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編譯論叢

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Compilation and Translation Review

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航向「子午線」：徐仲年《法文上海日報》中的 中國現代文學譯介

陳碩文

《法文上海日報》（*Le Journal de Shanghai*）創刊於1927年，由法國哈瓦斯通訊社（Agence Havas）的特派員黃德樂（Jean Fontenoy）創立，法國商會出資，發行時間長達十數年，日銷數千份。《法文上海日報》不只在上海法租界內流通，也發行到法國其他殖民地，在中國出版的法文報紙中有重要的影響力。《法文上海日報》內容豐富，欄目眾多，除世界新聞、金融資訊外，週末更增設文學、藝術等欄位，連載世界文學名著。自1934年1月至該年底，該報週末增刊中增設了「今日中國文學」（*La littérature chinoise d'aujourd'hui*）欄目，刊出了包括魯迅、郭沫若、陳煒謨、王獨清、柔石等作家的作品，由曾於1931年為《新法蘭西雜誌》（*La Nouvelle Revue Française*）撰寫專欄的留法學者徐仲年翻譯。在素有「東方巴黎」之稱的上海，《法文上海日報》展現了什麼樣的「世界文學」面貌？徐仲年在《法文上海日報》上又如何譯介中國現代文學作品？其翻譯策略和實績為何？在中國現代文學步入世界文壇之初，又扮演了什麼角色？儘管徐仲年於1930—1940年代的翻譯實踐，並非全未受學者注意，然而，他於《法文上海日報》上的現代中國文學譯介，卻相對較少引起學界關注，無疑值得深入析論。

關鍵詞：法文上海日報、徐仲年、今日中國文學、世界文學

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本文為國科會專題研究計畫「摩登上海共和國：三四十年代上海文壇的世界主義文學實踐——以林語堂、蕭乾、徐仲年為中心」（MOST 110-2410-H-004 -154 -MY3）之研究成果，特此致謝。兩名匿名審查委員提出極具啟發性之建議，筆者獲益良多，由衷感謝。本文部分內容曾以會議論文形式，在歐洲漢學協會（EACS）第24屆雙年會宣讀，感謝與會先進學友的指正。邱偉雲教授、楊振教授、羅仕龍教授、鍾欣志教授襄助借閱圖書及惠賜高見，毋任感荷；助理張家綾同學協助整理、蒐集資料，亦在此一併致上謝忱。

Sailing to “Meridian”: A Study of the Translation of Modern Chinese Literature in *French Shanghai Daily* (*Le Journal de Shanghai*)

Shuowin Chen

French Shanghai Daily (*Le Journal de Shanghai*) was founded in 1927 by Jean Fontenoy, the special commissioner of Agency Havas. It was funded by the French Chamber of Commerce. It was published for more than ten years and sold thousands of copies daily. *French Shanghai Daily* was not only circulated in the French concession of Shanghai, but also distributed to other French colonies. It was the most important French newspaper published in Republican China. *French Shanghai Daily* was rich in content and had a variety of columns. In addition to world news and financial information, it also included literature and art columns on weekends, serializing world literary masterpieces. From January 1934 to the end of that year, the newspaper’s weekend supplement added a column entitled “Today’s Chinese Literature” (La littérature chinoise d’aujourd’hui), which published the French translation of works by Lu Xun, Guo Moruo, Chen Weimo, Wang Duqing, Rou Shi and other Chinese writers. These works were translated by Xu Zhongnian, a scholar who studied in France, who was responsible for the “Chinese Literature” column for *La Nouvelle Revue Française* in Paris. How did Xu Zhongnian translate modern Chinese literary works to readers in *French Shanghai Daily*? What were his translation strategies and achievements? And what kind of role did Xu play during the process of modern Chinese literature entering the world literary space? Although Xu Zhongnian’s translation practice was not entirely unnoticed by scholars, his translation and introduction of modern Chinese literature in the *French Shanghai Daily* has attracted relatively little attention. Borrowing the point of view of the making of world literature, this paper examines the cultural connotation of Xu Zhongnian’s transcultural translation practices during the early republic period.

Keywords: *French Shanghai Daily*, Xu Zhongnian, Chinese literature today, world literature

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壹、前言

眾所周知，晚清民初時期報刊媒體勃興，出版市場繁榮，深刻改變了中國文學生產與傳播的方式。¹ 其時西人辦報較先，向中國讀者傳遞西學外，亦力求向異國讀者提供中國的時事、文化等資訊，其中也包括本地文學翻譯。因報刊傳播無遠弗屆，報刊上的文學譯介咸被認為是中國現代文學走向世界的重要推手（謝燕紅、李剛，2019）。然相對於英文報刊受到的關注，法文報刊上中國文學翻譯相關的研究卻較為缺乏。² 事實上，此時期在中國出版的法國報刊不少；且在中國文學外譯方面，法國也一直居領先地位（耿強，2015，頁46）。而中國新文學在法國的譯介，也肇始於1919年《北京政聞報》（*La Politique de Pékin*）上所載的六首白話譯詩（郭彥娜，2020，頁128）。³ 此類譯介對往後域外讀者接受及研究中國現代文學史產生之影響，無疑值得深入考察。此外，前人早已指出，在中國現代文學外譯過程中，中國現代文人、譯者此可說是獨佔鰲頭。相對於域外譯者譯介中國文學時偏愛中國文學經典，中國現代譯者並不屏棄現代作品，乃成為中國現代文學的翻譯主力（耿強，2015，頁51），他們或發表譯作，或出版選集，影響深遠，卻相對較少受到關注。

¹ 學界對中國近代報刊的研究，不論是報刊的生產、發行、流通狀況，或報刊上的圖像、文本其所反映的知識傳播、啟蒙教育、思潮推動等意義，或其中涉及的中國政治、社會、經濟變革等情況，都有相當豐富的成果。集中探討上海的報刊文化史的專著如秦紹德《上海近代報刊史論》，呈現了上海近代報刊的發軔、變革和盛衰的歷史。芮哲非（Christopher A. Reed）的《谷騰堡在上海：中國印刷資本業的發展（1876—1937）》（*Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876-1937*）更對西方印刷技術如何在近現代取代中國雕版印刷術的過程進行了細緻分析，揭示了中國傳統的印刷文化和印刷商業向印刷資本主義發展的過程。請見戈公振（1927）、秦紹德（1993）、Reed（2004）。

² 《北華捷報》（*North-China Herald*）是上海第一份近代報刊，1850年由英人創刊；1864年，《字林西報》（*North China Daily News*）繼之而起，出版時間很長，頗有影響，此後重要者還有《上海差報》（*The Shanghai Courier*）和《大美晚報》（*Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury*）等。在中國發行的法文報紙則包括有《中法新匯報》（*L'Écho de Chine*）、《北京法文新聞報》（*Le Journal de Pékin*）、《北京政聞報》（*La Politique de Pékin*）、《上海法文新聞報》（*Journal de Shanghai*）等。不過相對來說，除《北京政聞報》、《法文上海日報》外，法文報刊的確較少引起研究者關注。相關研究請見趙敏恆（1931／2011）、張詠與李金銓（2011）、魯道夫·瓦格納（2019）、King與Clarke（1965）。

