expression of Quong's life-long devotion to poetry and also reveal her purpose of positively othering China for an Anglophone audience. Quong was born in Australia to Chinese parents in 1879. Her father was a merchant who was born in Guangzhou, China, but emigrated to Australia after the Opium War broke out. In the 1890s, an Englishman, Mr. Chisley, taught Quong to read Shakespeare and English poetry. In 1924, she won a scholarship and went to study acting in London at the academy of Rosina Filippi. She did not do well at the start of her career in London by performing in Shakespearean dramas. She only achieved success when she began to perform as an embodiment of traditional Chinese culture. *The Australian Dictionary of Biography* has the following description of her change:

At first Quong felt ambivalent about presenting herself professionally as Chinese. When it became clear that she was not going to succeed as a Shakespearean or general actress, her friends urged her towards a specialized career, that of exotic or Oriental reciter,



actress and performer.<sup>29</sup>

She adopted an Oriental style of hair and dress to accentuate her Chinese appearance, which now served to guarantee the authenticity of her performance. The following four pictures taken from Woollacott's book, *Race and the Modern Exotic: Three 'Australian' Women on Global Display*, reveals her changing appearance.



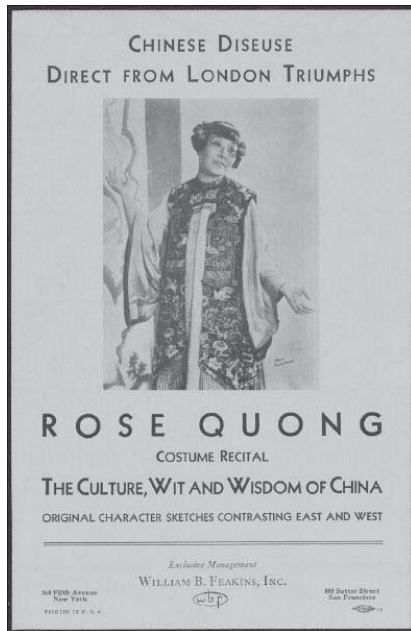
1. Quong in Melbourne



2. Quong in medieval costume

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<sup>29</sup> Woollacott, Angela. "Quong, Rose Maud (1879–1972)." *The Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Web. 23 May, 2016. < <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/quong-rose-maud-13162> >.



3. Advertising flier used by New York agent



4. Quong, presumably during her New York years

Based on what Quong told a journalist in an interview when she was quite elderly: “My perfect gentle little mother determined that as I grew up I should learn the best I could of the ways and culture of the West... I also went to the library and dragged out all the books on Chinese thought I could, reading translations.” From this, Woollacott concludes that Quong began to construct Chinese identity at a very early age (57), lending a greater air of authenticity to her performance. However, this is contradicted by both her Western appearance in the photos taken before she went to London (see the previous page) and what her mother told her to do: learning the ways and culture of the West. Before she switched to her Chinese role in London, Quong did what her mother told her to do by dressing herself in Western style and playing a Western role.

In London, she made herself known as a reciter of Chinese poetry, an actress and a performer. She recited and commented on Chinese poetry on radio for the British Broadcasting Corporation. By 1932, she launched her Circle, “a regular event on alternate Sunday evenings at which she would lecture on Chinese themes and recite poetry, or to which she would invite a guest speaker, and would usually include a musician or singer on the program” (Woollacott 77). She visited America twice for performances or lectures “depicting the culture, wit and philosophy of China”<sup>30</sup> before 1939, when she settled down in New York City permanently and continued to perform, lecture and recite poetry. During these years, Quong often dressed in Chinese costume and wore an oriental style of hair.<sup>31</sup>

Quong’s life long devotion to poetry and Chinese culture, plus her professional need to accentuate her Chinese identity, cultivated abroad, resulted in the poetic qualities of her translation paratexts, rich with Chinese elements. In terms of content, Quong’s paratexts are varied. In addition to an introduction and notes, which are common in other translations, and traditional Chinese illustrations, Quong’s paratexts contain introductory poems and a poetic introduction by the German philosopher Martin Buber (1878–1965). Quong translated the four-line introductory poems accompanying the illustrations in the original work and placed the poems at the beginning of each story, although the illustrations from the original work were not used by Quong. Written by different writers, each poem summarizes the story that follows in a romanticizing way. Quong is the only translator of *Liaozhai* to render these beautiful poems. The addition of these poems

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<sup>30</sup> ‘Rose Quong Here for Tour’, *The New York Times* 7 January 1936, p. 24.

<sup>31</sup> Woollacott, Angela. “Quong, Rose Maud (1879–1972).” *The Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Web. 23 May, 2016. < <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/quong-rose-maud-13162> >.

enhances the romantic elements of the romantic stories and adds a romantic hue to the non-romantic stories. The following are two poems taken from Quong's translation. The first one is placed before a romantic love story, and the other is placed before a story criticizing a stingy person.

Table 17: Introductory Poems in Quong's Translation

Title of the Story (page #)	Introductory Poem before a Story
Ah-pao and her Foolish Lover (17)	While on her pillow, a lovely girl's soul fled to her lover; Still deeper the love this foolish youth cherished. I cannot say that men and birds are not the same, For in a former life the parrot bore the name of Sun.
Planting a Pear Tree (137)	In spite of all there are misers everywhere: Heaven's Way is to pay man back in his own coin. In a trice a tree gives flowers, in the next fruit, This trick the immortal played as a warning against greed.

The romantic quality of Quong's edition is enhanced by inclusion of an English translation of Buber's introduction to his own translations from *Liaozhai*. Buber translated *Liaozhai* from Chinese into German with the help of his friend, Wang Jingdao, a Chinese scholar in Germany. His translation, titled *Chinesische Geister- und Liebesgeschichten* [*Chinese Ghost- and Love-Stories*], was first published in 1911.<sup>32</sup> The introduction used in Quong's paratexts is from this edition. It was beautifully written in highly poetic language.

Like other writers and thinkers of his generation—most notably, perhaps, the American poet Ezra Pound—he had a profound appreciation for Chinese philosophy and culture, which led him to translate stories from *Liaozhai*. Like Quong, Buber saw himself

<sup>32</sup> Buber's German *Liaozhai* was translated into English by Alex Page and published in 1991. This relay translation will be related to Buber's philosophy in a detailed discussion in the next chapter.

as a mediator between the cultures of the West and East. Indeed, Buber perceived this as the special role of German Jews, to serve

a crucial role as mediators between ‘the Orient’ and ‘the Occident,’ as he put it, at a moment of crisis for both civilizations. ‘For the Jew has remained an Oriental,’ he proudly proclaimed in the 1916 essay ‘The Spirit of the Orient and Judaism.’ For the ‘world-historical mission’ of a new spiritual encounter between East and West, ‘Europe has at its disposal a mediating people that has acquired all the wisdom and all the skills of the Occident without losing its original Oriental character’ (Seidman 154).

As a Chinese woman raised in Australia, as familiar with Shakespeare as she was with classical Chinese poetry, Quong may have described her role in a very similar way, as a mediator between the Orient and the Occident, promoting mutual understanding and respect. This is a point often made about Quong’s contemporary Buck. In his review of Kang Liao’s 1997 biography of Buck, entitled *Pearl S. Buck. A Cultural Bridge across the Pacific*, Chinese historian Xi Lian writes:

Pearl Buck was, in the words of the historian James Thomson, “the most influential Westerner to write about China since thirteenth-century Marco Polo.” Forty years ago Harold Isaacs, in his *Scratches on Our Minds: American Images of China and India*, argued that Pearl Buck had “created” the Chinese for a whole generation of Americans in the same way that Charles Dickens created the people who lived in the slums of Victorian England (1998: online).<sup>33</sup>

Brandt, too, saw himself in this way, as a mediator, specifically between Russia

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<sup>33</sup> <http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=2201>, visited on May 25, 2016.

and China, two neighbors who were profoundly ignorant of one another. And so, Brandt created educational materials for Russians to learn more about Chinese language and culture and for Chinese to learn more about Russian language and culture. For, Brandt argued, “a Russian youth in Eastern Siberia doesn’t have the slightest idea of his enormous neighbor.” And if such a state of ignorance continues, Brandt warns, “no matter how many Eastern Institutes, Eastern Academies, and other specialty schools we found, the Chinese will remain for the average Russian a ‘wild nomad,’ and the Chinese language ‘gibberish, and China will remain a land of silk, tea and porcelain.”<sup>34</sup>

If Buber’s poetic introduction further enhances the romantic quality of Quong’s paratexts, so, too, do the illustrations she includes. At the beginning or the end of almost every story, there is a traditional Chinese painting. The size varies according to the space available. Illustrations in a traditional Chinese style are also inserted in the middle of the stories. Although these paintings are not from the original work, they are very similar in style. The following are four pages taken from the beginning, the middle and the end of the story “Ah-pao and her Foolish Lover.”

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<sup>34</sup> Quoted from: Государственный архив Иркутской области. Ф.25. Оп.11. Д.12. Л.85-97



*Let's talk nonsense and listen as we please!  
Outside, beans and melons 'gainst a trellis, and rain  
like silk strands.  
Speaking of human affairs surely is irksome,  
But fain would we hear, in the hush of a tomb,  
spirits singing their songs.*

WANG SHIH-CHEN  
(A.D. 1634-1711)



*While on her pillow, a lovely girl's soul fled to her  
lover:*

*Still deeper the love this foolish youth cherished.  
I cannot say that men and birds are not the same,  
For in a former life the parrot bore the name of Sun.*

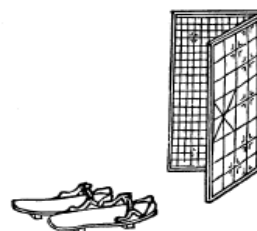
IN THE PROVINCE OF Kwangsi lived a scholar of repute, by name Sun Tse-chu. He was born with six fingers and was of so simple a nature that he readily believed people who fooled him. If he happened to be in any gathering and singing girls appeared, instantly he would look away and then take to flight. Someone knowing this invited him to his house and engaged a singing girl to press on him her favors. Sun colored to the neck and beads of perspiration dripped from him, while his companions roared with laughter. Stories of how foolish he had looked went the rounds and he was made fun of and called "Sun the Fool."

There lived in the same town a certain merchant, an old man rich as a prince and related by marriage to the most aristocratic families. He had a daughter of peerless beauty named Ah-pao, and to choose for her an excellent husband was his constant thought. Sons of the nobility had vied with each other to win her, but the father deemed none of these suitable. Sun at that time had lost his wife; someone in jest told him he should have a matchmaker seek Ah-pao for him in marriage. Sun, having no real estimate of himself at all, followed the advice; but the father, who knew his reputation as a scholar, also knew of

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### Chinese Ghost & Love Stories

The Emperor, hearing of Sun's strange adventures, sent for him. When Sun told his story, the Emperor was highly delighted and straightway summoned Ah-pao. Then he heaped great rewards upon them both.



A commentator says, whoever is crazy on writing may become a successful writer; whoever is crazy on art may become a successful artist. Only the unsuccessful are not crazy at all!

The paintings placed at the beginning of a story describe a scene in the story, while the paintings placed at the end of a story are usually a small simple drawing of scenery or something that is special in China, such as Chinese furniture or animals in Chinese mythology. These paintings are meant to enrich readers' understanding of the story and of Chinese culture. Quong's addition of these paintings proved to be a success. A book review published in *Book Review Digest* in 1946 made the following comment regarding the illustrations in Quong's translation:

No lovelier story-book for grown-ups than this selection from the Liao Chai stories can be imagined. Its sealing-wax red dust-cover, its lovely clear yellow binding with a design of bamboos on it, the forty-five illustrative drawings and designs are all ancillary to the stories, which are smooth as iced satin, clear as air after rain (667).

This book review demonstrates that Chinese otherness presented in the paratexts accompanying Quong's translation was well accepted by its Anglophone readers.

In addition to their poeticality and the wealth of Chinese-specific elements, the third feature that distinguishes Quong's paratexts from the others is her introduction of traditional family life in China. Among all the translations, her introduction is the only one that mentions family life. In the introduction, she discusses two points: "First, the almost total absence of family life [in *Liaozhai*]—a wife flits but rarely across the pages—and second, the 'Romeos' consistently are candidates for state examination degrees."<sup>35</sup> She then discusses domestic life under the old Chinese family system: marriages were arranged; special training of Chinese wives was "in the art of managing

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<sup>35</sup> The introduction is not page numbered in the book.



the family and the home;” and the love between husband and wife came from the feeling of duty. This traditional system played such an important role in China that “love affairs did not develop as in the West.” At the end of this introduction, she points out that Cupid’s random arrows have finally pieced this rigid social system, and “A new day has dawned for the Chinese wife—and husband” (4).

In Quong’s TTs, almost all the stories contain supernatural elements (39/40). Unlike the colonial translators, however, who used the supernatural stories in *Liaozhai* to inferiorize the Chinese people as superstitious and ignorant, Quong praises the rich imagination and romanticism of Chinese culture demonstrated in these supernatural stories. Buber makes this point explicit in his introduction:

In their accuracy of imagery and expression the Chinese tales remind us of the accounts of Celtic peasants of their contacts with ghosts; but here it is not the mystic vision perceived in lucid terror that becomes articulate, but natural magic operating in a familiar world. The order of Nature is not broken, its perceptible limits merely extend; the abundant flow of the life force is nowhere arrested, and all that lies bears the seed of the spirit (9).

According to Buber, these love stories reflect the unity and oneness of the natural and supernatural realms.<sup>36</sup>

Author and journalist Anne Fremantle also comments positively on the ghost stories in Quong’s translation, somehow humanizing:

These ghostly Chinese lovers and their ladies have none of the gruesomeness of the demon lovers of the West, nor of the women who wail for them. They are intensely human, lovingly, friendly: cousins not of Faust’s Helen but of Hans Andersen’s Little Mermaid, of Matthew

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<sup>36</sup> For further information, please refer to the discussion of Page’s translation of Buber’s German *Liaozhai* in next chapter from page 124-128.

Arnold's Forsaken Merman or Goethe's *Neue Melusine*.<sup>37</sup>

J. J. Espey makes a similar point, arguing that the delicate stories in Quong's translation of *Liaozhai—Chinese Ghost and Love Stories*, is not for “a reader looking for the conventional chills of ordinary ghost literature;” the world in *Liaozhai* is “by no means unreal or fantastic,” it is “really a heightening of ordinary life, a celebration of human values.”<sup>38</sup> Quong, one could say, gives Anglophone readers a completely different understanding of the supernaturalness in the *Liaozhai* stories from that created by the colonial translators.

#### 5.4.2 Quong's Selection: Romantic Love Stories

As reflected in the title, *Chinese Ghost & Love Stories*, Quong's translation is a collection of love stories. In her selection of stories for translation, Quong demonstrates a marked preference for stories about love and family. Love is the theme that runs through the whole edition. In addition to romantic love, her TTs include stories about affectionate and harmonious relations among family members, between friends, between a human being and a god, a ghost or a fox spirit, and even the inseparable relationship between a man and a special stone.

Her interest in the domestic realm was profoundly influenced both by Victorian culture and traditional Chinese culture. Quong was born to Chinese parents but grew up in a British colony during the Victorian period. Both the traditional culture of China and English Victorian culture influenced her performance as a traditional Chinese woman

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<sup>37</sup> Quoted from *The Commonweal*, page 379, January 24, 1947.

<sup>38</sup> Quoted from *Weekly Book Review*, page 3, January 12, 1947.

before Anglophone audiences. Both cultures promoted the idea that men and women had separate spheres and duties. Men's work was to explore and compete in the open world, while women were entirely responsible for family affairs. Girls were educated to be the manager of the family home. Marriage was women's natural role and held the central place in a woman's life (Mitchell 265–268). In a translation note, Quong mentions the gendered nature of the Chinese education of children: "Of old in China a baby girl was given a tile to play with, as emblem of her future role—one of a girl's home duties being, with tile on knee, to twist threads of hemp. A baby boy was given a scepter" (327).

Being brought up and educated in these family-oriented cultures makes Quong more sensitive to family life in *Liaozhai* stories, as discussed above. Moreover, her participation in the Mermaid Play Society reveals her concern for family and women. The Mermaid Play Society featured plays written by women dealing with women's issues (Woollacott 61–64). She was one of the active organizers; in fact, she was a founding member.

In her selection of stories for translation, Quong demonstrates a marked preference for stories about love, family and women issues. Table 13 in Section 5.2.1 (page 82) shows that 45% of stories translated by Quong have the theme of romantic love. Some stories with other types of themes are also related to romance (See the following Table 18). Related to the "new day" mentioned in her introduction, the romantic stories she selected are mainly about the pursuit of true love without the restriction of social status and wealth, a love that traverses the boundary of natural world, as represented by ghosts, spirits, immortals and fairies. Such stories seem to argue against the traditional

system of arranged marriage, as described in Quong's introduction.

In addition to romantic love, Quong also showed a preference for stories about family and friendship. Among the ten stories with Type II theme (praising a value) and Type III theme (criticizing a problem), three stories are related to family life, three stories are about friendship between a human being and a ghost girl, a fox women and a god. Of the twelve stories with Type IV themes (recounting a strange event or phenomenon), three are family-related, and one is about a man's friendship with a god. The values praised are filial piety, gratitude and kindness. The problems criticized in Quong's translation include: discourteousness, laziness, snobbishness and stinginess. Quong's selection also contains stories about a woman teaching another woman how to get her husband's love back and stories about the connectedness between family members and between a husband and his wife. The following table shows that Quong's selection of stories is romance- and family-oriented.

Table 18: Romance & Family Related Stories with Other Types of Themes

Type of theme	Story Title & Romance related plot
2. values	<b>Huan-niang and her Lute Master:</b> a kind ghost girl acts as a match-maker for a scholar.
2. values	<b>“Heng-niang’s Advice to a Neglected Wife:</b> a fox wife teaching a neighbor’s wife how to win back her husband.
3. problems	<b>The Sisters Exchange in a Marriage:</b> a young sister replaces her snobbish elder sister to marry the poor finance who later became a high official.
3. problems	<b>NiueCheng-chang and his Faithless Widow:</b> Niu Chengzhang died, but his ghost married a woman and ran a pawnshop. After killing his former wife who abandon their 2 children in poverty, he disappeared as a black smoke.
4. strange E/P	<b>Old Chu Returns for his Wife:</b> an old man who died came back to life for his sad wife. Then the old couple die together.
4. strange E/P	<b>The Guardian Immortal’s Sleeve:</b> a Taoist help a young man to get together with his lover, a girl serving in the King’s palace, in his sleeve.

### 5.4.3 Conservative Rendering of Sexual References

The traditional Chinese and Victorian cultures, in which Quong grew up, are reflected in her conservative treatment of sexual references in the stories she translates. Fifteen stories in Quong's translation contain sexual references, and while she rendered them, she did so in a prudent way. Euphemism is occasionally used. Once again, Sondergard's translation is used as a reference.

Table 19: Quong's Translation of Stories with Sexual references

1	<b>Source Text (画壁)</b> 遽拥之亦不甚拒，遂与狎好。
	<b>Quong's translation (The Wall Painting)</b> At once he embraced her and she not resisting, their hearts leapt to ecstasy (306).
	<b>Sondergard's translation (The Frescoed Wall)</b> he hastily embraced her, and meeting very little resistance from her, they proceeded to make love (1: 25).
2	<b>Source Text (毛狐)</b> 夜分果至，遂相悦爱。
	<b>Quong's translation (Fourth Sister Hu)</b> At midnight she really did arrive, and they took pleasure in each other (319).
	<b>Sondergard's translation (Miss Quarta Hu)</b> At midnight, she did indeed arrive, and they made love enthusiastically (2: 589).
3	<b>Source Text (书痴)</b> 郎喜，遂与寝处。然枕席间亲爱倍至，而不知为人。
	<b>Quong's translation (The Crazy Bookworm)</b> Lang was overjoyed, and together they retired, but notwithstanding his great love he knew not how to act as a man (63).
	<b>Sondergard's translation (The Bookworm)</b> Lang, ecstatically happy, took her to his bedroom. However, though he was lying together with his beloved on the bed, he didn't know how to make love to her (6: 2073).