³ 儘管郭文在資料整理上頗為詳盡，不過，該文對法文報刊上中國新文學的翻譯偏向及脈絡探討仍不足。《北京政聞報》相關研究還可見於聶卉（2018）。

當時的法文報刊編譯者究竟譯介了什麼樣的中國現代文學作品？翻譯策略和實績為何？我們又可以怎麼詮解之？在中國現代文學航向世界旅途之始，曾留學法國的學者、譯者、作家徐仲年在《法文上海日報》（*Le Journal de Shanghai*）上的中國現代文學譯介，在這層意義上，可謂頗有貢獻。以往不是沒有學者注意到徐仲年的中國現代文學對外翻譯之功，⁴然徐仲年在上海外文報紙上的翻譯實績仍缺乏詳實析論。本文先從徐仲年自1934年起，在《法文上海日報》這份相對發行時間長，且讀者眾多的報刊上所譯介的現代中國文學樣貌之考察入手，做為探尋此議題的開始，並參酌跨文化理論視角，梳理報刊、文本，探析其翻譯特色，挖掘其中深層的文化意涵，以進一步回應上述議題。

貳、《法文上海日報》始末與其文學連載

《法文上海日報》創刊於1927年，由法國哈瓦斯通訊社（Agence Havas）的特派員黃德樂（Jean Fontenoy）主編，⁵法國商會（La Chambre de Commerce Française）出資，發行時間長達十數年，日銷數千份。1929年起，改由《小巴黎人報》（*Le Petit Parisien*）記者莫瑞斯（Georges Moresthe）任主編。⁶該報不只在上海法租界內流通，也發行到法國其他殖民地，也可見於其他法語地區及中法文化交流地帶（趙怡，2021，頁113），是在中國出版的法文報紙中，發行時間較長的重要刊物（李默，2019，頁89—90）。

《法文上海日報》內容豐富，欄目眾多，圖文並茂，編排用心，營銷方

⁴ 關於徐仲年現代中國文學的法譯研究，可見如：梁海軍（2018）、Yang（2010）。《法文上海日報》的相關研究，以趙怡的研究成果最為突出，請見趙怡（2017，2021）。其研究成果相當詳實且具有開創性，不過文中並未通過比對梳理徐仲年的現代文學翻譯實績、特色和意涵，此乃本文可以補白之處。

⁵ 關於黃德樂的相關研究，可見李君益（2014）、Fontenoy（1938）、Vilgier（2012）。

⁶ 《小巴黎人報》是法國19、20世紀的重要報刊之一，曾為世上銷量最高的一份報紙。1921年起，在主編Léon Touchard和Élie Bois的推動下，《小巴黎人報》的面貌煥然一新，多刊附有圖片的國際新聞。莫瑞斯在中國戰時的報導也刊於《小巴黎人報》上，比方說“Les Japonais ont établi la censure sur les radios et cables pour l'étranger”（Moresthe, 1938）。

式也很靈活。創刊於國共爭鬥不斷的時期，政治上，該報立場中立，自詡為遠東法國人的「喉舌」（organ），尤其關注中國、印度的相關消息。法國人在中國的權益，並進行資訊交流，此與法國政府政策——維護法國在遠東之最大利益——一致。

於中國政經消息外，該刊也登有不少本地旅遊、生活情報、租界工作彙報等，扮演著為上海租界內讀者提供日常實用生活資訊的角色。可想見生活在法租界的法語國家僑民這一群體，及上海法租界中來自其他國家卻精通法文的人，皆是《法文上海日報》的主要讀者群；黃德樂在創刊號中也呼籲懂法文的中國人讀這份報紙。或可以說，《法文上海日報》就像一個平臺，讓法國人、其他法語國家僑民、懂法文的中國精英得以在此互動、溝通。

如同李歐梵（1999 / 2000，頁 20）指出，1930 年代的上海因緣際會成為中國出版中心，都會文化昌盛，而法租界因其相對優越的出版環境，聚集了不少文化人，文化活動眾多，使得上海法租界有如文化實驗室。此外，也拜全球文化快速流動之賜，上海法租界流行著各式世界新興文藝思潮，支持、見證著中國現代文壇多元的跨文化交流。而由於法國重視文化的傳統，也拜主編黃德樂雅好文藝之賜，因此，除世界新聞、金融資訊外，《法文上海日報》對上海的文藝訊息亦很關注，週末更增設文學、藝術等欄位，連載文學作品。前期以長篇小說（*Feuilleton de Journal*）為主，後期則多刊登短篇小說（*conte*），多刊於報紙的第四、五版（有時在末版）。此外，在滬法國文化教育界人士活躍於法國文化協會（*Alliance Française*）、中法聯誼會（*L' Association amicale sino-française*）等組織，不但促使中法教育合作和文化交流更趨頻繁，也使該報的文化專欄蒸蒸日上。當時，除法國外，來自世界各地的文化名人亦時常造訪上海法租界，上述協會也經常舉辦講座、畫展和音樂會邀訪文藝界人士，相關報導亦可見於該報，《法文上海日報》文化版塊因此極具豐富性和多樣性；而其多國籍的編譯陣容，在當時的外文報刊中尤為突出（趙怡，2023）。

而實際翻查《法文上海日報》上刊載的文學作品，可以發現它有如上述

上海都會文化的縮影，具體而微地呈現了一個世界主義式且雅俗兼具的文化景觀。曾於《法文上海日報》上連載的包括了普希金（Aleksandr Sergejevich Pushkin）、托爾斯泰（Lev Nikolayevich Tolstoy）及日本作家芥川龍之介等人的作品，及相當數量的法國經典、通俗小說，如：嘉伯里奧（Emile Gaboriau）的《稻草人》（*L'argent des autres - Les hommes de paille*）、費瓦爾（Paul Féval）的《志願者》（*Le volontaire*）；後期刊登的多為莫里斯·雷納德（Maurice Renar）、保羅·穆杭（Paul Morand）等作家的短篇小說。

綜合來說，該刊連載的作品很多元，來自各地，範疇也包羅萬象，既有偵探、科幻小說，也有經典之作。比方說 1928 年 1 月起，托爾斯泰的小說《哈吉·穆拉德》（*Hadji Murad*）見諸該報端，這是一部以 19 世紀中葉的俄羅斯高加索山脈為背景，提煉自其從軍經歷的小說，於 1912 年托爾斯泰去世後出版。這部小說描寫涉及俄國、中亞各國與中國接壤處，也是 19 世紀以來列強紛爭不斷之地，與中國地緣政治議題息息相關。有鑒於《法文上海日報》編輯對與身處中國的法國僑民息息相關的國際政經情勢頗為注意，他們選刊這本涉及國際戰事的小說，用心不難想見。

不過，該報上刊載的外文翻譯小說來源多半不明，報刊上亦多未標注譯者名字。以自 1928 年 2 月起連載的羅伯特·修·班森（Robert Hugh Benson）在 1907 年推出的反烏托邦小說《世界之王》（*Lord of the World, Le maître de la terre*）為例，若將《法文上海日報》上的連載版本和當時已經出版的小說法文版比對，可發現該刊連載文本即為特奧多·德·威澤瓦（Theodore de Wyzewa）翻譯，於 1910 年出版的法文版無誤。這部小說描寫的是作家想像的 20 世紀世界大勢——世界被三大聯盟所占據：歐洲聯盟，官方語言為世界語；東方帝國，由日本和中國皇室的後裔統治，控制著亞洲、大洋洲；還有美利堅共和國。作家在書中描繪了歐洲聯盟和東方帝國間的戰爭一觸即發、世界末日即將到來的世界景觀。這部被當時不少讀者認為帶有預言性質的作品，反映作者對當時國際情勢的觀察和想像。《法文上海日報》編輯選擇連載這部翻譯小說，應亦與編輯考量該報讀者對國際事務、歐亞情

勢頗感興趣有關。

在上述的連載小說中，比較特殊的是德·胡飛（Réginald d'Auxion de Ruffé）撰寫的《新寶塔短篇集》（*Nouveaux contes de la Pagode*）。德·胡飛是活躍於法租界的律師，也是記者，曾出版與中國有關的專著如 *Chine et Chinois d'aujourd'hui, le nouveau péril jaune*（1926 出版）。他的新書《亞洲女人》（*La femme d'Asie*）出版時，《法文上海日報》編輯還以「上海小說家」（Un romancier Shanghaien）稱之，為他大打廣告（“Un romancier Shanghaien,” 1930）。這位現今較少為人所知，但當時應是上海法租界名人的作家作品獲選刊登，可見作者與報刊編輯的淵源，也是作品能否躍上版面的原因，彰顯了該報編輯在文學作品推薦、選登時的話語權；更反映出了當時讀者對中國現狀的濃厚興趣，以及記者、報刊編輯在現代中法文學交流初期扮演的重要角色（Frèches, 1975, p. 106）。

總體來看，該報編譯者對於法文、俄文小說較為偏愛，也青睞通俗作品，這與報刊的目標讀者群體——當時上海租界中約有兩萬的俄國僑民（汪之成，1993）——的嗜好，以及報刊連載小說較具通俗性質有關。而報刊編輯對於小說譯者的忽略，則牽涉到刊物編輯刊登翻譯作品的目的——資訊交流分享、吸引讀者，或因如此，相較之下，他們更重視作品情節的翻譯，而未及給予譯者肯定。

不過，更值得注意的問題，在於《法文上海日報》的世界文學景觀展現出了相當有趣的面貌。首先，除了消遣、娛樂的需要，該報編輯選登的文本展現出其欲透過文學作品理解世界，尤其是與中國鄰近國度、亞洲風情的興趣，以及他們與身處的本地社會之互動。其中不僅富有對異國情調趣味的追求，更體現出他們對自身處境的關注，展現出異國想像及自身利益追求間既合流又歧異的矛盾關係。而法國文化界長期關注域外文學，對於法國文學的外譯、文化交流亦很重視，法租界內半官方性質報刊《法文上海日報》版面，也呈現出相當樂於擁抱世界文學的胸懷視野。而在下文中，將進一步探討該報編輯連載世界文學經典時，亦開始關注本地作家著譯的情況，並分析其意涵。

參、徐仲年與「今日中國文學」

自 1934 年 1 月至該年底，《法文上海日報》編輯於該報週末增刊中增設了「今日中國文學」（*La littérature chinoise d'aujourd'hui*）欄目，由留法學者徐仲年主持、翻譯。

徐仲年，無錫人，1921 年赴法留學，在里昂中法大學（*Institut franco-chinois de Lyon*）攻讀博士，研究專長為李白的詩歌。⁷ 求學期間，其中國詩歌翻譯已小有文名，然除古典文學外，徐仲年也翻譯現代文學。1931 年，他在法國著名文學期刊《新法蘭西雜誌》（*La Nouvelle Revue Française*）發表《吶喊》書評，介紹魯迅的小說，也述及新文學運動（Hsu, 1930, pp. 574-576）。1933 年，徐仲年編譯的《古今中國文學選集》（*Anthologie de la littérature chinoise des origines à nos jours*）在巴黎出版，是中國現代文學（14 首現代詩與四篇短篇小說）首次被納入以西方語言編纂的中國歷代文選中。除此之外，因與漢學家相熟，徐仲年也時常有機會在其引薦下出席巴黎的文藝沙龍及文化活動，為他往後參與中法文學、文化交流奠下基礎。

徐仲年的中國現代文學譯介不僅於此，他還於 1934 年在《法文上海日報》「今日之中國文學」欄目翻譯了 11 篇現代文學作品，多為短篇小說；在另一份重要的在華法文報《北京政聞報》上翻譯了 17 位中國現代詩人的 27 首現代詩，以及張道藩的話劇《自誤》（郭彥娜，2020，頁 135）。此時，徐仲年學成歸國後未久，任上海江灣勞動大學法語教授外，一直於寧滬各大學授課，且出任上述法國文化協會、中法聯誼會活動理事，積極參與上海的文化交流活動（趙怡，2021）。而此文中，集中探討的是徐仲年在《法文上海日報》上發表的現代文學翻譯。

徐仲年在《法文上海日報》「今日之中國文學」欄目刊出的法譯現代文學，包括魯迅的〈肥皂〉、郭沫若的〈殘春〉、陳煒謨的〈狼筓將軍〉、王

⁷ 關於徐仲年的生平相關研究，可見於楊振（2013）、許定銘（2009）、段懷清（2015）。

獨清的〈三年以後〉、柔石的〈為奴隸的母親〉、丁玲的〈水〉、廬隱的〈何處是歸程〉、孫福熙的《春城》（節選）、王平陵的〈父與子〉，還有劉大白的詩歌等作品。整體來說，他所選譯的多為五四新文學以來的成名作家及其代表作，且不僅僅關注寫實作品，比方說，在翻譯郭沫若的〈殘春〉時，徐仲年盛讚這篇小說輕盈而不沉重，善於描述感覺，看得出來他並不只推崇現實主義小說（Guo, 1922/1934）。此外，他選譯的作家老幹新枝並茂，男女都有。有些作者和他有著特別的交誼（王獨清、王平陵、孫福熙），有的則不。每一期翻譯小說前多附有作家照片，還包含了徐仲年撰寫的作者生平簡介和導讀。