### 5.4.4 Performing China through Othering

The main translation approach in Quong's *Liaozhia* is othering on a cultural level while at the same time deeply humanizing with a few exceptions. Othering China is to suit the Western fascination with Chinese culture at this time. As Woollacott argues: "From the

1920s to the 1970s British and American Orientalist fascination with ‘the East’ provided Quong with audiences and a market” (55). Centering on the theme of love, she presented Chinese otherness in her paratexts, in her selection and in her translation strategies. In the paratexts, she introduced traditional married life, provided traditional Chinese paintings and poems. She explained various Chinese cultural traditions in the endnotes, such as myths, allusions, idioms, historical and literary people and even a very detailed description of Chinese copper coins. The texts she selected are beautifully poetic, romantic, full of love and affectionate relations between human being and gods, spirits, ghosts and the nature. For the rendering of Chinese culture-specific items, such as measure unit, character’s names, she used the *pinyin*. In the forty stories she selected, seventeen are titled with the names of the protagonists. Quong translated the names into *pinyin* with the addition of some information she considered key in the story. For example, in the original work, the titles of the following three stories are only the names of the major characters, but Quong translated them respectively into: “Ying-ning, the Laughing Girl,” “Wang Shih-shiu Played Football,” and “Heng-niang’s Advice to a Neglected Wife.”

In her translation, Quong created a very beautiful image of *Liaozhai* and China. Like the image created by her contemporary Buck, the image of China in Quong’s translation is more positive than the one presented in the colonial paratexts. Metro-Goldwyn Mayer’s Hollywood movie adapted from Buck’s novel *The Good Earth* produced in 1937 showed the Chinese “not as strange, mysterious, fictional characters of another world, but as human beings whose life stories was very much like the life of

people anywhere else in the world” (Roan 115). Buck’s novel made the American image of China more humanized and more accurate. Quong’s mixtures of romantic and culture-specific elements attempted to do much the same, while toning down the graphic violence of Buck’s depiction.

Buck’s novel was published in 1931, while Quong’s translation was published in 1946, three years after Song Meiling’s visit. Song’s state visit to the United States played a great role in changing the American image of China. As discussed in the introduction, Song’s visit created a positive image for all things Chinese. Song’s visit may help to explain the more positive image represented in Quong’s translation. Nonetheless, like Buck, Quong attempted to walk a fine line in her portrayal of Chinese culture, othering it without de-humanizing it, or rather humanizing it without domesticating it, stressing the enormous role of tradition in Chinese culture while also putting forward hope for progressive change.

On a personal level, Quong’s performance of China for Anglophone audiences was riddled with contradictions. As discussed previously, she did not originally identify with her Chinese ethnicity, which can be seen from her photos taken when she was in Melbourne. She dressed like a Western woman and played Western roles in Western dramas. Although Quong grew up in the two cultures believing that marriage was women’s natural role and held a central place in a woman’s life, and that women were entirely responsible for family affairs, she herself never married. So, playing the role of a traditional Chinese woman allowed her, paradoxically, to live a very modern life as a single, self-sufficient performer. Her performance of China brought her professional

success and an international reputation. She was not only invited to recite Chinese poems on BBC radio and on a BBC television program but also to give lectures on Chinese culture and philosophy (Woolacott 49). Her translation of *Liaozhai* and another book introducing Chinese language and culture, *Chinese Characters: Their Art and Wisdom*, were published by two major American publishers: Pantheon and Dover and should be considered an integral part of Quong's performance of Chinese culture for an Anglophone audience in the decolonizing period.

## 5.5 Conclusion

The distinctive feature of translations of *Liaozhai* in the decolonizing period is their diversity, although it was translated by only four people. The genre of the target texts is diverse, including literature for children, for language learners, and as romantic stories. The translators' profiles are also diverse. They came from different countries, worked in quite different career fields, and translated *Liaozhai* in different directionalities. And this was the time when a woman joined the ranks of *Liaozhai*'s translators. The diversity of these decolonizing translations reflects the increasing diversity of not only the social demands placed on translated Chinese literature (for children and for language learning), but also of the people who now participated in the translations, as well as a broad cultural shift in Western views on China, which were becoming much more complex, layered, and nuanced than in the colonial period.

Quong's translation is perhaps the most important one in the decolonizing period. As the first female translator of *Liaozhai*, she provides a different perspective in her



interpretation of *Liaozhai*. Not unlike her contemporary, the author Pearl S. Buck, Quong presents China through a romantic lens, reflecting a new appreciation of China in the West at this time—one that is more humanizing, more appealing, and more positive while still profoundly othering.

## CHAPTER VI

### Competing Translations of *Liaozhai* in Post-Mao Period

This chapter examines the ten English translations of *Liaozhai* published in the post-Mao period. The ten English translations will be divided into two categories: translations published in Chinese contexts and translations published in Western contexts. Images of *Liaozhai* constructed in the translations published in the two different contexts will be analyzed in terms of paratexts, selection of source texts and application of translation approaches and strategies. Anti-feudalism is a defining feature that distinguishes the translations published in Chinese contexts from the translations published in Western contexts. Section one is a brief introduction of Chinese feudalism and the anti-feudal movement, which were central to the Chinese packaging of *Liaozhai* in the post-Mao period. Section Two discusses the image of *Liaozhai* created in the seven translations published in Chinese contexts. Section Three investigates the three translations published in the Western contexts. Differences will be explored and discussed.

#### 6.1 Introduction

##### 6.1.1 Chinese Feudalism

Chinese feudalism is “a term used loosely to define the characteristics of traditional Chinese society that have remained evident over the past 2,000 years” (B. Zhang 157).

According to Boshu Zhang, a professor of Political Science at Columbia University, Chinese feudalism is a broad concept that includes three meanings: (1) a small peasant economic formation with a self-sufficient (and thus closed) structure of production; (2) a political formation characterized by a special kind of feudal/bureaucratic totalitarianism; and (3) a whole set of feudal ethics based mainly upon Confucian theory” (B. Zhang 146). In this study, the third meaning will be used.

According to Aditi Dubey-Jhaveri, a lecturer at the University of Hong Kong, “The core of the feudal ideology was Confucianism, the ideology and worldview based on the Five Classics and Four Books.” Confucianism Dubey Jhaveri notes, “stresses a hierarchical societal structure, which assumes subordinates’ obedience to superiors and men’s dominance over women and children” (Dubey-Jhaveri 79).

### **6.1.2 Overview of English Translations of *Liaozhai* in Post-Mao Period**

Ten English translations of *Liaozhai* were produced in the post-Mao period, among which five were done by groups of translators. They are Yang et al. (1981), Lu et al. (1982), Mo et al. (1988), Xie et al. (1990) and Zhang et al. (1997). One translation was done by a pair of translators, Denis C. Mair and his brother Victor H. Mair (1989), while the remaining four were done by individual translators: Page (1991), Wang (1998), Minford (2006) and Sondergard (2008–2014). Chronologically presented, the English translations of the post-Mao period include: (1) *Selected Tales of Liaozhai* by Xianyi Yang, his British wife

Gladys Yang<sup>39</sup>, Gongli Xu, and Shiguang Hu (1981); (2) *Strange Tales of Liao-zhai* by Yunzhong Lu, Tifang Chen, Liyi Yang and Zhizhong Yang (1982); (3) *Selected Translations from Pu Songling's Strange Stories of Liao-zhai* by Ruoqiang Mo, Zunzhong Mo and Zunjun Mo (1988); (4) *Strange Tales from Make-do Studio* by Denis C. & Victor H. Mair (1989), (5) *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio* by Wanruo Xie, Kaïen Li and Jingwen Zhang (1990); (6) *Chinese Ghost and Love Stories* by Alex Page (1991); (7) *Strange Tales from the Liao-zhai Studio* by Qingnian Zhang, Ciyun Zhang and Yi Yang (1997), (8) *100 Passages from Strange Stories of Liao-zhai* by Juan Wang (1998), (9) *Strange Tales from a Chinese Studio* by John Minford (2006) and (10) *Strange Tales from Liao-zhai* by Sidney L. Sondergard (2008–2014).<sup>40</sup> Unlike previous translators, the translators of *Liao-zhai* in the post-Mao era are either professional translators or professors teaching at universities.

Another distinguishing feature of post-Mao translations of *Liao-zhai* is that almost all translations were published as individual books. Page's translation is the only exception. Page translated two individually published German translations by Buber and combined them into a single book—*Chinese Tales*. This volume included an English translation of Buber's 1910 German translations of *Zhuangzi*, a collection of anecdotes and fables by the ancient Chinese philosopher Zhuangzi (c. 369 – 286 B.C.), as well as an

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<sup>39</sup> Xianyi Yang was born on January 10, 1915; died on November 23, 2009. His wife Gladys Yang (January 19, 1919–November 18, 1999) with the maiden name of Gladys Margaret Tayler was born in Beijing when her father worked as a missionary in China. She returned to Britain when she was a child. In 1936 Xianyi Yang went to study at Oxford where he met Gladys and married her. In 1940, the Yang couple returned to China, and began their life-long co-operation of introducing Chinese classics to the English-speaking world. Working for the Foreign Languages Press in Beijing, a government-funded publisher, the husband and wife team produced a number of quality translations.

<sup>40</sup> The Chinese names of the Chinese translators are: (1) 杨宪益、(2) 卢允中、陈体芳、杨立义、杨之宏; (3) 莫若强、莫遵中、莫遵均; (5) 谢婉若、李凯恩、张瀟文; (7) 张庆年、张慈云、杨毅; (8) 王娟

English translation of the of sixteen *Liaozhai* stories that were published by Buber one year earlier under the title *Chinesische Geister- und Liebesgeschichten*.

Nine of the ten translations are partial translations. The average number of stories translated in those volumes is 60. It is much higher than the average number of stories translated in the colonial period (32) and in the decolonizing period (14). Sondergard is the only person to make a complete translation of all 497 stories in the whole history of translating *Liaozhai*. His translation was published in six volumes. The first two volumes came out in 2008. Volume three and four were published in 2010. The fifth volume was published in 2012 and the last volume in 2014.

The publishing center of English translations of *Liaozhai* switches in the post-Mao era from the West to the East. Seven of the ten translations were published in Chinese-speaking contexts: four in Beijing, two in Hong Kong, with one translation being published both in Beijing and Taipei. Six of the seven translations published in Chinese-speaking contexts are group or pair translations. Wang's translation is the only exception. She translated 51 *Liaozhai* stories all by herself. In terms of directionality, five of the seven translations published in Chinese-speaking contexts were done out of the native language (NL) into a foreign language. In Yang's translation, three of the four translators were translating from NL into FL. Gladys Yang, however, was different. She was a native English speaker, but she lived and worked in China after moving there in 1940 with her Chinese husband, Xianyi Yang. Her habitual language (HL) was Chinese rather than her native language—English. She translated from HL into NL. Mairs' translation is from FL into NL. However, the stories translated were selected by the Chinese department of

Zhongshan University in Guangzhou, China. Although the two translators, Denis Mair and Victor Mair, were both American, sponsorship played an important role in shaping this edition of *Liaozhai* stories.

The other three translations were published in Western Anglophone cultures: two in the USA, and one in London. Each of the three translations was done by an individual translator. All three of these individual translators, Page, Minford and Sondergard, translated from an FL into their NL, which was also their habitual language. Page, however, translated from Buber's German translation into English rather than from the original language, Chinese. The following two tables list the publication information and translators' profiles of the English translations done in the post-Mao era.

Table 20: Publication Information of Translations in Post-Mao Era

Translators	#	Year	Place	Publisher	Title
Yang et al.	17	1981	Beijing	Panda Books	<i>Selected Tales of Liaozhai</i>
Lu et al.	84	1982 & 1988	Hong Kong	The Commercial Press	<i>Strange Tales of Liaozhai</i>
Mo et al.	20	1988	Beijing	Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press	<i>Selected Translations from Pu Songling's Strange Stories of Liaozhai</i>
Denis & Victor Mair	51	1989/1996	Beijing/ Honolulu	Foreign Language Press	<i>Strange Tales from Make-do Studio</i>
Xie et al.	7	1990	Beijing/ Taipei	China Prospect Publishing House/ Han Guang Culture Press	<i>Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio</i>
Alex Page	16	1991 (1910)	Atlantic Highland, N.J.	Humanities Press International	<i>In Chinese Tales, Part II: Chinese Ghost and Love Stories</i>
Zhang et al.	194	1997	Beijing	People's China Publishing House	<i>Strange Tales from the Liaozhai Studio</i>
Wang	51	1999	Hong Kong	The Commercial Press	<i>100 Passages from Strange Stories of Liaozhai</i>
Minford	104	2006	London		
Sondergard	all	2008–2014	Fremont, California	Jain Publishing Company	<i>Strange Tales from Liaozhai, Vol. 1-6</i>

Table 21: Translators' Profiles in Post-Mao Era

Translators	Nationality	Profession	Gender	Directionality
Yang et al.	China	translators	Mix	3 NL → FL 1 FL → NL
Lu et al.	China	2 professors, 2 translators	M	NL → FL
Mo et al.	China	translator	M	NL → FL
Denis & Victor Mair	America	professors, translators	M	FL → NL
Xie et al.	China	editor, translators	Mix	NL → FL
Alex Page	USA		M	FL → NL
Zhang et al.	China	translator	Mix	NL → FL
Wang	China	professor	F	NL → FL
Minford	UK	professor	M	FL → NL
Sondergard	USA	professor	M	FL → NL

## 6.2 Anti-feudal *Liaozhai* in Translations Published in Chinese Contexts

The common feature that distinguishes the seven post-Mao English translations of *Liaozhai* published in Chinese-speaking cultures from the translations published in Western Anglophone cultures is their emphasis on the social critical function of *Liaozhai*. All of these seven translations construct a similar image of *Liaozhai* as an anti-feudal work.

Anti-feudalism originated from the anti-traditionalism of the May Fourth Movement in 1919. The revolution of 1911, led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, abolished the feudal monarchy and established the Republic of China. But the task of overthrowing imperialism and feudalism was not immediately achieved. Affected by Marxism-Leninism, China's nationalist revolution became part of the world proletarian socialist revolution, and shortly thereafter the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was born in 1921

(MacFarquhar 240). Anti-feudalism was a common goal that bonded the CCP, Guoming Dang and the May Fourth liberals like Hu Shih (Joseph Richmond Levenson 1: 41). As the Chinese historian? Y. Li comments, “The slogan ‘Down with Confucianism’ emerged from the May Fourth Movement and continued to be heard throughout literary circles as late as 1949” (Y. Li 257). Due to the split between the CCP and the Guoming Dang, the anti-feudalism campaign was ended. However, the CCP and its army adopted the anti-feudalism campaign and continued to pursue its objectives (Y. Li 257).

Anti-feudalism was one of the two central tasks the CCP set for itself when it was established. As Schram et al. explains, “At its inception, the CCP declared to the Chinese people its guiding program of anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism, a program unprecedented in Chinese history. During the periods that followed, the Communist Party established different sorts of concrete policies for carrying out such principles” (Schram et al. 8:384). The September 1981 Central Committee of the CCP Resolution emphasized its determination to continue this task. According to the Resolution, feudal ideology, including “patriarchal clannishness, autocratic ways, the tendency to seek privileges and to form factions for selfish purposes, the view that men are superior to women ... is deep-rooted in our country ... We should actively change those undesirable customs ... Members of the Communist Party and the Communist Youth League should lead in this endeavour” (qtd. in Sleeboom-Faulkner 198–199).

This following section will discuss how the anti-feudal image of *Liaozhai* is shaped through the paratexts, selection of texts and the employment of translation approaches in the editions of *Liaozhai* published in Chinese-speaking contexts.



### 6.2.1 Anti-feudal Paratexts

The paratexts accompanying four of the seven translations published in Chinese-speaking contexts, mainland China, Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan, were written by people other than the translators themselves. Moreover, the paratexts of all the translations published in Chinese-speaking contexts are much shorter than those of Minford and Sondergard. In addition to giving a brief introduction to the author and a discussion of *Liaozhai*'s literary status, style, artistic merits, etc, all the paratexts point out that *Liaozhai* aims at criticizing feudal society. Anti-feudalism becomes the most important characteristic of *Liaozhai* in the paratexts of translations published in Chinese-speaking cultures. Examples of stories with anti-feudal elements are provided in the paratexts to support this point of view.

The paratexts accompanying the translation by Yang et al. state that the purpose of this collection is to “expose and criticize reality using fictitious characters to vent his [Pu’s] own feelings. Thus these strange tales express certain aspects of real life” (145). Yang et al. argue that the *Liaozhai* stories criticize the feudal society of the author’s time in following four respects, providing examples to support this argument (145–51): (1) corruption and misrule, as in the stories “Xi Fangpin” (席方平) and “A Dream of Wolves” (梦狼); (2) the tyranny of the local gentry and landlords, as in “Cui Meng” (崔猛); (3) the examination system, as in “Yu Que” (于去恶) and “Wang Zian” (王子安); and (4) the cruel suppression of the people’s uprising, as in “The Wild Dogs” (野狗) and “The Ninth Daughter of the Gongsun Family” (公孙九娘).

The paratexts accompanying the translation done by Lu et al. classify the stories

into three categories: those that aim (1) to expose and castigate the dark feudal society; (2) to lay bare the ugly features and malpractices of the imperial examination system; (3 and to narrate the love affairs of young people, which signified the author's "dissatisfaction with the marital status in a feudal society where marriages were arranged by parents?" and his wish for the "freedom to choose one's spouse" (v).

The paratexts accompanying the translation done by the Mair brothers contains a preface and illustrations. The preface was written by two Chinese professors, Wang Jisi (王缉思), a professor of International Studies at Peking University, and Liu Liemao (刘烈茂 1934–2010), who worked at Zhongshan University. According to Wang and Liu, *Liaozhai* is meant to express the author's "outrage at the ways of the world and his unique perspective on society's problems" (iv). With *Liaozhai* stories, Pu criticizes "the unfairness of the feudal system and expresses his indignation by writing of fox spirits and monsters" (back cover). In a society that advocated the notions that "in women lack of talent is a virtue" and that women were "not to speak in raised tones, or to expose their teeth in laughter," most of the female characters in *Liaozhai* "tend to pose challenges to accepted practices of feudal society" (v). The paratexts to Mairs' translation introduces several stories that describe a woman who was unusual in Chinese feudal society, such as Yinning, 颜氏, who stood against the Chinese feudal value "In women lack of talent is a virtue" (v). He describes anti-feudal women as "rebellious women who dare to transgress the code of feudal propriety and fight to throw off their feudal chains." He goes on to conclude, "most of Pu Songling's female figures tend to pose challenges to accepted practices of feudal society" (Mairs iv–v).

In his very short introduction of *Liaozhai*, consisting of only 11 lines, Xie points out that “Pu uses the form of traditional ghost stories to satirize and describe the injustice of society, and the seven stories included in her pictorial book of English translation are intended to “expose the decadence of the judicial system and political world” (15). Wang expresses the same opinion in the paratexts to her translation, claiming, “*Liaozhai* revealed many social problems which called for deep thought,” such as people’s difficulties and hardships, the decay of social morals, government corruption and the bureaucrats’ inhumanity (xiv–xiv).

Unlike in the colonial paratexts, supernaturalness in *Liaozhai* stories is examined from another perspective in the paratexts of translations published in Chinese contexts. Instead of criticizing the superstitions of the Chinese people, the paratexts accompanying most of the translations published in Chinese-speaking contexts agree that Pu uses these supernatural stories to vent his grief and indignation, to criticize his society, to educate people, and to express his wish for a better life and a better world. As Lu puts it, “The characters that assumed the shapes of gods and spirits could have a free outlet for their latent emotions in defiance of the feudal ethical code” (Lu v). Mo makes a similar argument, claiming that those characters “enable [Pu] to mirror the cruelty of social life under the feudal Manchu rule and yet avoid its censorship and political persecution of scholars.”<sup>41</sup> Yang et al. also makes the point that Pu used such non-human characters not because he was superstitious but as an Aesopian device to avoid censorship: “Under the strict censorship of the time one careless remark might mean the execution of a whole

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<sup>41</sup> Quoted from “An Introduction to *Liaozhaizhiyi*” in Mo’s translation, page 4.

family.”<sup>42</sup> In fact, in his own introduction to *Liaozhai*, Pu expresses his melancholy over the fact that he had to resort to supernatural stories to express his thoughts:

Midnight finds me  
Here in this desolate studio  
By the dim light  
Of my flickering lamp,  
Fashioning my tales  
At this ice-cold table,  
Vainly piecing together my sequel  
To The Infernal Regions.  
I drink to propel my pen,  
But succeed only in venting  
My spleen,  
My lonely anguish.  
Is it not a sad thing,  
To find expression thus?  
Alas! I am but  
A bird  
Trembling at the winter frost,  
Vainly seeking shelter in the tree;  
An insect  
Crying at the autumn moon,  
Feebly hugging the door for warmth.  
Those who know me  
Are in the green grove,  
They are  
At the dark frontier.<sup>43</sup>

### 6.2.2 Anti-feudal Selection of STs

The translations published in Chinese-speaking cultures reinforce the image of *Liaozhai* as an anti-feudal literary work through the selection of texts for translation. In order to isolate the anti-feudal features in the TTs, I divided the *Liaozhai* into two categories: anti-feudal and non-anti-feudal. The anti-feudal stories aim at exposing the dark side of feudal society. A story that has at least one of the following elements will be regarded as an anti-

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<sup>42</sup> Quoted from “Pu Songling and Tales of *Liaozhai*” in the translation by Yang et al., page 145.