此外，比對翻譯和原文，可以發現徐仲年的翻譯相對詳實，事實上，他曾說：「如果條件允許，我盡量做到逐字翻譯；若這個方法行不通，我才會找尋並使用法語本身的恰當的措辭和表達方式，以期最接近原文意思」（Hsu, 1933, p. 6）。而考察其於「今日之中國文學」欄目刊登之譯文，可以發現其言不虛。錢林森（1990）指出，早期法文譯者翻譯中國現代文學作品，多以「歸化」翻譯方式進行（頁 12），尤其是小說和戲劇等，且法文讀者多想在中國文學作品中尋找生命奧義，因此譯者難免相當程度的誤讀。然而，徐仲年在《法文上海日報》上刊載的翻譯作品不同，他更傾向於直譯，再以加註方式說明，有時註解可能長達十個。徐仲年也特別喜歡說明雙關語、文字遊戲等作者可能賦予深刻含義處，以求能清楚傳達作品的寓意，比方說魯迅〈肥皂〉一文中的主角「四銘」，兒子「學程」，以及來訪的文友「道統」，名字都頗具道學氣，然其行為舉止卻與名號大不相符，魯迅此舉，用意在於反諷小說主角表裡不一的虛偽行徑，中文讀者一看便知，但徐仲年為求法國讀者也能領會魯迅深層涵義，特別加註一一說明其名意義。

徐仲年的翻譯，若與當時其他魯迅小說的法譯者相比，尤其可見慎重，如郭彥娜（2020）所言，當時在《北京政聞報》上翻譯魯迅短篇小說的還有敬隱漁、張奠亞等人，徐仲年的翻譯是最為貼緊原文的（頁 137）。同做為

魯迅小說最早的法文譯者，敬隱漁翻譯時屢屢刪改原文（顧鈞，2019），並不加以闡釋；然考察徐仲年在《法文上海日報》上刊載的譯作，其翻譯風格的確較為力求全面。以徐仲年此篇魯迅的〈肥皂〉譯本為例：

表 1

魯迅〈肥皂〉原文與徐仲年法譯對照表

〈肥皂〉	“Le Savon”
<p>「詩題麼？」四銘忽而恭敬之狀可掬了。「我倒有一個在這裡：孝女行。那是實事，應該表彰表彰她。我今天在大街上……」</p>	<p>Sujet de la poésie? Euh!..., hésite un moment Seu-ming, j'en ai trouvé un. Le voici: «poème sur une jeune fille dont la piète filiale est exemplaire». C'est une histoire vraie, on devrait la célébrer. Aujourd'hui, j'étais dans la grande rue...</p>
<p>「哦哦，那不行。」薇園連忙搖手，打斷他的話。「那是我也看見的。她大概是『外路人』，我不懂她的話，她也不懂我的話，不知道她究竟是那裡人。大家倒都說她是孝女；然而我問她可能做詩，她搖搖頭。要是能做詩，那就好了。」</p>	<p>--Non! non! ça ne va pas, proteste Wei-yuan, je l'ai vue aussi. C'est peut-être une étrangère à notre région, je ne comprenais pas trop ce qu'elle disait et, elle non plus, elle n'entendait rien à mes paroles. J'ignore le nom de son pays natal. Tout le monde dit que c'est une jeune fille qui accomplit ses devoirs filiaux; cependant, je lui ai demandé si elle est une poétesse, elle m'a dit que non. C'est dommage sinon...</p>
<p>「然而忠孝是大節，不會做詩也可以將就……。」</p>	<p>--cela ne fait rien, réplique Seu-ming, seules la fidélité envers le souverain et la piète filiale sont deux grands principes qu'on doit observer dans la conduit de la vie humaine.....</p>
<p>「那倒不然，而孰知不然！」薇園攤開手掌，向四銘連搖帶推的奔過去，力爭說。「要會做詩，然後有趣。」</p>	<p>--Ce n'est pas cela, ce n'est pas cela, réplique Wei-yuan qui, agitant sa main en signe de protestation, s'avance vers Seu-ming qui le repousse. Il faut qu'elle soit poétesse car alors, ce serait très intéressant.</p>
<p>「我們，」四銘推開他，「就用這個題目，加上說明，登報去。一來可以表彰表彰她；二來可以借此針砭社會。現在的社會還成個什麼樣子，我從旁考察了好半天，竟不見有什麼人給一個錢，這豈不是全無心肝……」</p>	<p>--Nous, dit Seu-ming, en écartant Wei-yuan, nous acceptons ce sujet, nous y ajouterons une notice explicative et le publierons tel quel. Par ce concours, d'abord on célébrera celle qui a de vrais mérites et, ensuite, on aiguillonnera un peu vers le bien notre société trop décadente. Ah! Messieurs, quelle société que la nôtre! J'ai observé que la jeune mendiante pendant un long moment, personne ne lui donnait d'argent, n'est-il pas vrai que les gens qui l'entourent sont sans cœur?</p>

（續下頁）

表 1

魯迅〈肥皂〉原文與徐仲年法譯對照表（續）

〈肥皂〉	“Le Savon”
<p>「阿呀，四翁！」薇園又奔過來，「你簡直是在『對著和尚罵賊禿』了。我就沒有給錢，我那時恰恰身邊沒有帶著。」</p>	<p>--Ah! quatrième vieillard vénérable! s'écrie Wei-yuan en se précipitant sur Seu-ming, réellement «vous criez voleur chauve devant un bonze» (14). Si je ne lui ai rien donné, c'est que je n'avais pas ma bourse sur moi.</p>
<p>「不要多心，薇翁。」四銘又推開他，「你自然在外，又作別論。你聽我講下去：她們面前圍了一大群人，毫無敬意，只是打趣。還有兩個光棍，那是更其肆無忌憚了，有一個簡直說，『阿發，你去買兩塊肥皂來，咯支咯支遍身洗一洗，好得很哩。』你想，這……」</p>	<p>--Mon vieux et vénérable Wei, ne soyez pas trop susceptible, dit Seu-ming en le poussant encore. Naturellement vous êtes une exception. Écoutez la suite de la scène: un groupe entoure la mendicante, sans respect, ni tact. On lui adresse des plaisanteries grossières. Deux voyous se montrent plus insolents que les autres; l'un d'eux dit «A-fa! Va acheter deux morceaux de savon, «K'o tchou, K'o tchou» lave-la bien. Elle est si belle! » Vous pensez, une telle offense...</p>
<p>「哈哈！兩塊肥皂！」道統的響亮的笑聲突然發作了，震得人耳朵啞啞的叫。「你買，哈哈，哈哈！」（魯迅，1924，二、三版）</p>	<p>--Ha! Ha! Ha! deux morceaux de savon! dit T'ao Tong en éclatant de rire. Sa voix étourdit les autres. Il ajoute: vous êtes allé les acheter, les savons, ha! ha! ha! » (Lu, 1924/1934, A7)</p>

上面引用的段落是〈肥皂〉中一段關鍵的情節，描述道貌岸然的幾個讀書人討論著街上孝女的情景。主角四銘既想要表彰孝女情操，又難忘眾人打趣，要去買個肥皂讓孝女洗洗的場面。魯迅此處刻畫人物行為舉止、表情動作、語氣神態，相當生動細緻，讓讀者充分感受到了小說人物的表裡不一。透過以上段落比對，可以發現徐仲年的翻譯十分貼近原文，描述小說人物語氣、動作的段落，一一對應，沒有遺漏。為怕法文讀者對中國俗語不了解，徐仲年還加上了註釋（原文註 14）解釋何為「對著和尚罵賊禿」：“Crier voleur chauve ou âne rase devant un bonze, proverbe chinois qui signifie : critiquer quelqu'un sans s'adresser directement à lui.”（Lu, 1924/1934, A7）（對著和尚罵賊禿，中國俗語，意味著當面批評某人卻未道破。）（由筆者自譯），相對於歸化式翻譯，徐仲年的翻譯稱得上相當忠實。

然徐仲年的翻譯也並不總是完整。比方說在〈為奴隸的母親〉一篇中，作家描述女主人公的兒子：「他有出奇的大的眼睛，對陌生人是不倦地注視

地瞧著」(柔石, 1930, 頁 115)。徐仲年翻譯成:「他有兩隻大眼睛, 對中國嬰兒來說是很稀罕的」(“il a deux grands yeux, chose rare pour un bebe chinois.”)(Rou, 1930/1934, A6)。這段說明有點沒有來頭。又比方說丁玲的〈水〉、孫福熙的《春城》兩篇, 徐仲年沒有完整翻譯, 只能稱是節選, 可能是受限於報刊篇幅之故。而他所翻譯的郭沫若的〈殘春〉、陳煒謨的〈狼筴將軍〉、廬隱的〈何處是歸程〉也有漏譯之處。在〈殘春〉、〈狼筴將軍〉中, 他刪節的是細節, 不影響全文; 但〈何處是歸程〉的刪節處, 則是小說人物對當時婦女運動的喟嘆。原作中「美麗如春花」、積極投身婦運的姑姑, 打定主意終生獨身, 但小說末尾, 她卻發了這段感慨:

姑姑撫著我的肩嘆道:「……想起兩年前在北京為婦女運動奔走, 結果只增加我一些慚愧, 有些人竟贈了我一個準政客的苛薄名詞, 後來因為運動憲法修改委員, 給我們相當的援助, 更不知受了多少嘲笑。未了到底被人造了許多謠言, 什麼和某人訂婚了, 最殘忍的竟有人說我要給某人作姨太太, 並且不止侮辱我一個。他們在酒酣耳熱的時候, 從他們噴唾沫的口角上, 往往流露出輕薄的微笑, 跟著, 他們必定要求一個結論道:『這些女子都是拿著婦女運動做招牌, 借題出風頭。』……你想我怎麼受?……唉!……我的前途茫茫, 成敗不可必, 倘若事業終無希望,……倒不如早些作個結束。」(廬隱, 1927, 頁 4)

然而這整段喟嘆, 在徐仲年的翻譯中全消失了, 只留下了“Que la vie est complique”(人生真複雜!)(Lu, 1927/1934, p. 7)的感嘆, 小說便匆匆收尾。這番刪節雖不妨礙讀者對廬隱此篇小說主題「結婚不好, 不結婚也不好」的理解, 然徐仲年將此段刪除, 未錄全文, 小說人物參與婦女運動失敗灰心之感便不見於法譯本內, 故事相對來說顯得較為單調。

而徐仲年在小說譯文前的導讀等「副文本」(Genette, 1987/1997), 對於引導讀者如何閱讀作品以及作品價值的產生亦頗有影響力, 亦值得爬梳。比方說在介紹魯迅、郭沫若、劉大白、廬隱時, 徐仲年對他們的生平娓娓道

來，如數家珍，特別強調了上述作家在新文學運動中扮演的角色，也提及了自己曾經在法文報刊上刊登的新文學運動介紹，極力宣傳五四新文學運動。在丁玲小說的導讀中，徐仲年則一一說明丁玲、胡也頻、柔石等作家和左聯的關係，以及後來包括胡也頻、柔石遭逮捕、槍決的經過（Ding, 1931/1934）。導讀王平陵的作品時，則特別提到他在國民政府主導的文藝運動中的位置，使讀者對於作家生平、作家的文學活動及文本誕生的脈絡能更有深刻認識（Wang, 1933/1934）。而他對丁玲、廬隱兩位女作家的情史和生命歷程的詳細訴說，也使讀者能認識中國現代知識女性的生命情境（Lu, 1927/1934）。

除此之外，徐仲年在導言中多有補充的，通常是小說的敘事背景。比方說介紹〈肥皂〉一文，因擔憂法國讀者不能明白四銘和四太太的言行舉動，徐仲年特別強調小說所反映的乃是中國傳統的婚姻觀，並稱讚女主人公四太太敢於表達心聲，已經很不一般，對傳統中國文化僵化的倫理、家庭觀念提出針砭（Lu, 1924/1934）。此外，徐仲年也特別提醒讀者讀小說時不妨留意江南，尤其紹興的風土民情，可以看出徐仲年向法文讀者介紹中文小說、文化、社會的熱情，及他試著將中國特殊的民情現狀以歐洲讀者能理解的方式說明的努力。可以想像，透過閱讀徐仲年的翻譯作品，法文讀者於大致掌握現代中國文學概況外，更會對現代文學作家及作品所具有之社會、文化意涵印象深刻。

此外，徐仲年的翻譯選擇兼顧了中國現代文壇的多元文學樣貌，既介紹了新文學運動，也談到了轉向前後的創造社；既介紹了左聯的文學活動，也談到了民族文藝運動；翻譯了客觀、群像式地呈現農村現實的小說，也翻譯了郭沫若、王獨清蕩漾著浪漫情懷，書寫異地戀曲，或抒發作家主觀心曲之作，並且不厭其煩地為法文讀者補充說明一己之見，引導法文讀者透過作品領略中國現代文學現象，以及其中折射的社會現實。

儘管徐仲年仍未全面關照如通俗文學作家、新感覺派作家作品的譯介，

然一直對於自己的譯筆是否能忠實反映原作精神念茲在茲的徐仲年，其文學譯介的作品選擇及導讀介紹，相較之下，仍可說相當詳實地帶領讀者鳥瞰了中國現代文學和社會，呈現了「中國新文學」的面貌。尤其相較於當時西人出版的英文報刊上所呈現的較富國際主義色彩之中國現代文學譯介不同（Shen, 2009, Chapter 3），也和偏愛京派作家的《北京政聞報》編輯有所區別（郭彥娜，2020，頁 134），《法文上海日報》上的中國現代文學翻譯主題相對更為紛呈各異，⁸ 與該報極為世界主義式的文學視野遙相呼應，也彰顯了當時上海法租界文化人士對中法文學、文化雙向交流的熱情胸懷，其譯作可說豐富了中國現代文學走向世界的樣貌。

而爬梳完徐仲年的翻譯選擇、方法和特色後，筆者在下文中將進一步探討其翻譯實踐之文化意涵。

肆、如何「今日」？怎樣「中國」？ 「今日中國文學」之文化意涵

《法文上海日報》上專介中國現代文學的專欄既名為「今日之中國文學」，那麼徐仲年如何透過中國現代文學的翻譯、導讀展現「今日」？怎麼再現「中國」？又怎樣輕叩「世界」門扉？尤其當中國文學在歐洲的外譯為時已久，而中國文人譯者的「世界文學」想像也行之有年之際。此外，眾所周知，「今日之中國文學」專欄並不是《法文上海日報》唯一的文學專欄，此專欄乃是與其他世界文學作品的翻譯一同在《法文上海日報》上刊登的；同時，「今日之中國文學」上的小說，更是和其他與中國有關的報導一起躍上版面的。綜而觀之，《法文上海日報》上究竟展現出什麼樣的今日中國面貌呢？其解讀即是下文的目標。