<sup>43</sup> This part is extracted from Minford’s translation, page 456-7. The original text is: 独是子夜荧荧，灯昏欲蕊；萧斋瑟瑟，案冷疑冰。集腋为裘，妄续幽冥之录；浮白载笔，仅成孤愤之书；寄托如此，亦足悲矣！嗟乎！惊霜寒雀，抱树无温；吊月秋虫，偎阑自热。知我者，其在青林黑塞间乎！

feudal story: (1) criticizing the feudal governing, such as the governing system, corruption of officials and the upper-class society, the imperial examination, etc.; (2) promoting romantic love instead of marriages arranged by the feudal patriarchal family and the pursuit of freedom to find one's own true love; (3) exposing social chaos and disorder, such as war and crime; and (4) describing a character or an event that defies feudal restrictions.

Translations published in Chinese-speaking contexts show a common preference for anti-feudal stories. The following table reveals that anti-feudal stories represent a significantly higher percentage of the total number of stories included in each of these translations than in the ST, in the translations published in the other two periods, and in Minford's translation. Type I anti-feudal stories, aimed at criticizing the feudal governing system, including the imperial examination system, and the corruption of officials, are the mostly commonly translated. In most translations published in post-Mao Chinese-speaking contexts, anti-feudal stories of Type I comprise about half of the anti-feudal stories translated. The second most popular type of anti-feudal story is the second type, i.e., stories about the struggle against arranged marriage and the pursuit of freedom to find one's true love.

Table 22: Percentage of Anti-feudal Stories in TTs

Periods	Translators	Anti-feudal	Governing	Chaos	Love	Restrictions
Original Work	Pu Songling	18.7% (93/497)	9.9% (49)	3.4% (17)	3.8% (19)	1.6% (8)
Colonial	Gutzlaf 1842	11.1% (1/9)	11.1% (1)			
	Williams 1848	0% (0/2)				
	Mayer 1867	0% (0/0.5)				
	Allen 1874	11.1% (2/18)			5.6% (1)	5.6%

						(1)
	Giles 1880	20.7% (34/164)	13.4% (22)	1.2% (2)	4.9% (8)	1.2% (2)
	Hillier 1907	30.8% (4/13)	23.1% (3)		7.7% (1)	
	Soulié 1913	25% (5/20)	15% (3)		5% (1)	5% (1)
De-colonial	Martens 1921	11.1% (1/9)				11.1% (1)
	Brant 1927	0% (0/5)				
	Chu 1937	0% (0/3)				
	Quong 1946	30% (12/40)	7.5% (3)		15% (6)	5% (2)
Post-Mao	Yang 1981	52.9% (9/17)	23.5% (4)	0/9	17.6% (3)	11.8 % (2)
	Lu 1987	38.1% (32/84)	21.4% (18)		10.7 % (9)	6% (5)
	Mo 1988	40% (8/20)	15% (3)		15% (3)	10% (2)
	Mairs 1989	49% (25/51)	19.6% (10)	3.9% (2)	15.7% (8)	9.8% (5)
	Xie 1990	37.5% (3/8)	25% (2)			12.5% (1)
	Zhang 1997	21.3 (42/197)	12.2 (24)	3.6 % (7)	3.6 % (7)	2% (4)
	Wang 1998	23.5% (12/51)	15.7% (8)		2% (1)	5.9% (3)
	Page 1991	43.8% (7/16)	12.5% (2)		31.3% (5)	
	Minford 2006	9.2% (12/103)	1.9 % (2)	3.8% (4)	3.8% (4)	1.9% (2)
	Songdergard	18.7% (93/497)	9.9% (49)	3.4%(17)	3.8%(19)	1.6% (8)

A common preference for Type I and Type II anti-feudal stories in all the translations published in Chinese-speaking contexts reflects the influence of the common ideology in mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan in the selection of *Liaozhai* stories. As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, anti-feudalism was the common goal that bonded the CCP, Guoming Dang and liberals like Hu Shih during the May Fourth Movement. In the post-Mao period, the common anti-feudal tradition still exists although mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan are under different political system. In all three contexts, anti-feudalism is associated with modernity and modernization, however that is imagined. Exposing the problems of the feudal society is a common topic in literary works published in the Chinese contexts. The selection of translation texts is also affected

by this ideology.

Stories aimed at criticizing feudal governing practices are among the most frequently translated in Chinese contexts. The following four anti-feudal stories have been included in more than half of the seven translations published in Chinese contexts: (1) “The Cricket” (促织), (2) “Dreaming of Wolves” (梦狼), (3) “Xi Fangping” (席方平), and “The King” (王者). “The Cricket” is included in six of the seven translations. This story criticizes how the officials took the advantage of the emperor’s hobby of watching crickets fighting to exploit the people. “Dreaming of Wolves” is included in five translations. It is composed of three stories narrating how a corrupt official or an upright official’s corrupt subordinates were punished. In these stories, the corrupt official or the subordinates are compared to wolves. “Xi Fangping” appears in four translations. This story tells about how an upright man was tortured by corrupt officials in the nether world, but his determined son Xi Fangping had those officials punished by the Jade Emperor (the emperor in the heaven). “The King”<sup>44</sup> also appears in four translations; this story tells of how a corrupt official was punished by a mysterious king who caused the man to die of illness for his refusal to stop taking money from people.

The anti-feudal image of *Liaozhai* in the English translations published in Chinese contexts is also reshaped through the selection of stories about pursuing true love, about friendship between men and women, and about woman characters who are not subject to feudal restrictions on women.

Marriage in the feudal China is usually arranged by parents with the help of a

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<sup>44</sup> The English title of these stories are all from Sondergard’s translation.

matchmaker. Sometimes the marriage was decided by parents when the future couple were only babies. The couple may not know each other at all before their marriage. Some love stories in *Liaozhai* describe the pursuit of love outside those feudal restrictions. “Nie Xiaoqian” (聂小倩), “Abao” (阿宝), “Ruiyun (瑞云) and “Qingfeng” (青凤) are all stories about the pursuit of true love. “Nie Xiaoqian” is included in five of the seven English translations published in post-Mao Chinese contexts. In this story, a female ghost girl Xiaoqian found the young man she loved very much and lived happily with him for the rest of her life. Although almost half of the stories in Quong’s translation are about romance, the difference between this de-colonizing translation and the post-Mao translations published in Chinese contexts is that most of the romantic stories in Quong’s translation are about men’s desire for a casual relationship or sex with women instead of the pursuit of true love. Only six of Quong’s eighteen romantic stories can be considered anti-feudal.

Under the restriction that “men and women should maintain a proper distance from each other and not pass objects to each other in person,” it was impossible to develop friendship between the sexes. Several *Liaozhai* stories recount friendship between men and women against this feudal prohibition. Post-Mao translations published in Chinese contexts tend to include these stories to help construct the anti-feudal image of *Liaozhai*. “Jiaona” (娇娜) is one of these stories. It tells of the friendship between a fox girl and a young scholar who help each other through thick and thin. Five of the seven English translations published in Chinese contexts include this story to help build the anti-feudal image of *Liaozhai*. As the paratexts of Mairs’ translation state: “such sincere,



pure relationships between the sexes were impossible given the unclean realities of the time, yet people longed for them. Besides relationships of husband and wife, or between lovers, this story demonstrates a wish for simple, open-hearted friendship between the sexes, which can sometimes be more precious than an ordinary love affair.”<sup>45</sup>

The anti-feudal image of *Liaozhai* in the seven English translations is also presented through the selection of stories about women who are not subject to feudal bonds. For thousands of years, in the male-dominated society of China, “Chinese women were virtually excluded from the public sphere except to learn how to be good wives and virtuous women to serve men well” (Dubey-Jhaveri 79). In the society that advocated “in women lack of talent is a virtue,” women’s talent and behavior was suppressed. Even the freedom of women to talk and laugh was constrained by the rule: “Women are not to speak in raised tones, or to expose their teeth in laughter.”<sup>46</sup> However, Pu created some female characters that challenge accepted practices of feudal society, such as in the story “Yingning” (嬰寧). Yingning is a vivacious girl who loves to laugh and speak out. Wherever Yingning goes, one hears her laughter. Five of the seven English translations published in Chinese contexts contain this story.

While many stories in *Liaozhai* appear to express Pu’s strong desire for an ideal world with fewer feudal restrictions, some stories in *Liaozhai* would seem to support aspects of the feudal hierarchical social structure, such as a wife’s obedience to her husband, a man’s concubine’s obedience to his wife, a daughter-in-law’s obedience to her mother-in-law, the wish for a son to carry on the family name, the importance of a

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<sup>45</sup> Quoted from the paratexts of translation made by Denis C. & Victor H. Mair, page vi.

<sup>46</sup> Quoted from the paratexts of translation made by Denis C. & Victor H. Mair, page v.

woman preserving her chastity after the death of her husband, loyalty to the emperor, etc.. The seven translations published in Chinese contexts rarely incorporate these stories, however. Among the stories that appear to support the feudal hierarchy or feudal values, only the translation made by Zhang et al. include any. That translation includes: “A Female Sage (林氏),” “Slim Willow (细柳),” “A Girl Named Coral (珊瑚),” and “Change of Positions (大男).”

In terms of dominant themes, the seven translations have a much ratio of stories that simply narrate strange events or phenomena. The percentage is much lower than the percentage not only in the original work, but also in some of the colonial translations, in all of the decolonizing translations, and in Minford’s translation. As is shown in the following Table 23, in Pu’s original work, the percentage of stories with other theme is 42.3%, while five of the seven translations have less than 20% of this type of story. In the other two translations— by Zhang et al. and by Wang—the percentage is 29.9% and 23.5%, respectively. The percentage of other-themed stories in the seven translations does not differ very much. However, in the colonial and decolonizing periods, some translations have a very high percentage of other-themed stories, while some have none. This suggests that the seven translations published in Chinese contexts are overall more consistent in their selection of stories and in their presentation of the stories in the paratextual material.

Table 23: Distribution of Themes in the Post-Mao TTs

<b>Names</b>	<b>1. Romance</b>	<b>2. Values</b>	<b>3. Problems</b>	<b>4. Other</b>	<b>Didactic</b>
Pu 1776	14.9% (74/497)	20.7% (103/497)	22.1% (110/497)	42.3% (210/497)	42.9% (213)
Yang 1981	29.4% (5/17)	17.6% (3/17)	35.3% (6/17)	17.6% (3/17)	53% (9)

Lu 1987	28.3% (24/84)	32.1% (27/84)	22.6 (19/84)	16.7% (14/84)	54.8% (46)
Mo 1988	40% (8/20)	25% (5/20)	20% (4/20)	15% (3/20)	45% (9)
Mairs 1989	35.3% (18/51)	15.7% (8/51)	33.3% (17/51)	15.7 (8/51)	49% (25)
Xie 1990	42.9% (3/7)	14.3% (1/7)	28.6% (2/7)	14.3% (1/7)	42.9% (3)
Zhang 1997	16.5% (32/194)	30.9% (60/194)	22.7% (44/194)	29.9% (58/194)	53.6% (104)
Wang 1998	9.8% (5/51)	31.4% (16/51)	35.3% (18/51)	23.5% (12/51)	66.7% (34)
Page 1991	75% (12/16)	12.5% (2/16)		12.5% (2/16)	12.5% (2)
Minford 06	15.5% (16/103)	16.5% (17/103)	23.3% (24/103)	46.7% (46/103)	39.8% (41)
Songdergard					

Note: The number after the name of the author or translators are the number of stories included in their work. Strange E/P refers to “strange events/phenomena”. The percentage of didactic stories is the total of the percentage of stories with the theme of values and problems.

Similar to the colonial translations, the seven translations published in Chinese contexts also show a common preference for stories aimed at praising values or criticizing problems—that is, stories with a didactic function. The proportion of didactic stories in every one of these seven translations is higher than that in the original text. However, the difference between the colonial and post-Mao translations is that most of the didactic stories contained in the colonial translations aim at personal development, while the didactic stories contained in the seven translations published in Chinese contexts mainly focus on social problems: about the governing, officials, fight for the freedom to love, etc. As Table 22 (page 117) shows, the percentage of anti-feudal stories in five of the seven translations is twice the percentage of the original work, or even almost three times. The other two translations also have a higher percentage than the original work. But in the seven colonial translations, three of the translations have a lower percentage than the original work, while the other four translations have only a slightly higher percentage.

### 6.3 English Translations of *Liaozhai* Published in Western Cultures

In the post-Mao era, three English translations of *Liaozhai* were published in Western cultures. Page's translation is actually a relay translation from Buber's German translation of *Liaozhai* published in 1911; Minford's translation is a partial translation of 101 *Liaozhai* stories, while Sondergard's translation is a complete translation of all *Liaozhai* stories. The great diversity among these translations makes it necessary to discuss them separately as three translations present three rather different images of *Liaozhai*.

### **6.3.1 Page's Relay Translation**

#### **6.3.1.1 Paratexts: A Philosophical *Liaozhai***

The paratexts in Page's relay translation of *Liaozhai* contain both an introduction made by Irene Eber, a professor of East Asian Studies at the Hebrew University, and Buber's forward to his own German translation. Since the *Liaozhai* stories are located in the second part of the volume *Chinese Tales*, it is obvious that this book is intended to highlight the translation of Buber's *Zhuangzi* and its influence on Buber's philosophy. In his twelve-page introduction, Eber only mentions *Liaozhai* in a few paragraphs, in which she also relates *Liaozhai* to Buber's philosophy. In Eber's introduction, *Liaozhai* is presented as a philosophical work. According to Eber, what Buber perceived in these supernatural stories is their "philosophical substratum as well as important aspects of the Chinese worldview" (xiii). Buber was attracted by *Liaozhai* stories because they illustrate an "idea of unity or oneness (*Einheit*), the meeting of the divine and the human in

mundane existence” (viii):

In Chinese thought, the idea of unity is that of an all-embracing order which encompasses this world and the world beyond. The two spheres, the sociopolitical order and the order of spirits and gods, are not hermetically sealed off from one another. They interact in often strange and unexpected, though never chaotic, ways (Eber xiii).

Eber’s argument might come from Buber’s forward (discussed in Chapter 6 of this dissertation). At the beginning of the forward, Buber compared Chinese ghost stories with the reports of Celtic peasants’ encounters with ghosts. He argues that they are similar in their “descriptive self-assurance and felicitous diction, but the Chinese avoid all mystifying, shattering horror; instead, we have the magic of the lucid. Here the order of nature is not ruptured but extended; nothing interferes with the plenitude of life, and everything living carries the seed of the ghostly” (111). In the Chinese people, “Laozi’s teaching of an all-encompassing way and Buddha’s of an all-effecting act live side by side—indeed, live entwined” (111).

Buber’s German translation of *Liaozhai* was also published in the colonial period. Compared with the superstitious and ignorant image of *Liaozhai* and of the Chinese people created in the paratexts of those English colonial translations, the image of *Liaozhai* and Chinese people presented in Buber’s forward is strikingly different. According to Buber, the Chinese people, in its ghost stories, has created “a song of familial and loving elements, a song for gods and human beings” (111). *Liaozhai* is “a coherent body of ghosts stories” (111). None of the descriptions in the stories is “uncanny:

it is home, it is life” (111).

### 6.3.1.2 Selection: A Romantic *Liaozhai*

Page’s ST is Buber’s German translation. According to Eber, “Buber’s is a secondary translation, and Giles’ problems are often perpetuated in Buber’s text” (xiv). She means that Buber translated *Liaozhai* from Giles’ English into German and, therefore, it reflects the deletions and adaptation of Giles’ text. However, it is not true in regard to Buber’s rendition of the sexual references in *Liaozhai*. Giles tended to delete or adapt these parts, but Buber translated them. It is more plausible, then, to say that Buber referred to Giles’ translation, but translated directly from the Chinese with the help of his friend Wang Jingdao. As for whether Buber’s German translation is a relay translation from Giles’ English, and to what extent Buber referred to Giles’ translation, it is necessary to make a thorough comparison of the two texts, conduct a statistical analysis of the similarities and differences between them, and let the numbers give us the conclusion.

The following table compares Buber’s German translation of four sentences that contain sexual references in the four stories with Giles’ English translation. A word-for-word English translation of Buber’s German is provided below.<sup>47</sup> The original Chinese text and Sondergard’s English translation are also provided to give readers a better understanding since Sondergard’s translation is very close to the original text.

Table 24: Sexual References in Buber and Page’s TTs

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<sup>47</sup> This word for word translation was made by professor Sue Ellen Wright follows Buber’s German translation.

1	<b>ST (画壁):</b> 遽拥之亦不甚拒，遂与狎好。
	<b>Giles' translation:</b> Then they fell on their knees and worshipped heaven and earth together,2 and rose up as man and wife. (31)
	<b>Buber's German translation</b> (Das Wandbild [The Mural] p2) Sogleich umarmte er sie, die sich ihm nicht verwehrte.
	<b>Wright's word-for-word translation:</b> Immediately he embraced her, [and] she did not resist him.
	<b>Page's translation from Buber's:</b> Instantly he embraced her-without any resistance on her part (114).
	<b>Sondergard's translation:</b> he hastily embraced her, and meeting very little resistance from her, they proceeded to make love (1: 24).
2	<b>ST (莲香):</b> 息烛登床，绸缪甚至。
	<b>Giles' translation:</b> (deleted)
	<b>Buber's German translation</b> (Die Füchsin [The Vixen] p. 40) Sie löschten das Licht, legten sich zueinander und gaben sich einander hin.
	<b>Wright's word-for-word translation:</b> They put out the light, lay down with each other, and surrendered themselves to each other. <sup>48</sup>
	<b>Page's translation from Buber's:</b> They put out the light, lay down together, and gave themselves to each other (133).
	<b>Sondergard's translation:</b> They extinguished the lights, climbed into bed, and wove themselves together like exquisite silk (1: 304).
3	<b>ST (竹青):</b> 鱼益欣感，宛如夫妻之久别，不胜欢恋.....寝初醒，则女已起。
	<b>Giles' translation:</b> They then sat talking together like husband and wife reunited after long absence, ... Next morning when waked up, he found himself in a lofty room with two large candles burning brightly, and no longer in his own boat (280).
	<b>Buber's German translation</b> (Die Krähen, [The Crows] p. 71) Sie saßen nun beisammen und unterhielten sich wie Mann und Frau, die nach einer langen Trennung wieder vereinigt sind. ...Als Yü erwachte, sah er, daß Tschu-tsching schon aufgestanden war, und als er sich umsah, merkte er, daß er nicht mehr in seinem Boot, sondern in einem stattlichen Zimmer lag, in dem zwei hohe Kerzen mit heller Flamme brannten.
	<b>Wright's word-for-word translation:</b> Then they sat together and talked with each other like a husband and wife who had been reunited after a long separation. ... When Yü awoke, he saw that Tschu-tsching had already gotten up, and when he looked about, he observed that he was no longer in his boat, but that he lay in a stately room, in which two tall candles were burning with a bright flame.
	<b>Page's translation from Buber's:</b> They sat together and talked like husband and wife who after a long absence have reunited... When Yu awoke, he saw that Zhuqing had already risen (149).
	<b>Sondergard's translation:</b> Yu was even more happy and full of affection as they embraced like spouses who'd been kept apart for a long time, and nothing could surpass their love for each other... They went to bed, and when Yu awakened the next morning, he found that Zhuqing was already up.
4	<b>ST (香玉):</b> 遂相狎。及醒，曙色已红。
	<b>Giles' translation:</b> (deleted)
	<b>Buber's German translation</b> (Die Blumenfrauen [The Flower Women] p 76) Auf die Bitten Huangs blieb sie bei ihm. Am nächsten Tag erwachte sie, als die Sonne schon hoch am Himmel stand.
	<b>Wright's word-for-word translation:</b>

<sup>48</sup> Sue Ellen Wright added this note to her translation: Page's translation is correct – there are many ways to express the verb “sich hingeben”

	When Huang asked her, she stayed with him. On the next day she awoke as the sun already stood high in the heavens. <sup>49</sup>
	<b>Page's translation from Buber's:</b> Upon Huang's pleas, she stayed with him. Next morning she awoke when the sun stood high (153).
	<b>Sondergard's translation:</b> Then the two proceeded to make love. They woke up as the red rays of dawn were already appearing (6: 2220).