⁸ 總的來說，從譯介的作家與作品內容來看，《北京政聞報》的現代文學翻譯以「五四」後的文學創作為主，其譯介傾向於京派作家、現代派詩人以及新月派自由主義知識分子，對左翼文學不甚熱情。編輯團隊尤喜愛胡適、林語堂的雜文小品，多譯自其他英文報刊，參與翻譯的譯者亦較多。《法文上海日報》上少見此類情形，譯者僅徐仲年一人。請見郭彥娜（2020）。

一、《上海法文日報》中的「今日中國」

當《法文上海日報》編輯開闢專欄，向讀者展示何為「今日之中國文學」時，我們不免好奇，該報編譯團隊怎麼理解今日中國？

實際上，考察「今日之中國文學」專欄首度現身之時，也就是 1934 年 1 月 21 日當天的《法文上海日報》，可以發現當時與魯迅的小說一起登上報紙版面的「今日」中國消息，幾乎都與滿洲國有關。首先，在該報第二版便刊登了以滿洲里工業現況為主的報導，細數當地的工廠及礦業發展；刊登於第 8 版的〈哈爾濱來信〉，則從較輕鬆的生活層面切入，描述了哈爾濱人慶祝東正教聖誕節的情狀，以及當地俄國僑民的生活；第 12 版的〈中國人的筆記：我們的本週政治〉一欄裡，從一個「中國人的視角」，描述了南京的國民黨政府以及北方的滿洲國政治糾葛，並稱溥儀在滿洲國即位之事可說「在中國與外國關係中，沒有比此事更有趣值得記錄的了」（“Notes d’un Chinois,” 1934）。一天之內，三則與中國有關的報導都與東北有關，且都由該報特派員完成，可見當時報刊編輯對於中日關係的密切關注。

翻開 1934 年 2 月 11 日的新聞，則可以見到當天與魏金枝的小說一起現身報端的中國消息，則是與東北現況有關的新聞——山海關的戰鬥；此外，還有大篇幅關於班禪喇嘛在南京接受了法文記者訪問的報導。班禪喇嘛在此報導中，除了反覆強調西藏是中國的一部分，也表示將聽令於南京政府，並拒絕英國干涉中國主權。如眾所知，前一年末，西藏的精神領袖達賴喇嘛圓寂，國民黨政府於 1934 年派遣了代表團到西藏致祭，並與英國政府產生衝突。法文報對於此項變化頗關注，並派出法國記者即時採訪班禪喇嘛，關心西藏主權，可見該報對於中國地緣政治消息的敏感。

該報對於「今日」之中國的關注，多與國際情勢有關，除此之外，也因為該報多國籍跨文化編輯、譯寫者對文藝的濃厚興趣，陸續刊登與中國現代美術、展覽會、音樂會、戲劇演出有關的報導，如：傅雷、劉海粟的介紹。有時，於該報後幾版或週日增刊上可見到一系列旅行報導，如：「雪中蘇州」

(*Soutcheou sous la neige*) 等風景照。實際上，鄰近上海的蘇州、杭州等地的美好景色，時常登上該報版面，穿插在眾多中國新聞報導中頗為吸睛。而該報編輯對蘇州、杭州一帶美景情有獨鍾，擇優刊登，或許乃為提供旅遊情報，以方便旅居上海的外國人士閒暇一遊。總之，遍地戰火的中國東北、西南邊界新聞，與上海多語文化空間的文藝動態，及江南風光、古鎮情調的圖景在《法文上海日報》並陳，一同勾勒出該報編譯者眼中多元、極具生命力的「今日中國」面貌。於此同時，該報亦刊登相當即時的中國消息，與其目標讀者之生活密切相關，以提供在地法文閱讀人口所關心的議題資訊。可見不論政治情勢或者近郊風光，其關注「今日」中國的眼光還是以自身需求為導向的。

另一值得注意之處，則是該報不時刊登中國古典文學作品，如：初創時期由曾仲鳴所譯的漢詩。1935年，該報則刊登了由莫里斯·羅伊（*Maurice Roy*）翻譯的蒲松齡《聊齋誌異》，標題為「蒲松齡的中文短篇故事」（“*Conte chinois par P’ou soung-ling*”），包括了〈鳳陽士人〉、〈嶗山道士〉等與夢、法術有關的故事（*Pu, 1680/1935*）。事實上，《聊齋誌異》中的若干故事在19世紀末便已有法文譯本，包括了陳季同於1889年出版的《中國故事》（*Conte chinois*）。然而，當時的《聊齋誌異》法譯都不是完整的翻譯，且多有節譯、改寫的傾向（李金佳，2007，頁100）；而意欲以中國文學作品向法文讀者傳遞「美好」中國形象的外交官陳季同，甚至刪除其中一夫多妻的段落（李金佳，2007，頁117）。不過，《法文上海日報》上刊載的《聊齋誌異》翻譯相當詳實，並無任何刪改，展現出和早期《聊齋誌異》在法國的譯寫相當不同的面貌。

與當時的中國國際情勢、戰爭消息，以及江南風景畫、古老的中國故事一同登上《法文上海日報》的徐仲年中國現代文學翻譯，雖一方面承繼了上述法國文化界或讀者對中國文學的興趣，然其屬性顯然是較為偏向前者的，即文學作品亦可看成是需要被理解的、以文學形式呈現的「今日中國」之一角。不同於此刊上的另一種中國形象——鄉野的、古遠的，能激發城市人或

城市裡自詡為世界人的現代讀者思古之幽情或懷鄉情緒的，或者風雲變幻、動盪不安的年輕共和國，徐仲年的「今日之中國文學」有如通往「今日中國」的另一窗口。不論是柔石的〈為奴隸的母親〉、丁玲的〈水〉、廬隱的〈何處是歸程〉，徐仲年選譯的作品貼近現實中國情景者不少。

另一方面，徐仲年譯介較多的，還有曾留學國外的作家以異域為背景的作品，如：郭沫若的〈殘春〉、王獨清的〈三年以後〉、孫福熙的《春城》。擁有異域經驗的中國現代文人如何想像異國？如何回憶遠方？這對當時《法文上海日報》的法文讀者來說，想必也饒有趣味。此外，這些作品中的主角臉譜，更勾勒出了一個個世界的、開放的、現代的、能與歐美知識精英交流對話的中國文學人形象，這是新一代的中國青年的代表，具有留學背景、國際經驗，在與世界的密切交流中成長，是中法之間密切的文學、文化交流成功培育出的文化生力軍，而由這些學貫中西的年輕作家、學者為該報讀者展現何為現代中國，因此意義尤為非凡。