Page translated all of the sixteen stories in Buber's German version and so the selection of texts in Page's translation is actually Buber's selection. In the forward to his translation, Buber tells his readers that he has "chosen the most beautiful and most curious tales concerning love between human beings and demons" (113). His selection confirms the image of Chinese ghost stories he depicted in his paratexts: familial and loving

All of the sixteen stories that Buber selected are about interaction between human beings and spirits, ghosts, gods or Taoists who have supernatural power. Twelve of them have the dominant theme of romance. Most of them narrate a moving true love story, which ends in happiness. Although the dominant theme of the remaining four stories are to praise a value or describe some supernatural events, the major thread that runs through each of the stories is human beings' beautiful friendship with a ghost, gods or a Taoist. Buber's purpose in choosing these stories is to demonstrate his philosophy of oneness and unity, "a proof of the universality of ideas which transcend time and place" (qtd. in Page ix).

### 6.3.2 A Strange *Liaozhai* in Minford's Translation

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<sup>49</sup> This note is provided by the translator, Sue Ellen Wright: in the sky – Himmel is both heaven and sky in German.



### 6.3.2.1 Paratexts Accompanying Minford's Translation

Minford's translation has the longest paratexts of all the partial translations. Including the front and back covers, the whole book contains 598 pages, with the paratextual material occupying 135 pages, almost one quarter of the volume. Minford's paratexts are very informative. In addition to the parts shared by other translations, such as Acknowledgements, Introduction, Note on the Text, Translation and Illustrations, Author's Preface and Notes, Minford also provides a Note on Names and Pronunciation, Glossary, Maps, Finding List, and Further Reading. In the Further Reading section, he lists eight pages of articles and books for readers' reference. In the Notes section, Minford gives some extracts from commentators, which he believes will be helpful, and provides information on specific details. The Glossary gives a number of broader explanations of some key terms that "were taken for granted by Pu Songling [but that] will be strange to some English readers, such as the Chinese degree and examination system, the tradition of binding feet, Taoism and alchemy, etc." (xxxiv). Minford's notes are endnotes rather than footnotes, as in most of the other translations.

Minford's paratexts emphasize the strangeness of *Liaozhai*. In the Introduction, for example, Minford has a separate section in which he discusses the Chinese tradition of strange stories. The wealth of commentary, of course, also has the effect of othering Chinese culture.

### 6.3.2.2 Minford's Selection of *Liaozhai* Stories

Minford's selection of stories highlights to some degree the strangeness of *Liaozhai*. In his Note on the Text, Translation and Illustrations, Minford talks about his selection of *Liaozhai* stories. He says that he tried to give his readers a representative idea of *Liaozhai* and "provide enough variety to demonstrate the huge diversity of the collection" (xxxv). Table 23: Distribution of Themes in the Post-Mao TTs on page 122 reveals that the stories contained in Minford's translation do indeed demonstrate the thematic diversity of *Liaozhai*. In terms of distribution of dominant themes, the percentage of each category of *Liaozhai* stories in Minford's selection is the closest to the original work than any of the other partial translations with a little more emphasis on stories recounting strange events or phenomena and a little less emphasis on didactic stories. The ratio of difference between Minford's translation and the original work is very narrow. In Minford's translation, the percentage of romantic stories is 0.6% higher than that in the original work; didactic stories, 3.1% lower; and the percentage of stories with other themes, 4% higher. In Minford's *Liaozhai*, the stories that merely narrate strange events and phenomena account for 46.7% (46/103), compared with X% in the original.<sup>50</sup>

Also in Note on the Text, Translation and Illustrations, Minford says that "fifty-nine are from the first two chapters of the twelve-chapter edition. In other words, more than half the tales here have been chosen from the first eighty-two in the Chinese, while the remaining forty-five are spread over the last ten chapters" (xxxv). The first two chapters have a higher percentage of stories about strange events or phenomena than the

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<sup>50</sup> The total number of stories in Minford's translation is actually 104. Two stories in Minford's translation, "Lust Punished by Foxes" (# 88) and "Stir-Fry" (# 104) are the two parts of one story (狐懲淫) in the two Chinese *Liaozhai*, edited by Zhang Youhe (1962) and by Zhu Qikai (1989), that Minford used for his translation.

remaining ten chapters: 45% (37/82) in the first two volumes and 40% (168/415) in the remaining ten. This explains why the ratio of stories with “other” themes is higher than in the original work.

And while the wealth of paratextual material would suggest a scholarly approach, Minford confesses in the paratexts that his selection of texts was influenced by his “personal preference, and by the consideration of which pieces worked best in translation” (xxxv). The table of Percentage of Anti-feudal Stories in TTs on page 117 shows that Minford selected far fewer anti-feudal stories. Only 9.2% of the stories included in his translation has an anti-feudal theme, while the percentage in the original work is 18.7%. Minford’s translation also shows his preference for horror stories. The original work has 14% of horror stories, while Minford’s translation has 23.3%.

Thirty-seven stories in Minford’s translation had never been translated by any other translator before him. Sondergard began to publish his complete translation of *Liaozhai* two years after Minford’s publication was released. Minford published about 1/3 of the total number of the stories—the highest percentage to date. Eighteen of the thirty-seven stories concern three themes: romance, values and problems. The remaining nineteen stories fall into the Type IV theme: stories about various kinds of strange events or phenomena. These stories are brief accounts of strange phenomena, such as an obsession with eating stones, benches that move here and there by themselves, a six-year-old girl giving birth to a son, a fox punishing people who kept aphrodisiacs at home, and so on.

And so, while it is tempting to see Minford’s edition in progressive terms, offering

the most evenly distributed collection of tales to date, it also seems in some ways to be a throw-back to an earlier time, that of the colonizing period, with its distinct preference for supernatural stories and with the selection of stories being driven by somewhat literary, target-oriented considerations rather than strictly scholarly ones. Indeed, his selection may represent trends in Anglophone literature, such as the rise of magical realism. In any case, his attempt to provide a more accurate depiction of *Liaozhai* in terms of the number of stories selected and in terms of the distribution of themes exists side-by-side with his promotion of supernatural tales, his literary considerations in selecting the stories, and in his cavalier treatment of the stories themselves, violating the original integrity of the stories by moving SongPu's commentaries to the endnotes. His literary orientation can also be seen in his eschewing of political themes, such as anti-feudalism, and of didactic stories.

### **6.3.3 Sondergard's Complete Translation: A Moral and Mysterious *Liaozhai***

Sondergard's complete translation of *Liaozhai* appeared in six volumes, which were published over a six-year period. The first two volumes came out in 2008. Volume III and IV were published in 2010. The remaining two volumes were printed in 2012 and 2014, respectively. Sondergard's translation of *Liaozhai* was motivated entirely by his personal love for this Chinese work. A professor of English at St. Lawrence University, Sondergard was teaching film adaptations of some of the stories when he discovered that all the English translations of *Liaozhai* were partial. In 2003, he began to study Chinese and attended undergraduate Chinese language classes at his university. In 2006, he started to

translate *Liaozhai* and finished it in 2014. His wife was the first audience for his translation. After finishing a part, he would read it to his wife. He did all the translations in his spare time without any funding. He even paid a Chinese teacher at Anhui University, Li Lin, to proofread his translations to ensure that he had not omitted any passages.<sup>51</sup>

The paratexts to Sondergard's translation reveal a strong academic tendency. In each of the six volumes the paratexts consist of two introductory essays and four or five pages of Work Cited, in addition to an acknowledgement section and copious footnotes. Each of the essays consists of ten or more pages and provides detailed information related to the stories in that volume. The titles of the twelve essays listed in the following table demonstrate the information explored in the paratexts.

Table 25: Introductory Essays in Sondergard's Translation

<b>Vol</b>	<b>Title of Introductory Essays</b>
V. 1	I. The Mystery of the Disappearing Artist: Pu Songling's Voice and Persona in the Stories
	II. Pu Songling's Exercise of the Fox Tradition: Moral Allegory and Social Critique
V. 2	I. Pu Songling as Literary Ethnographer: Collecting and Interpreting Strange Tales
	II. Justice After Death: Pu Songling and the Tradition of the Hell King
V. 3	I. Collecting is Believing: Source Attributions and Aesthetics in Pu Songling's Strange Tales
	II. A Healthy Respect for Higher Powers: Venerated Entities in Pu Songling's Tales
V. 4	I. The Strange Business of Confucian Ideology and Advancement: Pu's Separation of Values and System
	II. Purchasing Posterity: Wives and Concubines as Commodities in Pu's Tales
V. 5	I. Pu Songling, Paranormal Investigator: The Author as Phenomenologist
	II. Natural Wisdom and Daoist Magic in Pu Songling's Tales
V. 6	I. The Prudent Critic: Pu Songling's Narrative Activism
	II. Discreet Managers and Problem Solvers: Pu's Wife (and Husband) Lessons

In Sondergard's paratexts, *Liaozhai* is presented first and foremost as a socially

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<sup>51</sup> Sondergard provided very detailed information about his translation of *Liaozhai* in his response to my emailed questions.

engaged literary work aimed at moral education and social criticism. His introductory essays emphasize the morality of *Liaozhai* and its criticism of contemporary society. He compares Pu to an early modern Aesop, a moralist, and argues that “Pu offered his readers entertainment, edification, and—perhaps most attractive of all—a heart-felt critique of the bureaucratic structure of early Qing dynasty China” (1: xi), thoroughly inscribing Pu in his historical context

## **6.4 Translation Approaches in Post-Mao Translations**

### **6.4.1 Othering *Liaozhai***

In the post-Mao era, partial translations published in Chinese-speaking contexts construct different images of *Liaozhai* in their paratexts and through the selection of stories for translation than those published in Anglophone contexts. However, they have much in common in terms of the application of translation approaches and strategies. All the translations published in the post-Mao era, including Sondergard’s complete translation, tend to other *Liaozhai* with more or less domestication in some translations. Othering *Liaozhai* and China is reflected in greater closeness to the originals, the treatment of the author’s comments and of titles and cultural specific items, as well as the use of Chinese illustrations.

In terms of conveying meaning, all the post-Mao translations, whether published in Chinese-speaking or Anglophone-speaking contexts, are relatively close to the STs. Except the translation made by Xie et al., the meaning of the *Liaozhai* stories is conveyed

more or less as expressed in the STs. As the last and the only complete translation, Sondergard has “attempted to follow Pu Songling’s syntax, punctuation, and phrasings faithfully” (Sondergard 1: ix). But, as Sondergard goes on to explain,

In those cases where a long series of clauses has made it difficult or awkward for the reader to follow the flow of Pu’s images, I have subdivided them into discrete sentences. I have resisted idiomatizing Pu’s writing because I have found that translations which attempt to appeal to the slang and colloquialisms of the translator’s immediate contemporaries tend, like topical humor, not to age well (1: ix–x).

While talking about his othering of CSIs and names, he contends that “to avoid cultural chauvinism, a translator must attempt to embrace the language norms of the language original that is being translated.” For the rendition of Chinese measure units, such as *li* (里), he wants “to give his English language readers a sense of approximate distance, so they can imagine the experiences of the characters in the stories. This was also true of other measures of distance, volume, weight, etc. that I felt should be retained in their original forms.”<sup>52</sup>

Xie et al.’s translation was published as a volume in the illustrated series *Ten Greatest Chinese Literature Classics*. The seven *Liaozhai* stories included in this book are illustrated with traditional Chinese color paintings. After each painting is a page with a short adapted paragraph in Chinese explaining the content of this part. Its English translation was printed side by side, or en face. The STs included in Xie et al. are all heavily adapted, but the TTs are very close to the adapted STs.

Another common feature of the post-Mao translations is the treatment of sexual

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<sup>52</sup> These two quotes are from my email correspondence with Sondergard.

references, all of which were translated. The only difference is that the depictions provided by Yang et al. and by Mo et al. are more implicit than in the other translations, but the meaning in the other TTs is still clear enough to the reader.

The author's commentary in the post-Mao translations of *Liaozhai* were for the most part rendered. Three translators—L et al., Mairs, and Sondergard—rendered all the author's comments. The translations by Yang et al., Mo, and Minford include most of the comments but not all of the stories accompanying them: one in Yang's volume, five in Mo's and fourteen in Minford's. Pu's comments in Minford's translation are moved to the endnotes. As mentioned, Minford above deleted many of them and moved the remaining to the endnotes. He either translated or paraphrased them. In the translation by Zhang et al., most of the comments were deleted. 103 of the 194 stories included in Zhang's volume are accompanied by a commentary, but only thirteen of the commentaries were rendered. The remaining three translations, by Xie et al., Page and Wang, do not include any author comments. The STs in Xie et al's volume are significantly shortened, adapted for the pictorial book. Page's STs, taken from Buber's German translations, do not contain author's comments. In Wang's translation, each story is separated into parts. Wang translated 51 stories, which in her translation become 100 passages. Despite the deletion of Pu's comments, the dominant themes of those stories are not significantly changed, as they were in some of the colonial translations, such as in Gile's translation of "Snow in Summer" (see page 52).

Othering China in post-Mao translation can be identified in the translation of titles as well. 233 of the 497 stories in the Chinese *Liaozhai* are titled with the name of the



protagonist or with a combination of a place and the protagonist's identity/title, such as "The Taoist of Laoshan" and "Marquis Yangwu."<sup>53</sup> Titles in seven<sup>54</sup> of the ten post-Mao translations render the title with Pinyin—a transliteration system in Latin letters based on Chinese pronunciation. Most of the titles in Mo's translation and all the titles in Minford and Page's translations are changed to express the main idea or theme of the story. The titles in Page's ST had already been changed by Buber. In the colonial period, Hillier is the only one who translated the title according to its pronunciation, for example, "Wang Ch'eng" (王成), "Hsiang Kao" (向杲) and "Hsi Liu" (细柳). In the decolonizing period, Marten and Quong's translations bore the same title as the STs, rendered in Pinyin.

For cultural specific items, translators in the post-Mao period tend to other rather than domesticate them. The common strategy that post-Mao translators adopted is to transliterate the Chinese titles, using Pinyin, instead of replacing them with a similar English expression, as most colonial translators did. Occasionally, transliterations will be accompanied by explanatory notes. This is very common in Sondergard's translation. The translation approach that Minford employed is generally to other *Liaozhai* and Chinese culture. His 135 pages long paratexts provide very detailed information about *Liaozhai* and Chinese culture. However, a few exceptions can be found in his translation. For example, Sondergard transliterated the Chinese unit of measurement 里 as *li*. In the footnote, he explains: "*Li*: A measure of distance equal to about 1/3 of a mile" (1:19). Minford simply domesticated the term as 'mile' (10).

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<sup>53</sup> These name titles are taken from Sondergard's translation.

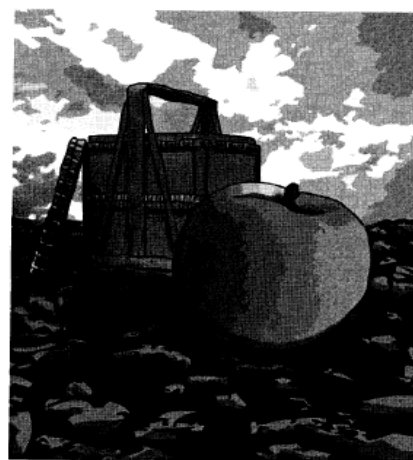
<sup>54</sup> These four translations were by Yang et al., Lu et al., Mair, Xie et al., Zhang et al., Wang and Sondergard.

Othering China in post-Mao translations can also be found in the use of illustrations, which are rare in previous colonial and de-colonial translations. Seven of the ten post-Mao translations have illustrations, among which four translations (by Lu et al, by Mairs, by Wang and by Minford) include illustrations from the same source, which were taken from a Chinese version of *Liaozhai* published in 1886. These illustrations are regarded as “the finest *Liaozhai* illustrations ever done” (Minford xxxv). Xie et al.’s pictorial book has very beautiful traditional color paintings produced by several well-known Chinese painters. The addition of these traditional Chinese paintings increases the Chinese otherness of these translations, and helps the reader “to visualize the setting, and are especially well observed in terms of details of interior decor, furniture, clothes, architectural environment and court yard/garden layout” (Minford xxxv), especially when compared to the illustrations in Sondergard’s translation. The illustrations in Sondergard’s translation are made by Ben Grant, Matt Howarth, Chtistophet Petetson and Megan Williams. Here are two illustrations added to the same story (“Stealing a Peach”) in the three translations.



The top end of the rope disappeared into the clouds.

1. From Mairs' and Minford's translation.



2. From Sondergard's translation.

## 6.4.2 Deviations in Post-Mao Translations

English translations of *Liaozhai* in the post-Mao period have much in common although there are a few deviations.

The first deviation between foreign translators and Chinese translators can be seen in their respective use of notes. Translators from FL into NL tend to be more sensitive to the differences between the SC and TC, and make more notes than translators from NL into FL, who appear to take many things in the SC for granted. In Mairs' translation, patronage appears to play more of a role in image construction, as reflected in the paratexts and the selection of texts for translation. The image of *Liaozhai* created in his

translation is anti-feudal, as in the translations published in Chinese-speaking contexts. However, the following table reveals that translation directionality exerts an influence on his annotations. Mairs' annotation practice is more like that of Minford and Sondergard, whose translations were published in Anglophone contexts. Annotations made by foreign translators treat a wide range of cultural specific items, such as religion, literary devices, word play, historical or literary references, etc. According to Sondergard, annotations are provided "to clarify unfamiliar references or cultural allusions, and introductory essays have been included to explain facets of Pu Songling's work and to provide context for some of the unique qualities of his uncanny tales" (1: back cover).

Table 26: A Comparison of Number of Notes in Post-Mao Translations

Name	Year	Place	# of Notes	# of Stories	# / Story
Yang	1981	Beijing	16	17	1
Lu	1987	Hong Kong	102	84	1.21
Mo	1988	Beijing	0	20	0
Mairs	1989	Beijing	95	51	1.86
Xie	1990	Beijing & Taipei	0	7	0
Zhang	1997	Beijing	0	194	0
Wang	1998	Hong Kong	0	51	0
Page	1991	Atlantic Highland, NJ	24	16	1.5
Minford	2006	London	224	104	2.17
Songdergard	08–14	Fremont, CA	2021	494	4.09

Note: Year and Place refers to the year and place of publication.

The second deviation is the degree of diversity within the two groups of translators in the post-Mao period. The dominant translation approach in Sondergar's translation is othering, except with the illustrations. However, the other two translations by western translators, those done by the Mair brothers and Minford, are much more domesticated than Sondergard's. Minford provided a lot of Chinese otherness in his

lengthy paratexts (othering), as did Giles in the colonial period, but he relegated Pu's commentary at the end of many stories to the endnotes, and many of them are left out. Minford explains his purpose of doing so is that he "did not want to interfere with the story itself."<sup>55</sup> CSIs are domesticated with English miles in both Minford's and the Mairs' translation. But as shown above, the illustrations in Minford and Mairs' translation accentuate the otherness of Chinese culture more than in Sondergard's.

The third deviation is related to the phenomenon of group translations. Five of the seven translations published in Chinese-speaking contexts are group translations; one is the product of a pair of translators. Most of them are consistent in the use of expressions and in terms of style. However, the translation by Lu et al. demonstrates obvious consistency problems. For his commentary, Pu usually began with "异史氏曰" whose literal meaning is "The recorder of strange stories says," or began with other type of expressions, such as a meaningless character or phrase "噫", "呜呼". In several stories, "异史氏曰" was translated into *Conclusion*, such as in "Two Brothers" (2: 205). In some other stories, it was translated as "The unofficial historian remarked," such as in "A Magic Stone" (3: 260–265). This reveals the importance of good project management in group/pair translation. But in the translation by Lu et al., project management was well done. All the beginning parts of Pu's commentary "异史氏曰" were invariably translated as "The Recorder of Marvel comments."