徐仲年的中國現代文學譯介，與時空距離或心理距離上都較古遠的「往日之中國」——古色古香的江南風情、明清故事——共同在《法文上海日報》上出現，展現出了域外讀者之中國想像常見的雙重面貌——異國情調的追尋和實際現況的關照共冶一爐；觀看他者，與觀望他者如何呈現自身的視線交織成影。這讓我們不禁要問，這番中國現代文學再現，呈現的是誰的中國想像？徐仲年文學翻譯、導讀中的「中國」，包含了什麼內容？下文中將進一步闡釋之。

二、「今日之中國文學」中國族文化的形塑與想像

卡薩諾瓦（Pascale Casanova）在《世界文學共和國》（*La République mondiale des Lettres*）中引申了拉爾波（Valéry Larbaud）的概念，提出了「文學共和國」的想法，稱全世界的文人都是這個共和國的成員，他們儘管國籍不同，但卻是整體的、不可分的（Casanova, 2008, p. 44）。作家、文人與不同語言的翻譯者，都可以稱為世界主義者，透過文學，跨越了國族、語言藩

籬，創建了由經典作品建構的世界文學殿堂（Casanova, 2008, p. 30）。然而，漢斯·弗美爾（Hans J. Vermeer）則指出，翻譯是一種行動，而行動通常有目的，因此探索譯者的翻譯策略與實績時，很難忽略目標讀者及委託人的目的，及目標讀者身處的文化、社會背景與歷史脈絡等對翻譯的影響（Vermeer & Reiss, 1984/2014, p. 17）。而從此角度探問徐仲年在《法文上海日報》上的中國現代文學翻譯，我們難免要思索，其翻譯又如何受到外部環境或贊助者的影響？說得更為明白，則如同識者所不免質疑的，作為一份在法國人僑居地創辦，由法國商會支持、文化協會參與的半官方報刊，《法文上海日報》上的文學翻譯雖應與政經情勢無涉，但仍肩負著讓法文讀者認識「今日中國」、進行文化交流合作的任務。因此，徐仲年的譯介是否可視為服務帝國在華事業的知識生產的行動？為何其翻譯選擇中並無以帝國主義在中國為故事主題的文本？這是否代表著，徐仲年的翻譯實踐僅服務著以法國為中心的法語讀者心目中之世界文學圖景建構？或彰顯了以法國（西歐）為中心的世界文學觀對相對弱小、邊緣的語言文學的壓制？我們怎麼分析這場文學實踐的意義？

若要闡發此一議題，則不能避免地必須先回應以下兩個觀點。首先，卡薩諾瓦曾指出，「文學世界共和國」中存在著一條被重複定義著的「文學格林威治子午線」（Casanova, 2008, p. 135），各地作家作品都力求透過翻譯航向這條子午線，以期獲得「祝聖」（*consacré*），得到認可，成為經典（Casanova, 2008, p. 151）。當人們考慮著獲得「祝聖」的可能性而翻譯時，文學作品的翻譯不可避免地要考慮到接受讀者的喜好和期待，因此譯者難免重新詮釋，甚至產生了與原作的偏離。依此觀點來審視中國現代文學在法國的翻譯，則首先必須了解，當時的法文讀者所理解的中國文學，仍多為古典通俗戲曲、小說文本、遊記，或者帶有東方情調的作品，他們或許期待在現代文學翻譯作品中得到一樣的閱讀體驗；亦即，讀到一些有既熟悉的「文學性」的展示，同時又帶有一些「異質性」品味，得以讓讀者獲得知識上、審美經驗上的滿足的翻譯。因此，我們或許可以想像，域外文學的譯者在進行

翻譯時，既需要考量法語讀者熟悉的文學品味和表達，也需要尋找一種合適的異質化風格，使得翻譯作品更能受到讀者的青睞。這翻譯上的兩難，即卡薩諾瓦說的「雙面性」（Casanova, 2008, p. 226），也如同學者所指出的，譯者在翻譯過程中若傾向於譯文文本的文化，則容易享有更高的接受度；反之，若貼近的是原本，則會有更高的充實度。譯者時常需就兩種考量作出抉擇（Toury, 1995, pp. 166-180），比方說，徐仲年的中國文學翻譯，便因為其詳細的註解、力求和法文讀者溝通而備受好評，然評論者也不免仍希望徐仲年的翻譯能更貼近原作的精神（趙怡，2021，頁 103），其所面對的也是類似的兩難。

再者，識者多會指出，世界文學空間也是一個商業機制存在的市場。在此框架下，對所謂「世界文學」經典作品的「經典」性的追求，因實際的市場因素，難免帶有鮮明的歐洲中心主義色彩。此意謂的是，唯有以此語言翻譯，符合經典品味之文本，在文學市場中方最有價值。一文學作品獲得「祝聖」之過程，既難與此運作原則分割，也因此，當世界各地相對弱小、邊緣之國度的文學作品，被翻譯成市場價值較高的語言在世界文學首都出版時，不免會被人看成是全球化經濟中的一種「剝削」現象。因此，儘管歌德（Johann Wolfgang von Goethe）談論「世界文學」，乃寄望通過閱讀不同國度的文學作品，一國一地讀者能認識別國文化的長處，獲得心靈和審美的裨益，實現人性社會（方維規，2020，頁 33）。然，若因此果真期待異地文學的流動和閱讀，能衝撞文學共和國首都以歐美為中心軸的「世界文學」想像與西歐中心世界觀，而忽略其中存在的不平等關係，卻又似乎有些不切實際。

然若從以上兩種角度省思徐仲年在《法文上海日報》的中國現代文學翻譯，則可以發現，徐仲年的翻譯固然重視法文讀者的喜好，在其譯介中，也難免為關照法文讀者而苦心經營，比方說在介紹魯迅〈肥皂〉一文時，特別說明中國婚姻風俗，譯介時增添不少譯者註。然從徐仲年談翻譯的文字中，仍可見到他同時也力求傳達文學作品意義和風格的翻譯觀（郭彥娜，2020，頁 137），力求呈現小說原貌，其翻譯仍可說有其自主性的。因此，儘管徐

仲年在此報的翻譯實踐涉及所謂上海「半殖民主義」的都會環境（Shih, 2001, p. 31），然，與其將其文學實踐視為被剝削的象徵，不如視之為現代中國文人在勢力不平衡的國際政治場域，力求回應、建構本地文化主體，在與包含法國等域外國度進行密切文化交流的同時，積極輸出本國文學情報、擴大影響力的眾多嘗試之一，更能反映全貌。

此外，正如同卡薩諾瓦所言，世界文學空間雖是一沒有國界，單以文學性為基礎，彼此溝通、交流之所在，然世界文學空間之建構與民族國家、語言認同間的關係，實際上難以斬斷，如同個人國族認同的形塑，時常是在與不同國度的對立、比較中建立的（Casanova, 2008, pp. 63-64）。也就是說，當世界各地的作家在將自己的文學作品以強勢文化的語言譯成，以期得到祝聖，介入世界文學空間之時，實也在此一過程中，形塑了世界其他國度讀者對自身文化身分的想像（Venuti, 1998），也更加鞏固了「何為我族」的自我認知，及對國族語言、文學的認同。