## 6.5 Conclusion

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<sup>55</sup> These two quotes are from our email correspondence with Minford.

Translations of *Liaozhai* published in post-Mao period share many common features while also demonstrating some differences. The general trend is that translations produced in the most recent period tend to be “closer” to the original work in terms of the number of texts selected and the distribution of the texts, as well as in the treatment of plots and style, although with noticeable exceptions, including the rendering of Pu’s commentary and the radical adaptations of Xie et al. Othering is the major translation approach, but domesticating translation also can be found in some translations, such as Minford’s and Mairs’. Translations of *Liaozhai* published in the post-Mao era were mainly done by language professors or professional translators. Sondergard’s translation reveals a strong scholarizing tendency.

At the same time, the social-cultural ideology of the translator or sponsor appears to play an important role in reconstructing the image of a literary work and its SC. Translations published in different social-cultural contexts create different images of *Liaozhai*. In translations published in Chinese contexts, whether in Beijing, Hong Kong or Taipei, *Liaozhai* is presented as primarily an anti-feudal work, aligning the work with one of the major tasks of the Chinese Communist Party and also the common goal that once tied the CCP and Guomin Dang together: modernizing China. In Mairs’ translation, the social-cultural ideology of the patron played more of a role in image construction than did the translator’s.

The translator’s personal interests also play a role in image shaping. The ST of Page’s translation is Buber’s German translation. In *Liaozhai*, Buber saw the philosophy of oneness and unity and so selected *Liaozhai* stories that allowed him to create a familiar,

loving world in which the lives of ghosts, gods and human beings were intertwined. In Page's translation, *Liaozhai* is a literary work that embodies the philosophy of Buddah and Laozi, an ancient Chinese philosopher.

Translation directionality appears to play a more important role in annotation than either the translator's or the sponsor's social-cultural ideology. Although the Mair brothers' translation was published in China, they made far more notes, aligning their translation with those published in Anglophone contexts. However, in terms of image construction, the Mair brother's translation of *Liaozhai* was more affected by the Chinese sponsor's social-cultural ideology than by their directionality.

Finally, while I have suggested that post-Mao translations, especially those produced in Anglophone contexts, tend to "other" *Liaozhai*, the motivation and effect of that othering is different from that of the colonizing period, where it served to support and justify Western colonization (as seen in the emphasis on supernatural tales) while also reflecting Victorian values (as seen in the deletion of sexually-explicit material). In the post-Mao period, that "othering" serves to construct *Liaozhai* as an object of scholarly examination or study, requiring the expertise of the scholar-translator to fully and faithfully render it. At the same time, similarities in these two periods should not be ignored or written off, suggesting as they do the entanglement of colonization and Western Sinology.

## CHAPTER VII

### CONCLUSION

#### 7.1 Retranslation as a Photograph Recording Changes

Over the more than one hundred and seventy year's translation history of *Liaozhai*, different images of this Chinese classic work and Chinese culture were presented to Anglophone readers. In Victorian translations, *Liaozhai* appears superstitious but didactic. Unlike other colonial orientalist translators, however, Soulié's *Liaozhia* is a collection of romantic stories and horror stories that take place in a chaotic and problematic China. In the de-colonizing period, the image of *Liaozhai* becomes more beautiful and harmonious through the lenses of Buber's philosophical reflection and Quong's insights and concerns. In Hillier's and Brandt's language textbooks, almost all the *Liaozhai* stories have a didactic function as in Victorian TTs, but now the stories are meant to promote the study of Chinese language and culture. *Liaozhai* was also translated for children in the de-colonizing period. A major proportion of the stories selected for children are strange stories describing strange things. In the two books for children, *Liaozhai* is reconstructed as an imaginative work. When interpreted in Chinese cultural contexts in the third historical period, *Liaozhai* is reshaped as an expression of anti-feudalism. At the same time, those Chinese-sponsored translations could be said to represent an anti-imperialist gesture—an attempt by the Chinese to control the image of *Liaozhai* and, consequently,



of China, presented to Anglophone readers. The anti-feudal thematics of these translations reinforce an image of a modernizing China. The two English translations published in the 21<sup>st</sup> century come closer to the original work in terms of completeness and in terms of theme distribution. Among all the partial translations, Minford's translation is the closest to the original work in that respect. The latest translation presents the whole *Liaozhai* to English readers for the first time.

The changing and often contradictory image of *Liaozhai* presented in these translations is clearly influenced by 1) the changing social, political and cultural relations between China and the western countries, from the cannon fire of the opium war to the friendly Sino-US relation in the 1930s and 1940s; 2) the changing social, political and cultural contexts, in which the translation is made, such as the contradictions in Victorian society itself; 3) the changing and sometimes contradictory profiles of the agents involved in the production of these translations, from diplomats, artists, translators to professors; 4) and the changing and increasingly diversified purposes of translation: colonizing China, teaching Chinese language and culture, creating imaginative books for children, or just out of a personal love for the *Liaozhai* stories.

Rosemary Arrojo, a professor of comparative literature at the Binghamton University, State University of New York, uses the concept of "translation as a mirror of each translator's interests and circumstances" when she introduces Jorge Luis Borges's "The Translators of the *Thousand and One Nights*" in her article "Philosophy and Translation" (249). However, this concept does not reflect the role that translators play in the translation. The long translation history of *Liaozhai* reveals that translation is more

like a photograph and the translator is the photographer who takes the photos. The original work is the scenery. The social, political and cultural contexts in which the translation is produced is like the season, the weather and the time (day or night). Under the influence of these environmental conditions, the photographer decides where to take the picture, what to focus on, and how to present the picture. At the same place, some photographers see lovely little flowers, some see naked land, some see dancing butterflies, and others see ferocious competition for life between animals. Through the lens of different photographers, the same place can be beautifully and romantically presented in a photo. It can also be exhibited as a depressing scene. Like photography, each translation subjectively records the information about international relationships, production contexts, participants, purposes, personal interests and target readers, that is, “the translator’s interests and circumstances.”

## **7.2 Rethinking the Retranslation Hypothesis**

Sondergard’s translation is the last English translation by now and the only complete translation of *Liaozhai* ever published. Both in terms of content and form, it is very close to the original work. It is tempting to see Sondergard’s complete translation as proof of Brownlie’s retranslation hypothesis, namely that “a first translation always tends to be more assimilating, tends to reduce the otherness in the name of cultural or editorial requirements. [...] The retranslation, in this perspective, would mark a *return* to the source-text” (qtd. in Koskinen and Paloposki “Retranslations in the Age,” 21). The early translations are more target-oriented, while subsequent translations are closer to the

original work, more source-oriented. Retranslation, then, is presented as a process that brings us closer and closer to the “true” original work. However, this investigation of the entire reception history of *Liaozhai* suggests that with time comes greater diversity of translation approaches. Getting closer to the original work is not a straightforward progression. It is a zigzagging path marked by returns and the co-existence of the various orientations. Several factors complicate this simple developmental trajectory.

The contradictions within Victorian society itself and the two missions that Victorian translators undertook resulted in the co-existence of two contradictory translation approaches during the first stage of translating *Liaozhai* into English—that of reducing otherness to suit Victorian tastes, which can be considered target-oriented, and that of enhancing the otherness of Chinese culture, which can be considered source-oriented. The otherness of a superstitious and backward China was depicted in the paratexts, and emphasized in the TTs through the selection of supernatural stories and even changing non-supernatural stories into supernatural ones, while in the TTs, the otherness of *Liaozhai* was at the same time reduced through the selection of stories that fit in with Victorian morality and the strict publishing code of the time. What’s more, CSIs were often domesticated by using terms and expressions that Victorian readers were familiar with.

The different purpose of translating *Liaozhai* for a Chinese language textbook caused Hillier’s translation to deviate from the target-oriented trend in the colonial TTs, resulting in Hillier’s source-oriented translation of *Liaozhai*, which was published in the same city and within the same post-Victorian era only five years before? Soulié’s

more target-oriented translation. Hillier's TTs are very close to the original works in meaning and more source-oriented in the rendering of CSIs, while Soulié's approach is more contradictory, with his target-oriented translation of CSIs while enhancing Chinese otherness, for example, with his description of smoking opium.

Quong's translation, the most important translation in the decolonizing period, is very source-oriented in terms of content and form. She did not delete any parts, and rendered the meaning very closely to the original work, providing, in addition, very detailed information about Chinese customs, thus enhancing the otherness of the CSIs, while at the same time humanizing China through her selection of romantic tales. Some late translations, however, reveal a tendency to move away from a source-text orientation, evident in Mairs', Mo's and Minford's decision to domesticate some CSIs in their translations, and Minford's relegation of the author's commentary to the footnotes.

Therefore, the whole translation history of *Liaozhai* reveals many things that complicate the simple story of Brownlie's retranslation hypothesis. Reception is far more complex and cannot be captured in that hypothesis because that hypothesis would also suggest that Sondergard's will be the last translation ever. It most probably will not be. Indeed, alongside Sondergard's very scholarly translation, we have Minford's, which reflects a distinctly un-scholarly approach in the selection of stories—he chose stories that would appeal to contemporary readers—and his treatment of the integrity of the Chinese originals, removing all of Pu's commentaries and placing them in footnotes, creating a very literary image of *Liaozhai* meant to appeal to the tastes of contemporary

Anglophone readers.<sup>56</sup> And so, it is not only possible, it is very likely that there will be other different purposes for retranslating *Liaozhai* as the relationship between China and the Anglophone West continues to change, resulting in other versions.

### 7.3 Beyond Foreignizing and Domesticating

According to both Venuti and Schleiermacher, these approaches are diametrically opposed. However, in the translation history of *Liaozhai*, they are not mutually exclusive. They often co-exist in the same translation and within the same historical period. This is also supported by H. Li's detailed examination of translation strategies applied by the ten translators he discussed in his book. For example, Giles provided very detailed notes to introduce Chinese customs, while replacing CSIs, titles or allusions with western concepts familiar to Anglophone readers. The co-existence of these two approaches can also be found in the translations by Soulié, Quong, Yang et al., and Minford.

While Venuti claims that foreignizing necessarily restrains the ethnocentric hegemonism in relationships between dominating and dominated cultures, the history of translating *Liaozhai* shows that it can also be used to support ethnocentric hegemonism. Stressing the supernaturalness of *Liaozhai* stories was meant to other China in the Victorian era, but it was used to romanticize and humanize China in Quong's and Buber's translations. What is considered othering in one period may turn out to be humanizing and romanticizing in another.

The same is true of domesticating translation. Instead of enacting cultural

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<sup>56</sup> In our email exchange, Minford explains his reason for removing the author's commentary. He says: "I did not want to interfere with the story itself. On most occasions I left out those notes by Pu Songling altogether."

hegemony through its ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target-language cultural values, domesticating translation might also be used for the “purely pragmatic and empirical” reason to simply to “help the reader understand” the TTs. The great variety of social, political and cultural contexts in which the translation of *Liaozhai* took place makes it hard to associate any one translation approach with a specific political effect. Otherness, therefore, can be used for various purposes, not all of them to the detriment of China’s image, but not all of them resisting western cultural hegemony either.

#### **7.4 Translation as a Barometer of International Interactions**

Translations originate from the interactions between the two cultures and the need to know about the SC or make the SC known to the TC, no matter whether the interaction is positive or negative. The number of translations and the publishing place changes with international interactions. Translation is in this sense a barometer of international interactions.

Before and during the colonial period, Britain and other western colonizing countries had a compelling need for information about China and the Chinese people so as to assist their colonizing mission and justify their colonization. English translations sprang up under these circumstances, and London and its colony, Hong Kong, became the publishing centers of *Liaozhai* translations.

In the decolonizing period, due to all kinds of domestic unrest, including the Japanese invasion, the Chinese people’s strong protest against colonization, plus Mao’s closed-door policy, interactions between China and the Anglophone western countries

were much curtailed. Accordingly, fewer translations were produced in this period. But in the run-up to the Second World War, the United States gradually became a Chinese ally. Sino-US relationship reached a peak after the first lady Song's state visit. The publishing center during this period switched from London to New York.

At the beginning stage of the open-door policy, China was eager to participate in international activities. In order to make China known to the world and attract people to come to invest in or visit China, a new wave of translating *Liaozhai* took place in Beijing. The American Mair brothers were then asked to translate *Liaozhai* by the Chinese government. The changes of publishing centers of *Liaozhai* from London to New York to Beijing demonstrate clearly the close relationship between the production of translations and international interactions.

### **7.5 Porous Periodizations**

The whole translation history of *Liaozhai* also reveals that none of the periods is hermetically sealed. Translations produced in one period are not simply separated from other periods. The translations from the previous periods often live on into subsequent ones. This was certainly the case with Giles' translation, which was re-published throughout the subsequent periods, becoming one of the "canonized" translations of *Liaozhai*. Also, the reputation of Martin Buber led to an English relay translation in the post-Mao period of his German translation of *Liaozhai* done in the de-colonizing period. That is, while reflecting many of the qualities of western translations of *Liaozhai* in the de-colonizing period, this English translation appeared in the post-Mao period,

suggesting, again, that these periodizations are not absolute. Moreover, the fact that Soulié was French may have played a significant role in his English presentation of *Liaozhai*, which appears to reflect French literary tastes more than those of his English contemporaries.

## **7.6 Retranslation and Directionality**

It seems that directionality does not play much of a role in image construction. Sponsorship exerts more power than directionality. All seven of the translations published in Chinese contexts depict the same anti-feudal image of *Liaozhai* in the paratexts. The stories selected for translation by each of the translators supports this anti-feudal image. This is a unique feature that all the other translations do not have. Most of the translators of these seven translations are Chinese. They translated from the NL into an FL. However, one of the seven translations was completed by two American brothers, Denis and Victor Mair. The Mair brothers translated from an FL into their NL. The stories were selected by a Chinese university, however, and the preface was made by two Chinese scholars. The Mair brothers, therefore, did not have the opportunity to create their own image of *Liaozhai*. In Yang et al's translation, one translator, Gladys Yang, was British. She went to live in China in 1940 after she married Xianyi Yang. Her translation directionality is from her NL into her HL. Since the other three translators in this translation are all Chinese, Gladys Yang could not have had much agency in terms of affecting the image construction of *Liaozhai*. Therefore, translation directionality appears to have less effect on the changing image of *Liaozhai* than the ideology of the sponsor.



But translators with different directionality show disparity in their use of annotation. Statistics of the number of notes made in all the individual translations done by native English translators and by native Chinese translators reveals that translators who translate out of the native language tend to include significantly fewer notes than those who translate into their native language.<sup>57</sup> The reason is probably that native translators are less sensitive than foreign translators to cultural specific items in the STs or to any cultural aspect that need to be clarified for target readers.

## **7.7 Limitations and Further Directions**

Due to the large amount of data needed to be collected, it is hard to make a detailed comparison of the linguistic features of different translations or the differences in the application of translation strategies. Here are some suggestions for further directions: 1) What makes a lasting translation? Under what circumstances is a translation, like Giles', canonized? 2) Which stories have been most frequently translated? Which have never been selected for translation in the partial translations? 3) What was the reception of these works by Anglophone critics and readers? 4) Does translation directionality play a role in the reception of translations? Is the reception of English translations done by native English speakers different from the reception of English translations done by Chinese native speakers or Chinese who are born in English speaking countries? 5) Current corpus tools are mainly used to extract linguistic features of a text. Since literary translation constitute a larger part. It might be necessary to create an offline software tool

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<sup>57</sup> In order to increase the comparability, all translations contained in other books or translations made by non-native language speakers are excluded.

that allows researchers to create a big parallel corpus as the that of Liaozhai and its English translations, to compare the STs and its many TTs side by side, to extract and export data related to their literary features as well as its linguistic features conveniently.

## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1: Historical Events and English Translations of *Liaozhai*

Year	Related Historical Event	Name of the Translator
1840	First Opium War with UK	
1842	Treaty of Nanjing: Cession of HK	Karl F. Gutzlaf,
1848		Samuel W. Williams
1867		William F. Mayer
1874–5		Clement Francis R. Allen
1880		Herbert A. Giles
1907		Walter Caine Hillier
1913		George Soulié
1917	Germany and Austro-Hungarian returned concessions in Hankou and Tianjing	
1921		Richard Wilhelm
1924	The Soviet Union returned all concessions	
1927	British returned the concessions in Jiujiang and Kankou	
1927		J. Brandt
1929	Belgium returned the concessions in Tianjin. Britain returned the concessions in Zhenjiang	
1930	British returned the concessions in Xiamen.	
1931	Japan began to invade China.	
1937–45	Anti-Japanese War	
1937		Chu, Dagao
1937		Frances Carpenter
1943	Song Meiling made a state visit to USA.	
1943	British returned the concessions in Tianjin & Guangzhou; British, USA & Belgium in Shanghai	
1945	World War II ended.	
1945	Japan returned all the cession territories	
1946	France returned the concessions in Tianjin, Shanghai & Xiamen	Rose Quong
1947	Italy returned the concessions in Tianjin and Shanghai	
1949	The P. R. China was established.	
1978	the Open Door Policy	
1981		Yang et al
1988		Mo Ruoqiang et al.
1988		Lu Yunzhong et al.

1989		Denis & Victor Mair
1990		Xie Wanruo
		Alex Page
1997	Return of Hong Kong	Zhang Qingnian
1998		Wang Juan
1999	Return of Macao	
2006		John Minford
2008		Sidney L. Sondergard, v. 1-2
2010		Sidney L. Sondergard, v. 3-4
20112		Sidney L. Sondergard, v. 5
2014		Sidney L. Sondergard, v. 6

## Appendix 2: Publication Information

Translators	#	Year	Place	Publisher	Title
Gützlaff	9	1842	Canton	Printed for the proprietors	<i>Liau Chai I Chi</i> , or <i>Extraordinary Legends from Liau Chai</i> In <i>Chinese Repository</i>
Williams	2	1848	New York & London	Wiley and Putnam	<i>Liau Chai</i> , or <i>Pastimes of the Study</i> In <i>The Middle Kingdom: A Survey of the Geography, Government, Education, Social Life, Arts, Religion, &amp; of The Chinese Empire and Its Inhabitants.</i>
Mayer	0.5	1867	Hong Kong	Charles A. Saint	<i>Liao Chai Chih Yi</i> In <i>Notes and Queries On China and Japan</i>
Allen	18	1874–5	Hong Kong	China Mail Office	<i>Tales from Liao Chai Chih Yi</i> In <i>China Review or Notes and queries on the Far East</i>
Giles	164	1880	London	Thos. De la Rue & Co.	<i>Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio</i>
Maung, Gyi et. al.	24	1894	Rangoon		<i>The Celestial Mirror: An English Translation of Po Kam; or extracts from Liau-Chai</i>
Hillier	13	1907	London	K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.	In <i>The Chinese Language and How to Learn It: A Manual for Beginner</i>
Soulié	20	1913	1. London 2. Boston	1. Constable & Co. 2. Houghton	<i>Strange Stories from the Lodge of Leisure</i>

			& NY	Mifflin Company	
Frederick H. Martens	9	1921	New York	Frederick A. Stokes Company	In <i>The Chinese Fairy Book</i>
Brandt	5	1927	Beijing/ New York	Frederick Ungar Publishing Company	In <i>Introduction to Literary Chinese</i>  North China Union Language School
Chu	3	1937	London	Kegan Paul & Co.	In <i>Stories from China</i>
Quong	40	1946	New York	Pantheon Books Inc.	<i>Chinese ghost &amp; love stories: a selection from the Liao-chai stories</i>
Yang et al.	17	1981	Beijing	Panda Books	<i>Selected Tales of Liaozhai</i>
Lu et al.	84	1982 & 1988	Hong Kong	The Commercial Press	<i>Strange Tales of Liaozhai</i>
Mo et al.	20	1988	Beijing	Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press	<i>Selected Translations from Pu Songling's Strange Stories of Liaozhai</i>
Denis & Victor Mair	51	1989	Beijing/	Foreign Language Press	<i>Strange Tales from Make-do Studio</i>
Xie et al.	7	1990	Beijing/ Taipei	China Prospect Publishing House/ Han Guang Culture Press	<i>Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio</i>
Alex Page	16	1991 (1910)	Atlantic Highland, N.J.	Humanities Press International	<i>Chinese Ghost and Love Stories</i>
Zhang et al.	194	1997	Beijing	People's China Publishing House	<i>Strange Tales from the Liaozhai Studio</i>
Wang	51	1999	Hong Kong	The Commercial Press	<i>100 Passages from Strange Stories of Liaozhai</i>
Minford	104	2006	London	Penguin Books	<i>Strange Tales from a Chinese Studio</i>
Sondergard	all	2008–14	Fremont, California	Jain Publishing Company	<i>Strange Tales from Liaozhai</i> , Vol. 1-6

### Appendix 3: Translators' Profile

Full Name	Lifetime	Gender	Nationality	Profession	Direction
Karl F. Gützlaff	1803–1851	M	Germany	missionary	FL→FL
Samuel W.	1812–1884	M	America	missionary	FL→NL

Williams					
William F. Mayer	unknown	M	UK	diplomat	FL → NL
Clement F. R. Allen	unknown	M	UK	diplomat	FL → NL
Herbert A. Giles	1845–1935	M	UK	diplomat	FL → NL
Walter C. Hillier	unknown	M	UK	diplomat, professor	FL → NL
George Soulié	1878–1955	M	France	diplomat	FL → FL
Martens			Germany	composer, author	FL → NL
Brandt				teacher	FL → FL
Chu			China	professor	NL → FL
Quong			Chinese Australian	actress, writer	NL → HL
Xianyi Yang Gladys Yang Gongli Xu Shiguang Hu	1915–2009 1919–1999		China UK	translators	3 NL → FL 1 FL → NL
Yunzhong Lu Tifang Chen Liyi Yang Zhizhong Yang			China	professors, translators	NL → FL
Ruoqiang Mo Zunzhong Mo Zunjun Mo			China	translator	NL → FL
Denis Mair Victor Mair	1951– 1942–		America	translators professors	FL → NL
Xie et al.			China	editor, translator	NL → FL
Zhang et al.					NL → FL
Wang			China	translator	NL → FL
			China	professor	
Alex Page			UK	professor	FL → NL
Minford	1946–		America	professor	FL → NL
Sondergard	1955–		America	professor	FL → NL

#### Appendix 4: Information in the Paratexts

Translators	Year	Content of Paratexts	Pages
Gützlaff	1842	1. materialism as the most prevalent system of thinking in China 2. Chinese priesthood	3/9

		3. a brief introduction of the author and <i>Liaozhai</i>	
Williams	1848	1. a brief comment on Chinese literature 2. a brief introduction of <i>Liaozhai</i> 3. a brief comment on the story translated	0.5/1.5
Mayer	1867	1. a brief introduction about the author 2. a brief introduction about <i>Liaozhai</i> and its annotated version 3. superstition in Chinese mind 4. a brief comment on the story translated	1/1.5
Allen	1874-5	1. a brief introduction about the author and the work, 2. a brief introduction about <i>Liaozhai</i> and its annotated version 3. comment on <i>Liaozhai</i>	1/54
Giles	1880	1. life leading to the translation 2. purpose of translation: to correct the distorted image of SC 3. biographical of Pu Songling 4. biographical of <i>Liaozhai</i> 5. comment on <i>Liaozhai</i> : popularity, style and moral 6. appendix: A. Ten Courts of Purgatory & B.	43/855
Gyi	1894		
Hillier	1907	1. modification of the original texts to make it understandable for learners 2. Giles' translation 3. colloquial style the Chinese characters	
Soulié	1913	1. purpose of translation: a. to introduce real Chinese literature to the Westerners b. to understand everyday life, world view of Chinese 2. <i>Liaozhai</i> 3. difficulty of translation: different legends and superstitions, different mind/ideal, characters 4. more literal translation than literary translation	
Martens	1921	1. the beauty of Chinese fairy tales and legends 2. parts of the collection 3. about the translation: no change in style or expression	
Brandt	1927	1. the difficulty of written Chinese language 2. aim of this book: help to study written Chinese 3. the content and material of this book	
Chu	1937	1. richness of Chinese stories 2. purpose of publishing the book a. to a general view of this field of writing in China, and to make possible an interesting comparison between Chinese stories and those of other countries (6). b. building up good feeling between his country and the other countries of the earth (7).	

		3. source of selection 4. the effect of Chinese religions on Chinese thought (Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism)	
Quong	1946	1. two features of the love stories selected: a. absence of family life b. “Romeos” being candidates for degrees 2. old Chinese family system 3. Chinese imperial examination system and three degrees 4. beginning verses 5. Martin Buber’s introduction a. the beauty of ghost stories in <i>Liaozhai</i> b. about the author c. about the collection: stories about weird and wondrous things & spirit stories, especially fox spirits 6. addition of short verse before each stories 7. addition of an illustration at the end of each stories	
Yang (17)	1981	1. about the ST, the author, the reasons of his love for ghost stories and his purpose of writing the ST: to “expose and criticize reality using fictitious characters to vent his own feelings. Thus these strange tales express certain aspects of real life” (145). a. corruption and how the rulers exploited the people 韩方(146) 梦狼、席方平(147)判词, 原文 p. 1387 b. to express his hatred for the corrupt officials and their evil subordinates <sup>147</sup> c. to criticize the civil service examinations d. rebellion against cruel ruling e. to pursue free love and marriage against feudal marriage arranged by parents 2. to point out that corruption is the result of the feudal social system 3. style: romantic but essentially realistic, richly imaginative, camouflage	12/154
Lu (84)	1982	1. selection of representative stories: “truly representative of the author’s style; they abound in fantastic imagination and vivid portrayal, and reflect the social conditions then prevailing in China” (i) 2. strategies: “to be faithful to the original and tried our best to capture the spirit of this great work” (ii) 3. about the author and the stories in three categories: a. to expose and castigate the dark feudal society b. to narrate the love affairs of young people c. to lay bare the ugly features and malpractices of the imperial examination system d. the artistic merits of the ST (vi)	10/514
Mo	1988	1. selection of 20 best loved stories	8/194



(20)		2. about the ST: function, style 3. about the author	
Mairs (51)	1989	1. about the author 2. the author's reason to write about ghost stories: to put up his outrage (iii) and to portray his ideal world and ideal characters (viii–ix) 3. artistic merits (xiii)	13/459
Xie (7)	1990	1. purpose: “to satirize and describe the injustice of society” (15) 2. brief introduction of the 7 stories	1/224
Page (16)	1991	I. Eber's 1. Wang Jingdao's help with Buber's translation 2. <i>Liaozhai</i> stories illustrate an idea of “unity or oneness” (viii) 3. Buber and Richard Wilhelm 4. “Giles's problems are often perpetuated in Bube's text” (xiv) 5. sophistication and complexity of <i>Liaozhai</i> II. Buber's Forward 1. <i>Liaozhai</i> ghost stories: “avoid all mystifying, shattering horror; instead, we have the magic of the lucid” (Buber 111) 2. about Pu Songling 3. about <i>Liaozhai</i> 4. Giles' omission or paraphrase 5. present a complete and faithful translation 6. choose “the most beautiful and most curious tales concerning love between human beings and demons” (Buber 113).	4/104
Zhang (194)	1997	1. about the author 2. about the ST 3. the spreading of <i>Liaozhai</i> all over the world since 17 <sup>th</sup> century 4. a chronological table of Chinese history	5/1021
Wang (51)	1998	1. about the translator 2. about the author 3. about the ST: sources, themes 4. writing purpose: to advocate morality (xvi) 5. selection of texts for this translation:	11/380
Minford (104)	2006	1. about the translator 2. about the author and the ST: its sources, allusions & other elements a. Chinese tradition of strange stories b. the erotic c. fox-spirits d. ghosts and the supernatural 3. how to read the ST: grasp the spirit, read for style (xxvi–vii)	135/598

		4. notes on the text, translation and illustrations (xxxv) 5. note on names and pronunciation 6. glossary, maps, finding list, further reading 7. notes on some stories	
Sondergard	2008–14	1. <i>Liaozhai</i> 's morality and mystery 2. Pu's self-deprecation, ambivalence about his role as author 3. addenda: Pu as a social critic 4. Introductory Essays: 1) The Mystery of the Disappearing Artist: Pu Songling's Voice and Persona in the Stories 2) Pu Songling's Exercise of the Fox Tradition: Moral Allegory and Social Critique 3) Pu Songling as Literary Ethnographer: Collecting and Interpreting Strange Tales 4) Justice After Death: Pu Songling and the Tradition of the Hell King 5) Collecting is Believing: Source Attributions and Aesthetics in Pu Songling's Strange Tales 6) A Healthy Respect for Higher Powers: Venerated Entities in Pu Songling's Tales 7) The Strange Business of Confucian Ideology and Advancement: Pu's Separation of Values and System 8) Purchasing Posterity: Wives and Concubines as Commodities in Pu's Tales 9) Pu Songling, Paranormal Investigator: The Author as Phenomenologist 10) Natural Wisdom and Daoist Magic in Pu Songling's Tales 11) The Prudent Critic: Pu Songling's Narrative Activism 12) Discreet Managers and Problem Solvers: Pu's Wife (and Husband) Lessons	172/2641

Note: "Year" refers to the year of publication. "Pages" refers to the number of pages of paratexts among the total number of pages of the whole translation.

### Appendix 5: Bowdlerization in Giles' Translation

1	<b>Source Text (画壁)</b> 遽拥之亦不甚拒，遂与狎好。
	<b>Giles' translation:</b> He accordingly entered and found nobody else within. Then they fell on their knees and worshipped heaven and earth together, <sup>2</sup> and rose up as man and wife. (31)
	<b>Sondergard's translation:</b> Sondergard's translation: he hastily embraced her, and meeting very little resistance from her, they proceeded to make love (vol 1: 24).
	<b>Source Text (鲁公女)</b>

2	<p>1. 女曰：“感君之情，不能自己，遂不避私奔之嫌。”生大喜，遂共欢好。</p> <p>2. 一夜侧倚生怀，泪落如豆，</p> <p><b>Sondergard's translation (Official Lu's Daughter)</b></p> <p>1. The girl replied, "I could sense your feelings towards me, and I couldn't help but forget the usual concerns about reputation and run here to meet you." <u>Zhang was overjoyed, and together they were rapturously in love</u> (2: 394).</p> <p>2. One night, while she was turned towards Zhang and <u>laying upon his chest</u>, the girl's tears fell like spilled beans as she cried (2: 395),</p> <p><b>Giles' translation (Chang's Transformation)</b></p> <p>1. "Grateful to you for your love of me, I was unable to resist the temptation of coming to thank you myself." <u>Chang then offered her a seat, and they sat together chatting for some time.</u></p> <p>2. One night after this, as Miss Tsêng <u>was sitting by Chang's side</u>, her father having already returned home, she burst into a flood of tears</p>
3	<p><b>Source Text (胡四姐)</b></p> <p>1. 二人备尽欢好，既而引臂替枕，倾吐生平，无复隐讳。2. 继而灭烛登床，狎情荡甚。</p> <p><b>Sondergard's translation (Fourth Sister Hu)</b></p> <p>1. Shang and Fourth Sister proceeded to make love exuberantly, till afterwards Fourth Sister stretched out her arm for Shang to lie upon and she began honestly to disclose everything about herself, without holding anything back.</p> <p>2. Afterwards they extinguished the candles, went to bed and made passionate love.</p> <p><b>Giles' translation (Miss Quarta Hu)</b></p> <p>1. and accordingly the latter remained chatting with Mr. Shang without reserve, and finally told him she was a fox.</p> <p>2. (deleted)</p>
4	<p><b>Source Text (侠女)</b></p> <p>1. 生狎抱之亦不甚拒，遂私焉。由此往来昵甚。</p> <p>2. 趋而从诸其家，挑之亦不拒，欣然交欢。</p> <p><b>Sondergard's translation (The Swordswoman)</b></p> <p>1. Gu lasciviously embraced the young man, who put up no resistance, and they indulged in sexual pleasures. Hence their contact became intimate indeed.</p> <p>2. Gu, rapturously happy at this unexpected turn of events, hurried to follow her into her house. He began caressing her and she didn't resist, so they joyfully made love.</p> <p><b>Giles' translation (The Magnanimous Girl)</b></p> <p>1. The two youths soon struck up a firm friendship and met constantly,</p> <p>2. he managed to squeeze her hand, upon which she told him never to do so again;</p>
5	<p><b>Source Text (龙飞相公)</b></p> <p>先是，戴私其邻妇，</p> <p><b>Sondergard's translation (Grand Secretary Longfei)</b></p> <p>Before all this, Dai had been carrying on an affair with his neighbor's wife...</p> <p><b>Giles' translation (The Man Who Was Thrown Down a Well)</b></p> <p>paying too much attention to his wife...</p>
6	<p><b>Source Text (竹青)</b></p> <p>1. 鱼益欣感，宛如夫妻之久别，不胜欢恋.....寝初醒，则女已起。</p> <p><b>Sondergard's translation (Zhuqing)</b></p> <p>Yu was even more happy and full of affection as they embraced like spouses who'd been kept apart for a long time, and nothing could surpass their love for each other... They</p>

	went to bed, and when Yu awakened the next morning, he found that Zhuqing was already up.
	<b>Giles' translation (The Man Who Was Changed into a Crow)</b> They then sat talking together like husband and wife reunited after long absence, ... Next morning when waked up, he found himself in a lofty room with two large candles burning brightly, and no longer in his own boat.
7	<b>Source Text (褚遂良)</b> 遂相欢饮。日暮与同狎寝，如夫妇。
	<b>Sondergard's translation (Chu Suiliang)</b> They proceeded then to laugh and drink together. At nightfall, they made love and slept in the same bed, like husband and wife.
	<b>Giles' translation (A Supernatural Wife)</b> They then began to enjoy themselves, and lived together as husband and wife...

#### Appendix 6: List of *Liaozhai* Stories Translated by Karl F. Gutzlaf (1842)

No.	English Title	Chinese Title	ST Theme	TT Theme
1	(No title)	祝翁	4. other	—
2		张诚	2. values	—
3		曾友于	2. values	4. other
4		续黄粱	3. problems	—
5		瞳人语	3. problems	—
6		宫梦弼	2. values	—
7		章阿端	2. values	4. other
8		云萝公主	1. romance	—
9		武孝廉	3. problems	—

Notes: m dash means the theme in the TT is not changed.

#### Appendix 7: List of *Liaozhai* Stories Translated by Samuel W. Williams (1848)

No.	English Title	Chinese Title	ST Theme	TT Theme
1	1. Hardheartedness Punished	种梨	3. problems	
2	2. Grave of Tso Tso	曹操冢	4. other	
3	3. Thief Detected	骂鸭	3. problems	
4	4. Revenge of Miss Shang Sankwan	商三官	2. values	

Notes: m dash means the theme in the TT is not changed.

#### Appendix 8: List of *Liaozhai* Stories Translated by William F. Mayer (1867)

No.	English Title	Chinese Title	ST Theme	TT Theme
0.5	The Boon Companion (half)	酒友	2. values	4. other

Notes: m dash means the theme in the TT is not changed.

#### Appendix 9: List of *Liaozhai* Stories Translated by Clement F. R. Allen (1874–5)

No.	English Title	Chinese Title	ST Theme	TT Theme
1	The Apotheosis of Sung Chow	考城隍	2. values	
2	The Fox's Marriage	狐嫁女	4. other	
3	The Fortunes of K'ung Hsuen Li	娇娜	2. values	
4	Hsi Lin	细柳	2. values	
5	The Pious Tiger of Chao-Ch'eng	赵城虎	2. values	
6	The Metempsychosis of the Priest	长清僧	4. other	
7	The Frog God	青蛙神叉	3. problems	
8	The Taoist Priest of Lao Shan	劳山道士	3. problems	
9	The An Family (half)	珊瑚	2. values	
10	The Theft of the Peaches	偷桃	4. other	
11	The Fairy K'ung	巩仙	4. other	
12	The Lord of the West Lake	西湖主	2. values	
13	The Country of the Sea Demons	夜叉国	4. other	
14	The Sturdy Beggar	大力将军	2. values	
15	Kung Ming Pi	宫梦弼	2. values	
16	Painting Skins	画皮	2. values	
17	Ch'in Ta Niang	仇大娘	2. values	
18	The Brothers	张诚	2. values	

Notes: m dash means the theme in the TT is not changed.

#### Appendix 10: List of *Liaozhai* Stories Translated by Herbert A. Giles (1880)

No.	English Title	Chinese Title	ST Theme	TT Theme
1	Examination for the Post of guardian Angel	考城隍	2. values	
2	The Talking Pupils	瞳人语	3. problems	
3	The Painted Wall	画壁	1. romance	
4	Planting a Pear-tree	种梨	3. problems	
5	The Taoist Priest of Lao-Shan	劳山道士	3. problems	
6	The Buddhist Priest of Chang-Ching	长清僧	4. other	
7	The Marriage of the Fox's Daughter	狐嫁女	4. other	
8	Miss Chiao-No	娇娜	2. values	
9	Magical Arts	妖术	3. problems	
10	Joining the Immortals	成仙	2. values	
11	The Fighting Quails	王成	2. values	
12	The Painted Skin	画皮	2. values	
13	The Trader's Son	贾儿	2. values	
14	Judge Lu	陆判	4. other	
15	Miss Ying-Ning, or The Laughing Girl	婴宁	1. romance	

16	The Magic Sword	聂小倩	1. romance	
17	The Shui-Mang Plant	水莽草	2. values	
18	Little Chu	珠儿	4. other	
19	Miss Quarta Hu	胡四姐	1. romance	
20	Mr. Chu, The Considerate Husband	祝翁	4. other	
21	The Magnanimous Girl	侠女	2. values	
22	The Boon-Companion	酒友	2. values	
23	Miss Lien-Hsiang	莲香	1. romance	
24	Miss A-Pao; or, Perseverance Rewarded	阿宝	1. romance	
25	Jen Hsiu	任秀	2. values	
26	The Lost Brother	张诚	2. values	
27	The Three Genii	三仙	4. other	
28	The Singing Frogs	蛙曲	4. other	
29	The Performing Mice	鼠戏	4. other	
30	The Tiger of Chao-Ch'êng	赵城虎	2. values	
31	A Dwarf	小人	3. problems	
32	Hsiang-Ju's Misfortunes	红玉	1. romance	
33	Chang's Transformation	鲁公女	1. romance	
34	A Taoist Priest	道士	4. others	
35	The Fight with the Foxes	胡氏	4. others	
36	The King	王者	3. problems	
37	Engaged to a Nun	陈云栖	1. romance	
38	The Young Lady of the Tung-T'ing Lake	织成	1. romance	
39	The Man Who Was Changed into a Crow	竹青	1. romance	
40	The Flower Nymphs	香玉	1. romance	
41	Ta-Nan in Search of His Father	大男	2. values	
42	Ta-nan in Search of his Father	石清虚	4. other	
43	The Quarrelsome Brothers	曾友于	2. values	
44	The Young Gentleman Who Couldn't Spell	嘉平公子	3. problems	
45	The Tiger Guest	苗生	3. problems	
46	The Sisters	姊妹易嫁	3. problems	
47	Foreign Priests	番僧	4. other	
48	The Self-punished Murderer	李司鉴	3. problems	
49	The Master-thief	保住	4. other	
50	A Flood	水灾	2. values	
51	Death by Laughing	诸城某甲	4. other	
52	Playing at Hanging	戏缢	3. problems	
53	The Rat Wife	阿纤	1. romance	
54	The Man Who Was Thrown Down a Well	龙飞相公	4. other	
55	The Virtuous Daughter-in-law	珊瑚	2. values	
56	Dr. Tsêng's Dream	续黄粱	3. problems	
57	The Country of the Cave-men	夜叉国	4. other	
58	Football on the Tung-t'ing Lake	汪士秀	4. other	
59	The Thunder God	雷曹	2. values	
60	The Gambler's Talisman	赌符	3. problems	

61	The Husband Punished	阿霞	3. problems	
62	The Marriage Lottery	毛狐	1. romance	
63	The Lo-ch'a Country and the Sea-Market	罗刹海市	1. romance	
64	The Fighting Cricket	促织	3. problems	
65	Taking Revenge	向杲	2. values	
66	The Topsy Turtle	八大王	2. values	
67	The Magic Path	郭秀才	4. other	
68	The Faithless Widow	牛成章	3. problems	
69	The Princess of the Tung-t'ing Lake	西湖主	2. values	
70	The Princess Lily	莲花公主	1. romance	
71	The Donkey's Revenge	钟生	2. values	
72	The Wolf Dream	梦狼	3. problems	
73	The Unjust Sentence	冤狱	3. problems	
74	A Rip van Winkle	贾奉雉	4. other	
75	The Three States of Existence	三生	3. problems	
76	In the Infernal Regions	席方平	2. values	
77	Singular case of Ophthalmia	顾生	4. other	
78	Chou K'o-ch'ang and his Ghost	周克昌	4. other	
79	The Spirits of the Po-yang Lake	鄱阳神	4. other	
80	The Stream of Cash	钱流	4. other	
81	The Injustice of Heaven	龙戏蛛	4. other	
82	The Sea-serpent	夜明	4. other	
83	The Magic Mirror	凤仙	1. romance	
84	Courage Tested	佟客	3. problems	
85	The Disembodied Friend	褚生	2. values	
86	The Cloth Merchant	布商	2. values	
87	A Strange Companion	彭二挣	4. other	
88	Spiritualistic Séances	跳神	4. other	
89	The Mysterious Head	美人首	4. other	
90	The Spirit of the Hills	山神	4. other	
91	Ingratitude Punished	库将军	3. problems	
92	Smelling Essays	司文郎	3. problems	
93	His Father's Ghost	田子成	4. other	
94	The Boat-girl Bride	王桂庵	1. romance	
95	The Two Bride	寄生附	1. romance	
96	A Supernatural Wife	褚遂良	1. romance	
97	Bribery and Corruption	公孙夏	3. problems	
98	A Chinese Jonah	孙必振	4. other	
9	Chang Pu-liang	张不量	2. values	
100	The Dutch Carpet	红毛毡	3. problems	
101	Carrying a Corpus	负尸	4. other	
102	A Taoist Devotee	鞠乐如	4. other	
103	Justice for Rebels	盗户	3. problems	
104	Theft of the Peach	偷桃	4. other	
105	Killing a Serpent	海公子	4. other	

106	The Resuscitated Corpse	尸变	4.other	
107	The Fisherman and His Friend	王六郎	2. values	
108	The Priest's Warning	僧孽	3. problems	
109	Metempsychosis	三生	4. other	
110	The Forty String of Cash	四十千	3. problems	
111	Saving Life	某公	4. other	
112	The Salt Smuggler	王十	3. problems	
113	Collecting Subscriptions	青蛙神叉	3. problems	
114	Taoist Miracles	济南道人	4. other	
115	Arrival of Buddhist Priests	西僧	4. other	
116	The Stolen Eyes	泥鬼	4. other	
117	The Invisible Priest	单道士	4. other	
118	The Censor in Purgatory	酆都御史	4. other	
119	Mr. Willow and the Locusts	柳秀才	2. values	
120	Mr. Tung, or Virtue Rewarded	董公子	3. problems	
121	The Dead Priest	死僧	3. problems	
122	The Flying Cow	牛飞	4. other	
123	The "Mirror and Listen" Trick	镜听	3. problems	
124	The Cattle Plague	牛癘	3. problems	
125	The Marriage of the Virgin Goddess	金姑夫	3. problems	
126	The Wine Insect	酒虫	4. other	
127	The Faithful Dog	义犬	2. values	
128	An Earthquake	地震	4. other	
129	Making Animals	造畜	3. problems	
130	Cruelty Avenged	拆楼人	3. problems	
131	The Wei-ch'i Devil	棋鬼	3. problems	
132	The Fortune-hunter Punished	果报	3. problems	
133	Life Prolonged	布客	2. values	
134	The Clay Image	土偶	2. value	
135	Dishonesty Punished	柳氏子	3. problems	
136	The Mad Priest	颠道人	3. problems	
137	Feasting the Ruler of Purgatory	阎罗宴	2. values	
138	The Picture Horse	画马	4. other	
139	The Butterfly's Revenge	放蝶	3. problems	
140	The Doctor	医术	3. problems	
141	Snow in Summer	夏雪	3. problems	4. other
142	Planchette	何仙	3. problems	
143	Friendship with Foxes	河间生	4. other	
144	The Great Rat	大鼠	2. values	
145	Wolves (partly translation)	狼三则	2. values	
146	Singular Verdict	郭安	3. problems	
147	The Grateful Dog	义犬/芜湖犬	2. values	
148	The Great Test	杨大洪	4. other	
149	The Alchemist	真生	3. problems	
150	Raising the Dead	汤公	4. other	



151	Fêng-shui	堪輿	3. problems	
152	The Lingering Death	邑人	3. problems	
153	Dreaming Honours	王子安	3. problems	
154	The She-wolf and the Herd-boys	牧豎	2. values	
155	Adulteration Punished	金陵乙	3. problems	
156	A Chinese Solomon	折獄	2. values	
157	The Rukh	禽俠	4. other	
158	The Faithful Gander	鴻	2. values	
159	The Elephant and the Lion	象	2. values	
160	The Hidden Treasure	李八缸	4. other	
161	The Boatmen of Lao-lung	老龍船戶	2. values	
162	The Pious Surgeon	劉全	2. values	
163	Another Solomon	太原獄	2. values	
164	The Incorrupt Official	一員官	2. values	

Notes: m dash means the theme in the TT is not changed.

#### Appendix 11: List of *Liaozhai* Stories Translated by Walter Caine Hillier (1907)

No.	English Title	Chinese Title	Theme in ST	Theme in TT
1	The Dog That Repaid a Kindness	義犬/荊湖犬	2. values	
2	The Tiger of Chao Cheng	趙城虎	2. values	
3	The Pupils of the Eye that Talked	瞳人語	3. problems	
4	The Sowing of the Pears	種梨	3. problems	
5	The Taoist Priest of Lao Shan	勞山道士	3. problems	
6	The Talking of the Birds	鳥語	4. other	
7	Ling Chueh	菱角	2. values	
8	Hsi Liu	細柳	2. values	
9	Ts'u Chih	促織	3. problems	
10	Wang Ch'eng	王成	2. values	
11	The Mynah	鸚鵡	4. other	
12	Hsiang Kao	向杲	2. values	
13	Cursing the Duck	罵鴨	3. problems	

#### Appendix 12: List of *Liaozhai* Stories Translated by George Soulié (1913)

No.	English Title	Chinese Title	Theme in ST	Theme in TT
1	The Ghost in Love	unknown		
2	The Fresco	畫壁	1. romance	
3	The Dwarf Hunters	小獵犬	4. other	
4	The Corpse The Blood-drinker	尸變	4. other	
5	Love rewarded	魯公女	1. romance	
6	The woman in green	綠衣女	1. romance	

7	The Fault and Its Consequences	金生色	3. problems	
8	Deceiving Shadows	Unknown		
9	Peaceful-light	Unknown		
10	Hong the Currier	Unknown		
11	Autumn-moon	伍秋月	1. romance	
12	The Princess Nelumbo	莲花公主	1. romance	
13	The Two Brothers	二商	2. values	
14	The Marble Arch	庚娘	2. values	
15	The Dutiful Son	孝子	2. values	
16	Through Many Lives	汪可受	4. other	
17	The River of Sorrows	王十	3. problems	
18	The Mysterious Island	海公子	4. other	
19	The Spirit of the River	王六郎	2. values	
20	The-Devils-of-the-Ocean	红毛毡	3. problems	
21	Unknown Devil	菽中怪	4. other	
22	Childless	段氏	3. problems	
23	The Patch of Lamb's Skin	某公	4. other	
24	Love's-slave	爱奴	1. romance	
25	The Laughing Ghost	Unknown		

### Appendix 13: List of *Liaozhai* Stories Translated by Frederick F. Martens (1921)

No.	English Title	Chinese Title	Theme in ST	Theme in TT
1	1. The Miserly Farmer	种梨	3. problems	
2	2. The little Hunting Dog	小猎犬	4. other	
3	3. The Dragon after His Winter Sleep	蛰龙	4. other	
4	4. The Kingdom of Ogres	夜叉国	4. other	
5	5. The Sorcerer of the White Lotus Lodge	白莲教 1	4. other	
6	6. Giauna the Beautiful	娇娜	2. values	
7	7. The Frog Princess	青蛙神	1. romance	
8	8. Rose of Evening	晚霞	1. romance	

### Appendix 14: List of *Liaozhai* Stories Translated by J. Brandt (1927)

No.	English Title	Chinese Title	Theme in ST	Theme in TT
1	Planting a Pear-tree	种梨	3. problems	
2	Magical Arts	妖术	3. problems	
3	The Taoist Priest of Lao-shan Mountain	劳山道士	3. problems	
4	Examination for the Post of Guardian God	考城隍	2. values	
5	The Tiger of Chao-Ch'eng	赵城虎	2. values	

**Appendix 15: List of *Liaozhai* Stories Translated by Dagao Chu (1937)**

1	Planting a Pear-Tree	种梨	3. problems	
2	Interesting Death	三生	4. other	
3	The Peach from the Royal Mother's Garden	偷桃	4. other	

**Appendix 16: List of *Liaozhai* Stories Translated by Rose Quong (1946)**

No.	English Title	Chinese Title	Theme in ST
1	Ah-pao and her Foolish Lover	阿宝	1. romance
2	The Fox Maiden Lien-shiang	莲香	1. romance
3	The Flower Maiden Shiang-yu	香玉	1. romance
4	The Crazy Bookworm	书痴	1. romance
5	Princess Lotus	莲花公主	1. romance
6	Heng-niang's Advice to a Neglected Wife	恒娘	2. values
7	Pien-pien, the Lovely Fairy	翩翩	1. romance
8	The Singing Girl Rui-yun	瑞云	1. romance
9	Dreaming of the Scholar Feng-yang	凤阳士人	4. other supernatural
10	The Scholar Yeh	叶生	2. values
11	Ying-ning, the Laughing Girl	婴宁	1. romance
12	A Taoist Priest gives a Feast	道士	4. other
13	Planting a pear Tree	种梨	3. problems
14	Huan-niang and her Lute Master	宦娘	2. values
15	Judge Lu	陆判	4. other
16	The Rebirth of Shiao-shieh	小谢	1. romance
17	How Sun Pi-chen Was Saved	孙必振	4. other
18	Master Kuo Finds a Magic Path	郭秀才	4. other
19	The Land of Locha and the Sea-Market	罗刹海市	1. romance
20	The Fairy Wife of Chu Sui-liang	褚遂良	1. romance
21	Ah-shiu and her Double	阿绣	1. romance
22	Chou Ko-chang and his Ghost	周克昌	4. other
23	A Stone from Heaven	石清虚	4. other
24	The Talking Eye-Pupils	瞳人语	3. problems
25	A Stream of Money	钱流	4. other
26	Lu's Daughter and her Lover Chang	鲁公女	1. romance
27	Old Chu Returns for his Wife	祝翁	4. other
28	The Guardian Immortal's Sleeve	巩仙	4. other
29	Chih-cheng, Maid of the Lake	织成	1. romance
30	Jen Shiu's Luck in Gambling	任秀	2. values
31	The Sisters Exchange in a Marriage	姊妹易嫁	3. problems
32	The Thunder God's Assistant	雷曹	2. values

33	The Little Hunting Dog	小猎犬	4. other
34	The Taoist Priest of Lao-Shan	劳山道士	3. problems
35	The Girl in the Green Dress	绿衣女	1. romance
36	Chu-ching and the Man Who Changed into a Crow	竹青	1. romance
37	The Wall Painting	画壁	1. romance
38	Wang Shih-shiu Played Football	汪士秀	4. other
39	NiueCheng-chang and his Faithless Widow	牛成章	3. problems
40	The Hairy Fox and the Famer's Son	毛狐	1. romance

**Appendix 17: List of *Liaozhai* Stories Translated by Xianyi Yang et al. (1981)**

No.	English Title	Chinese Title	Theme in ST
1	The Rope Trick	偷桃	4. other
2	The Taoist Priest of Laoshan	劳山道士	3. problems
3	Jiaona	娇娜	2. values
4	Black Majic	妖术	3. problems
5	Lazy Wang	王成	2. values
6	Yingning	婴宁	1. romance
7	Hongyu, a Fox-fairy	红玉	1. romance
8	The Rakshas and the Sea Market	罗刹海市	1. romance
9	Tian the Hunter	田七郎	2. values
10	The Cricket	促织	3. problems
11	Small Hounds	小猎犬	4. other
12	A Strange Tale of Pigeons	鸽异	3. problems
13	A Dream of Wolves	梦狼	3. problems
14	The Exorcist Marries a Fox	长亭	3. problems
15	Ruiyun, a Famous Courtesan	瑞云	1. romance
16	The Chrysanthemum Spirit	黄英	1. romance
17	The Rare Stone from Heaven	石清虚	4. other

**Appendix 18: List of *Liaozhai* Stories Translated by Yunzhong Lu et al. (1982)**

No.	English Title	Chinese Title	Theme in ST
1	Voice Within the Pupils	瞳人语	3. problems
2	A Wall-painting	画壁	1. romance
3	Wang Liulang	王六郎	2. values
4	Theft of Peach	偷桃	4. other
5	Planting a Pear Tree	种梨	3. problems
6	The Taoist Priest on Laoshan Mountain	劳山道士	3. problems
7	The Monk of Changqing	长清僧	4. other
8	A Fox-spirit Marries Off a Daughter	狐嫁女	4. other

9	Jiaona	娇娜	2. values
10	Black Art	妖术	3. problems
11	Ye, the Luckless Scholar	叶生	2. values
12	Cheng the Immortal	成仙	2. values
13	Wang Cheng	王成	2. values
14	Qingfeng	青凤	1. romance
15	The Painted Skin	画皮	2. values
16	The Tradesman's Son	贾儿	2. values
17	Judge Lu	陆判	4. other
18	Yingming	婴宁	1. romance
19	Nie xiaoqian	聂小倩	1. romance
20	Master Hai	海公子	4. other
21	Shui Mang Weed	水莽草	2. values
22	Miss Hu, Fourth Daughter of the Family	胡四姐	1. romance
23	The Gallant Girl	侠女	2. values
24	Lianxiang	莲香	1. romance
25	A-bao	阿宝	1. romance
26	Zhang Cheng	张诚	2. values
27	Hongyu	红玉	1. romance
28	Magistrate Lu's Daughter	鲁公女	1. romance
29	A Taoist Priest	道士	4. other
30	The Hu Family	胡氏	4. other
31	The Land of Savages	夜叉国	4. other
32	Wang Shixiu	汪士秀	4. other
33	Gengniang	庚娘	2. values
34	Gong Mengbi	宫梦弼	2. values
35	The Assistant Thunder God	雷曹	2. values
36	The Gambler's Talisman	赌符	3. problems
37	Axia	阿霞	3. problems
38	The Rakshas Sea Market	罗刹海市	1. romance
39	The Ninth Daughter of the Gongsun Family	公孙九娘	1. romance
40	The Cricket	促织	3. problems
41	A Substitute Bride	姊妹易嫁	3. problems
42	Another Evanescent Dream	续黄粱	3. problems
43	The Go Devil	棋鬼	3. problems
44	Xin's Fourteenth Daughter	辛十四娘	1. romance
45	Lotus Flowers in Winter	济南道人	4. other
46	The Tiger of the City of Zhou	赵城虎	2. values
47	The Princess of the West Lake	西湖主	2. values
48	The Princess of Lily	莲花公主	1. romance
49	Dou's Daughter	窦氏	3. problems
50	Xiao Xie	小谢	1. romance
51	Water Chestnut	菱角	2. values
52	Xiang Gao	向杲	2. values
53	The Mad Priest	颠道人	3. problems

54	A Monk's Magic Art	僧术	3. problems
55	A Feast of Yama Raja	阎罗宴	2. values
56	A Painted Horse	画马	4. other
57	Old Mr. Bai Dreamed of Wolves	梦狼	3. problems
58	Zhu the Disembodied Spirit	褚生	2. values
59	Tong the Swordsman	佟客	3. problems
60	Xiao Mei	小梅	1. romance
61	Princess Yunluo	云萝公主	1. romance
62	Jiao's Daughter	乔女	2. values
63	Zhen the Alchemist	真生	3. problems
64	The Cloth Merchant	布商	2. values
65	Three Lives	三生	3. problems
66	Xi Fangping	席方平	2. values
67	Rouge	胭脂	2. values
68	A-qian	阿纤	1. romance
69	Master Longfei	龙飞相公	4. other
70	A Scholar named Shen	申氏	2. values
71	Bookworm	书痴	1. romance
72	Ren Xiu	任秀	2. values
73	The King	王者	3. problems
74	Chen Yunqi	陈云栖	1. romance
75	Zhicheng	织成	1. romance
76	Zhuqing	竹青	1. romance
77	Xiangyu	香玉	1. romance
78	Da Nan	大男	2. values
79	Shi Qingxu	石清虚	4. other
80	The Two Tigers	二班	2. values
81	Miao the Tigerman	苗生	3. problems
82	Tian Zicheng	田子成	4. other
83	Wang Gui'an	王桂庵	1. romance
84	Jisheng and His Two Brides	寄生附	1. romance

#### Appendix 19: List of *Liaozhai* Stories Translated by Ruoqiang Mo et al. (1988)

No.	English Title	Chinese Title	Theme in ST
1	A Visit to the Bee Kingdom	莲花公主	1. romance
2	Bringing the Dead Back to Life	小谢	1. romance
3	Perseverance Rewarded	阿宝	1. romance
4	From a Dream to a True Story	梦狼	3. problems
5	The Rebellious Girl Ghost	聂小倩	1. romance
6	Raising Pears in a Few Minutes	种梨	3. problems
7	The Lotus Blossoms in Chilly Winter	丐僧	4. other
8	The Fighting Cricket	促织	3. problems

9	The Taoist Priest of Laoshan	劳山道士	3. problems
10	The Young Lady Axiu and Her Double	阿绣	1. romance
11	Pianpian the Fairy	翩翩	1. romance
12	Jiaona	娇娜	2. values
13	The Rat-Spirit Wife	阿纤	1. romance
14	The Weatherwise Stone	石清虚	4. other
15	Paying a Debt of Gratitude by Laying Down One's Life	田七郎	2. values
16	Retribution for Evildoing	任秀	2. values
17	The Examination for the Position of Guardian God	考城隍	2. values
18	The Demon Yielding Upright Men	河间生	4. other
19	The Spirit Wife	褚遂良	1. romance
20	The Painted Skin	莲花公主	2. values

**Appendix 20: List of *Liaozhai* Stories**  
**Translated by Denis C. & Victor H. Mair (1989)**

No.	English Title	Chinese Title	Theme in ST
1	Candidate for the Post of City God	考城隍	2. values
2	The Mural	画壁	1. romance
3	The Theft of a Peach	偷桃	4. other
4	Planting Pears	种梨	3. problems
5	The Taoist of Lao Mountain	劳山道士	3. problems
6	Fox-Fairy Jiaonuo	娇娜	2. values
7	Black Magic	妖术	3. problems
8	Fox-Girl Qingfeng	青凤	1. romance
9	Painted Skin	画皮	2. values
10	Judge Lu	陆判	4. other
11	Yingning	婴宁	1. romance
12	Nie Xiaoqian	聂小倩	1. romance
13	Earthquake	地震	4. other
14	A Chivalrous Woman	侠女	2. values
15	Precious	阿宝	1. romance
16	Ventriloquism	口技	4. other
17	Liancheng	连城	1. romance
18	The Ráksasas and the Ocean Bazaar	罗刹海市	1. romance
19	The Cricket	促织	3. problems
20	Sisters Switch Places	姊妹易嫁	3. problems
21	Sequel to the "Yellow Millet Dream"	续黄粱	3. problems
22	Princess Lotus	莲花公主	1. romance
23	Yun Cuixian	云翠仙	4. problem
24	Miss Yan	颜氏	3. value
25	Ghost-Girl Xiaoxie	小谢	1. romance
26	The Inspectorate of Misdeeds	考弊司	3. problems

27	Weird Doves	鸽异	3. problems
28	The City on the Mountain	山市	4. other
29	Fair Qing-E	青娥	1. romance
30	Hu Fourth-Maiden	胡四娘	2. values
31	Ghost-Maiden Huanniang	宦娘	2. values
32	Monk Jin	金和尚	3. problems
33	The Horse in the Painting	画马	4. other
34	Fraud (Number Three)	局诈	3. problems
35	Dream of Wolves	梦狼	3. problems
36	Ghost-Scholar Yu Qu-E	于去恶	3. problems
37	Phoenix Sprite	凤仙	1. romance
38	Herdboys	牧竖	2. values
39	Scholar Wang Zi-An	王子安	3. problems
40	Fox-Girl Changting	长亭	3. problems
41	Rouge	胭脂	2. values
42	Courtesan Rui Yun	瑞云	1. romance
43	Linen Scarf, the Peony Spirit	葛巾	1. romance
44	Yellow-Bloom	黄英	1. romance
45	A Fool for Books	书痴	1. romance
46	Ghost-Girl Wanxia	晚霞	1. romance
47	Fish Demon Bai Qiulian	白秋练	1. romance
48	The King	王者	3. problems
49	The Bird nymph Zhuqing	竹青	1. romance
50	Stone Pure-Void	石清虚	4. other
51	Scholar Ji	姬生	4. other

**Appendix 21: List of *Liaozhai* Stories Translated by Wanruo Xie (1990)**

No.	English Title	Chinese Title	Theme in ST
1	Ke Chin	葛巾	1. romance
2	In the Infernal Regions	席方平	2. values
3	The Taoist Priest of Laoshan	劳山道士	3. problems
4	Huang Ying	黄英	1. romance
5	The Fighting Cricket	促织	3. problems
6	Hsiao Ts'ui	小翠	1. romance
7	Judge Lu	陆判	4. other

**Appendix 22: List of *Liaozhai* Stories Translated by Alex Page (1991)**

No.	English Title	Chinese Title	Theme in ST
1	The Mural	画壁	1. romance



2	The Judge	陆判	4. other
3	The Laughing Girl	婴宁	1. romance
4	The Vixen	莲香	1. romance
5	Ways of a Lover	阿宝	1. romance
6	The Crows	竹青	1. romance
7	The Flower Girls	香玉	1. romance
8	A Foolish Student	书痴	1. romance
9	The Banished God	雷曹	2. values
10	The Landin 天河	罗刹海市	1. romance
11	Leaf Clothors	翩翩	1. romance
12	The Priest's Sleeve	巩仙	4. other
13	The Dream	莲花公主	1. romance
14	Music	宦娘	2. values
15	The Sisters	阿绣	1. romance
16	Rebirth	小谢	1. romance

### Appendix 23: List of *Liaozhai* Stories Translated by Qingnian Zhang et al. (1997)

No.	English Title	Chinese Title	Theme in ST
1	The Corpse	尸变	4.other
2	The Mural	画壁	1. romance
3	Wang, the Sixth	王六郎	2. values
4	The Taoist Priest of Laoshan	劳山道士	3. problems
5	The Monk from Changqing	长清僧	4. other
6	The Snakeman	蛇人	2. values
7	Hacking the Boa	斫蟒	2. values
8	The Dog Adulterer	犬奸	3. problems
9	The Fox-Fairy Marries off His Daughter	狐嫁女	4. other
10	Jiaona	娇娜	2. values
11	Witchcraft	妖术	3. problems
12	Wild Dogs	野狗	4.other
13	Reincarnated Three Times	三生	4. other
14	Ye Sheng	叶生	2. values
15	The Bridegroom	新郎	4. other
16	Wang Lan	王兰	4. other
17	Painted Skin	画皮	2. values
18	Jia Er	贾儿	2. values
19	The Snake-Eater	蛇癖	4. other
20	Scholar Dong	董生	3. problems
21	Yingning	婴宁	1. romance
22	Nie Xiaoqian	聂小倩	1. romance
23	The Loyal Mouse	义鼠	2. values
24	Prince of the Sea	海公子	4. other

25	Ding Qianxi	丁前溪	2. values
26	Fourth Sister Hu	胡四姐	1. romance
27	Sharp Knife	快刀	4. other
28	The Chivalrous Girl	侠女	2. values
29	Drinking Pal	酒友	2. values
30	Zhang Cheng	张诚	2. values
31	Qiaoniang	巧娘	1. romance
32	The Fox of Weixian County	潍水狐	4. other
33	Fourth Lady Lin	林四娘	1. romance
34	Taoist Priest	道士	4. other
35	The Fox-Teacher	胡氏	4. other
36	Fairy Su and Her Filial Son	苏仙	4. other
37	The Temporary King of Hell	李伯言	3. problems
38	Man or Woman	黄九郎	1. romance
39	Lian Suo	连琐	1. romance
40	Bai Yuyu	白于玉	4. supernatural
41	Yaksha Kingdom	夜叉国	4. other
42	Huo Sheng	霍生	3. problems
43	Gong Mengbi	宫梦弼	2. values
44	A Xia	阿霞	3. problems
45	Pian Pian	翩翩	1. romance
46	Black Animal	黑兽	3. problems
47	Yu De	余德	4. other
48	The Seventh Son of the Tian Family	田七郎	2. values
49	Gongsun Jiuniang	公孙九娘	1. romance
50	The Cricket	促织	3. problems
51	Scholar Liu	柳秀才	2. values
52	Flood	水灾	2. values
53	A Man in Zhucheng	诸城某甲	4. other
54	Treasury Ward	库官	4. other
55	Encounter in Fengdu	酆都御史	4. other
56	Foxy Humor	狐谐	1. romance
57	Coin Rain	雨钱	3. problems
58	Concubine	妾击贼	2. values
59	Sisters	姊妹易嫁	3. problems
60	Sequel to a Dream	续黄粱	3. problems
61	The Repentant Tiger	赵城虎	2. values
62	The Fight between a Mantis and a Snake	螳螂捕蛇	4. other
63	Reunion	鸦头	1. romance
64	The Joy of Playing with Foxes	狐梦	1. romance
65	The Cloth Dealer	布客	2. values
66	A Farmer Subduing a Fox	农人	4. other
67	Human Husband and Ghostly Wife	章阿端	2. values
68	Saving the Life of the Savior	花姑子	1. romance
69	Revenge	武孝廉	3. problems

70	A Red Scarf	西湖主	2. values
71	A Filial Son	孝子	2. values
72	Loyal Dog's Tomb	义犬	2. values
73	Thirty Years Later	伍秋月	1. romance
74	Princess Lotus	莲花公主	1. romance
75	The Green Girl	绿衣女	1. romance
76	Retaliation	黎氏	3. problems
77	The Lotus Girl	荷花三娘子	1. romance
78	Geomancy	堪輿	3. problems
79	Punishment of the Heartless Man	窦氏	3. problems
80	An Unreasonable Wife and a Hen-Pecked Husband	马介甫	3. problems
81	A Drinking Pal	河间生	4. other
82	Before He Could Sell His Wife	云翠仙	4. problem
83	General of Great Strength	大力将军	2. values
84	Female Scholar	颜氏	3. value
85	Escaping from a Pigsty	杜翁	4. other
86	A Female Sage	林氏	2. values
87	Butchers and Wolves	狼三则	2. values
88	The Girl of Fortune	蕙芳	1. romance
89	Happy Surprises	乱离二则	4. other unusual
90	Family Reunion	菱角	2. values
91	In the Form of a Tiger	向杲	2. values
92	Appreciation	鸽舁	3. problems
93	End of Trouble	江城	3. problems
94	Smile of Death	戏缢	3. problems
95	Wife and Concubine	邵九娘	3. problems
96	Two Brothers	二商	2. values
97	Magic Acrobatics	郭秀才	4. other
98	A Parrot	阿英	1. romance
9	Orange Tree	橘树	4. other
100	Revenge on Child-Abandoning	牛成章	3. problems
101	Divination by Mirror	镜听	3. problems
102	Mad Taoist Priest	牛癢	3. problems
103	Princess Hu	胡四娘	2. values
104	Years to Live	禄数	3. problems
105	Fate of Marrying a Bandit's Daughter	柳生	4. other
106	Wrong Verdict	冤狱	3. problems
107	Fox with Scarred-Eye	杨疤眼	4. other
108	Fox Spirit Returns a Favor	小翠	1. romance
109	Wife of a Businessman	商妇	4. other
110	Slim Willow	细柳	2. values
111	A Painted Horse	画马	4. other
112	A Dream of Wolves	梦狼	3. problems
113	The Convresion of a Girl	化男	4. other
114	Chivalrous Bird	禽侠	4. other

115	Geese	鸿	2. values
116	Elephants	象	2. values
117	Carrying a Dead Body	负尸	4.other
118	Ugly Fox	丑狐	3. problems
119	Divination by Coin	钱卜巫	2. values
120	Soulless	姚安	3. problems
121	The Ferocious Cui	崔猛	2. values
122	Poem Clues	诗漱	2. values
123	Filial Piety	陈锡九	2. values
124	The County Magistrate and an Aggressive Woman	邵临淄	2. values
125	A Test of Loyalty	佟客	3. problems
126	A Severe Punishment	邑人	3. problems
127	The Rat	大鼠	2. values
128	Shepherd Boys and the Mother Wolf	牧竖	2. values
129	The Rich Man	富翁	2. values
130	The Clever Border Commander	王司马	2. values
131	The Fox Spirit	小梅	1. romance
132	The Monk with the Magic Pill	药僧	3. problems
133	Death of the Clerks	皂隶	4. other
134	The Flying Ox	牛飞	4. other
135	An Iron Lady	农妇	2. values
136	Trapping the Real Killers	折狱	2. values
137	A Loyal Dog	义犬/芜湖犬	2. values
138	A Strange Cave	查牙山洞	4.other
139	Bird Language	鸟语	4. other
140	Mr. Qiao's Daughter	乔女	2. values
141	Clams and Crabs	蛤	4. other
142	Mrs. Liu	刘夫人	2. values
143	The Black Stone	真生	3. problems
144	The Cloth Merchant	布商	2. values
145	Man in the Sack	彭二挣	4. other
146	The Filial Son	席方平	2. values
147	"Wealth Is Hell"	贾奉雉	4. other
148	A String of Culprits	胭脂	2. values
149	The Granary Builder	阿纤	1. romance
150	The Girl Protector	瑞云	1. romance
151	Mrs. Qiu	仇大娘	2. values
152	Out of the Well	龙飞相公	4. other
153	A Girl Named Coral	珊瑚	2. values
154	Wife and Concubine	恒娘	2. values
155	The Fragrant Fairy	葛巾	1. romance
156	The Gardener	黄英	1. romance
157	A Bookworm	书痴	1. romance
158	The Frog God	青蛙神	1. romance
159	The Frog God-More	青蛙神又	3. problems

160	Gambling for Revenge	任秀	2. values
161	Punishment of a Greedy Official	王者	3. problems
162	The Man Who Committed Adultery	某甲	3. problems
163	The Demolisher	拆楼人	3. problems
164	The Scorpion	大蝎	4.other
165	The Crow Couple	竹青	1. romance
166	A “Male Concubine”	男妾	3. problems
167	The Three Previous Lives of Mr. Wang	汪可受	4. other
168	The Baby Buffalo	牛犊	4. other
169	Saving His Mother with His Own Flesh	乐仲	2. values
170	The Girl Called Fragrant Jade	香玉	1. romance
171	Three Immortals	三仙	4. other
172	Ghost Clerks	鬼隶	4. other
173	The Salt Seller	王十	3. problems
174	Change of Positions	大男	2. values
175	Wei Gonzi, a Womanizer	韦公子	3. problems
176	A Magic Stone	石清虚	4. other
177	Mr. Zeng's Children	曾友于	2. values
178	Tiger Brothers	二班	2. values
179	The Barrow Pusher	车夫	4.horror
180	The Scorpion Merchant	蝎客	4.other
181	She Turned into a Pig	杜小雷	3. problems
182	Grateful Wolves	毛大福	2. values
183	Snake Woman	青城妇	4. other
184	A Great Happy Ending	薛慰娘	1. romance
185	The Man Clad in Green	刘全	2. values
186	The Bird Envoys	鸟使	4. other
187	Fox Thief	姬生	4. other
188	Life and Death in Thunderstorms	纫针	2. values
189	Sixteen Years on Fairy Island	粉蝶	4. other
190	The Death of Li Tansi	李檀斯	4. other
191	Two Widows	太原狱	2. values
192	The Arrival of the Son	房文淑	1. romance
193	The Beggar	丐仙	2. values
194	Castration	人妖	3. problems

#### Appendix 24: List of *Liaozhai* Stories Translated by Juan Wang (1998)

No.	English Title	Chinese Title	Theme in ST
1	Planting a Pear Tree	种梨	3. problems
2	Fighting off a Python	斫蟒	2. values
3	A Sinful Monk	僧孽	3. problems
4	The Man Who Stole a Duck	骂鸭	3. problems

5	The Eagle and the Tiger Gods	鹰虎神	3. problems
6	The Talking Pupils	瞳人语	3. problems
7	Doctor Mao Dafu	毛大福	2. values
8	A Filial Son	孝子	2. values
9	A Man Named Du Xiaolei	杜小雷	3. problems
10	The Allotted Life Span	禄数	3. problems
11	An Ugly Fox Fairy	丑狐	3. problems
12	Qingfeng	青凤	1. romance
13	A Laughing Girl Named Yingming	婴宁	1. romance
14	Nie Xiaoqian	聂小倩	1. romance
15	A Girl Named Dou	窦氏	3. problems
16	A Girl Named Wanxia	晚霞	1. romance
17	Judge Lu	陆判	4. other
18	A Girl in a Green Dress	绿衣女	1. romance
19	A Girl Named A'xia	阿霞	3. problems
20	A Painted Skin	画皮	2. values
21	The Prefect of Lu City	潞令	3. problems
22	The Butterfly's Revenge	放蝶	3. problems
23	The Message of Birds	鸟语	4. other
24	Xi Fangping	席方平	2. values
25	The King of Judgment	王者	3. problems
26	A Brave Girl Named Shang Sangguan	商三官	2. values
27	A Girl Called Rouge	胭脂	2. values
28	Legal Thieves	盗户	3. problems
29	Su Xian	苏仙	4. other
30	Two Sisters	姊妹易嫁	3. problems
31	Yu Jiang	于江	2. values
32	The Little Men	小官人	4. other
33	The Thunder God	雷公	4. other
34	A Dragon	龙	4. other
35	Listen with a Mirror	镜听	3. problems
36	Forty Strings of Coins	四十千	3. problems
37	A Man Named Zhang Buliang	张不量	2. values
38	The Magic of a Monk	僧术	3. problems
39	A Man Who Remembered His Previous Life	某公	4. other
40	The Dumpling Woman	傅饽媪	4. other
41	A Faithful Rat	义鼠	2. values
42	Qiao's Daughter	乔女	2. values
43	Deer Grass	鹿衔草	4. other
44	A Loyal Dog	义犬/芜湖犬	2. values
45	A Wild Goose	鸿	2. values
46	A Wolf	狼三则	2. values
47	A Big Rat	大鼠	2. values
48	A Mantis Caught a Snake	螳螂捕蛇	4. other
49	Two Shepherd Boys	牧竖	2. values

50	The Tiger of Zhao City	赵城虎	2. values
51	A Myna	鸚鵡	4. other

**Appendix 25: List of *Liaozhai* Stories Translated by John Minford (2006)**

No.	English Title	Chinese Title	Theme in ST
1	Homunculus (illustrated)	耳中人	4. other
2	An Otherworldly Examimation	考城隍	2. values
3	Living Dead	尸变	4.other
4	Spitting Water	喷水	4.other
5	Talking Pupils	瞳人语	3. problems
6	The Painted Wall	画壁	1. romance
7	The Troll	山魃	4.other
8	Biting Ghost	咬鬼	4.other
9	Catching a Fox	捉狐	4. other
10	The Monster in the Bucket	菽中怪	4.other
11	The Haunted House	宅妖	4. other
12	Stealing a Peach	偷桃	4. other
13	Growing Pears	种梨	3. problems
14	The Taoist Priest of Mount Lao	劳山道士	3. problems
15	The Monk of Changqing	长清僧	4. other
16	The Snake-Charmer	蛇人	2. values
17	The Wounded Python	斫蟒	2. values
18	The Fornicating Dog	犬奸	3. problems
19	The God of Hail	雹神	2. values
20	The Golden Goblet	狐嫁女	4. other
21	Grace and Pine	娇娜	2. values
22	A Most Exemplary Monk	僧孽	3. problems
23	Magical Arts	妖术	3. problems
24	Wild Dog	野狗	4.other
25	Past Lives	三生	4. other
26	Fox in the Bottle	狐入瓶	2. values
27	Wailing Ghosts	鬼哭	2. values
28	Thumb and Thimble	真定女	4. other
29	Scorched Moth the Taoist	焦螟	4. other
30	Friendship Beyond the Grave	叶生	2. values
31	Karmic Debts	四十千	3. problems
32	Ritual Cleansing	灵官	4. other
33	The Door God and the Thief	鹰虎神	3. problems
34	The Painted Skin	画皮	2. values
35	The Merchant's Son	贾儿	2. values
36	A Passion for Snakes	蛇癖	4. other
37	A Latter-day Buddha	金世成	3. problems

38	Fox Enchantment	董生	3. problems
39	Eating Stones	齧石	4. other
40	The Laughing Girl	婴宁	1. romance
41	The Magic Sword and the Magic Bag	聂小倩	1. romance
42	The Devoted Mouse	义鼠	2. values
43	An Earthquake	地震	4. other
44	Snake Island	海公子	4. other
45	Generosity	丁前溪	2. values
46	The Giant Fish	海大鱼	4. other
47	The Giant Turtle	张老相公	2. values
48	Making Animals	造畜	3. problems
49	The Little Mandarin	小官人	4. other
50	Dying Together	祝翁	4. other
51	The Alligator's Revenge	猎婆龙	4. other
52	Sheep Skin	某公	4. other
53	Sharp Sword	快刀	4. other
54	Lotus Fragrance	莲香	1. romance
55	King of The Nine Mountains	九山王	3. problems
56	The Fox of Fenzhou	汾州狐	1. romance
57	Silkworm	巧娘	1. romance
58	Vocal Virtuosity	口技	4. other
59	Fox as Prophet	滩水狐	4. other
60	This Transformation	丐僧	4. other
61	Fox Control	伏狐	3. problems
62	Dragon Dormant	蛰龙	4. other
63	Cut Sleeve	黄九郎	1. romance
64	The Girl From Nanking	金陵女子	1. romance
65	Twenty Years a Dream	连琐	1. romance
66	Mynah Bird	鸚鵡	4. other
67	Lamp Dog	犬灯	1. romance
68	Dorctor Five Hides	五穀大夫	4. other
69	Butterfly	翩翩	1. romance
70	The Black Beast	黑兽	3. problems
71	The Stone Bowl	余德	4. other
72	A Fatal Joke	诸城某甲	4. other
73	Raining Money	雨钱	3. problems
74	Twin Lanterns	双灯	1. romance
75	Ghost Foiled, Fox Put to Rout	捉鬼射狐	2. values
76	Frog Chorus	蛙曲	4. other
77	Performing Mice	鼠戏	4. other
78	The Clay Scholar	泥书生	4. other
79	Flowers of Illusion	济南道人	4. other
80	Dwarf	小人	3. problems
81	Bird	鸦头	1. romance
82	Princess Lotus	莲花公主	1. romance



83	The Girl in Green	绿衣女	1. romance
84	Duck Justice	骂鸭	3. problems
85	Big Sneeze	梁彦	4.other
86	Steel Shirt	铁布衫法	4. other
87	Fox Trouble	周三	4. other
88	Lust Punished by Foxes	狐怨淫 [ part 1]	3. problems
89	Mountain City	山市	4. other
90	A Cure for Marital Strife	孙生	3. problems
91	A Prank	戏缢	3. problems
92	Adultery and Enlightenment	罗祖	2. values
93	Up His Sleeve	巩仙	4. other
94	Silver Above Beauty	沂水秀才	3. problems
95	The Antique Lute (Partly translation)	局诈	3. problems
96	Waiting Room for Death	李生	4. other
97	Rouge	胭脂	2. values
98	The Southern Wutong-Spirit	五通	2. values
9	Sunset	五通又	1. romance
100	The Male Concubine	男妾	3. problems
101	Coral	乐仲	2. values
102	Mutton Fat and Pig Blood	乩仙	4. other
103	Dung-Beetle Dumplings	杜小雷	3. problems
104	Stir-Fry	狐怨淫 [ part 2]	4. other

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