徐仲年在《古今中國文學選集》編譯的導論中說，他十分期待見到，也樂於分享，新一代中國文學文藝家、知識人承繼前人的基礎，以新的思想、語文工具開創新局，帶來中國文明的更新和進化（Hsu, 1933, p. 90）。而考察徐仲年「今日之中國文學」欄中譯介的作品，則可看出其尤重選取具代表性的文學流派作者及其作品。人所共知，五四以來的現代中國文壇，乃一文人社團雲集，彼此交鋒、較勁，活潑而百家爭鳴的平臺；1920—1930年代的上海報刊市場與文學圈子，更是多音齊鳴、彼此較勁角力的場域（Hockx, 2003）。徐仲年專欄中所選譯的，多為其中具能見度和備受矚目者，傾向翻譯所謂本土文學系統中重要的文學流派、作家和作品，包括了新文學運動、白話詩、左聯、創造社、民族文藝運動等文人社群，強調其作品之開創性、革新意義等「現代」文學價值，及其對社會現況的反映，與政治變化之聯繫，展現出回首過去新文學實績的史家眼光。徐仲年「今日之中國文學」專欄，呈現出的是一片不斷「鼎新」、「前進」，與時俱進的中國現代文學圖景，他透過作品所展現給域外人士觀看的「中國」，乃一旗鼓重整、煥然一新的

年輕共和國。可見無論在哪一個時期，也不論是在法國境內出版，或在中國法語報刊對能讀法語的雙語讀者介紹中國現代文學，徐仲年的文學喜好和翻譯目的都很一致。

另外，1920年代末到1930年代初，時值中國現代文壇回顧新文學運動過去十年創作實績，並陸續推出新文學大系等叢書之際（陳平原，2015）。一個以推崇五四新文學價值、以現實關懷為主流的詮釋社群（Fish, 1980），也正默默成形。徐仲年的《法文上海日報》上的現代文學譯介，站在為法語讀者——不論是海外或者中國境內——介紹「今日之中國」的角度，以呈現中國現代文人的思想、文學特性、寫作風格，提供法語讀者通覽現代文學經典之契機，也透過選取、評述何為經典、何謂佳作，想像何為中國現代文學，因而其譯介在對外發揮影響外，更在某種層面上鞏固、參與、回應了當時本地社群文學典律的建設，也回應了劉禾（Lydia H. Liu）所謂民族文化的建構（Liu, 1995）。

此外，徐仲年的現代中國文學譯介還隱約呈現出譯者本身的翻譯目的——期待中國現代文學與日俱新、步向世界文壇——對譯者翻譯對象之選擇和詮釋的影響。然，當中國現代文學透過翻譯，從「邊緣」東亞航向文學共和國首都，展現嶄新面貌時，作家、譯者又怎麼面對自身的「邊緣」？當他們籠罩在所謂感時憂國的迷戀中，復興國族的呼喚聲若洪鐘，可能使他們對其他叫喊置若罔聞？而往後世界對中國現代文學的認識和接受與此有關聯？這也是下文中將進一步闡釋的。

三、徐仲年現代文學譯介的嶄新圖景

事實上，中國現代文學的建構與當時文人的世界文學想像息息相關，早已為現今學者關注。然回溯「世界文學」的概念則可以發現，早於20世紀初，中國文人已談論「世界文學」（張珂，2016；劉洪濤，2010）。黃人（1911）撰寫《中國文學史》，以為中國歷來無「世界之觀念，大同之思想」（頁3）為宗旨，故多錮見，未能見全局，故稱其書以立足於中國文學、放眼世界為

成書架構。陳獨秀（1915）在《新青年》第1卷第1期的〈敬告青年〉一文中指出，世上多國林立，與中國並存，呼籲青年們如今要做「世界的而非鎖國的」青年（頁4）。1920年代，文學研究會意圖將《小說月報》打造成現代文學重鎮，革新後的第1期宣言中，編輯茅盾（1921）即提到該刊宗旨：「將於譯述西洋名家小說而外，兼介紹世界文學界潮流之趨向」（頁1）。鄭振鐸編寫的《文學大綱》，則被視為首次將中國文學納入「世界文學」的視域；他在〈世界文庫發刊緣起〉中寫道：「我們的工作，便是有計劃的介紹和整理，將以最便利的方法，呈獻世界的文學名著於讀者之前。我們將從埃及、希伯萊、印度和中國的古代名著開始」（鄭振鐸，1935，頁3）。「世界文學觀」在民初中國日益普及，報刊編輯大力譯介獲得諾貝爾文學獎的文學家，各大報刊編輯也對世界文學潮流持續關注；亦有作家從「世界文學」的角度進行「民族」文藝作品的創作、譯介，期待讓中國文學作品躋身世界文壇。徐仲年現代文學法譯的前輩宋春舫（1917 / 2015）也曾如此說道：「至於中國文學，我們或許可以這麼說，自從它開始與西方國家接觸以來，已經完全喪失其獨特性，幾乎不能與過去輝煌的歷史相提並論」（頁121—122）。他萬般期待中國文學日新又新，使其能「在莊嚴燦爛之世界文學上分一席地」（宋春舫，1919，頁101）。這期待中國現代文學「革故鼎新」、隨後「放眼世界」的想像，是當時不少中國文人譯者共有的精神心態。不能否認，不少民初中國現代文人積極擁抱世界文學，為的是追趕異國思潮，強大國族文化，他們的「世界文學」想像中，國族情懷未嘗一日稍離，而首先所關注的仍是多譯外國書。

而在此之外，其時亦有不少文人早已開始關注如何向世界輸出中國文學的議題。徐仲年的中國文學法譯前輩陳季同所提出的「世界文學」說，恐怕是最為重要者之一。曾外派法國擔任外交官的陳季同，亦熱心譯介中國文學、文化，然其念茲在茲的，還是要重寫中國人的形象，他尤其強調「翻譯」的重要。陳季同曾對曾樸言道：

我們現在要勉力的，第一不要局於一國的文學，囂然自足……先要去

隔膜，免誤會。要去隔膜，非提倡大規模的翻譯不可，不但他們的名作要多譯進來，我們的重要作品，也須全譯出去。（曾樸，1928，頁11）

陳季同也身體力行，譯寫不少中國文學作品，包含了《詩經》、唐詩，以及前文提及的《聊齋誌異》。陳季同的翻譯雖力求忠實，但記述中國人的風俗習慣時，他仍自陳著重以歐洲人的精神風度來寫，意在破除一般西方讀者對中國國勢衰弱、風俗虛偽狡詐的誤解（Tcheng, 1884, p. 7）。故石靜遠評論陳季同與世界文學時提及陳季同的文學翻譯計畫，及其中國傳統故事之法語書寫和強國理想間的共謀關係，並提醒我們此一理想所帶來的限制（Tsu, 2011, Chapter 5）。

的確，如同夏志清教授所言，「情迷中國」（*obsession with China*）的願望可以說是晚清民初不少中國文人接受域外思潮或闡釋中國文學時共同的精神底色（Hsia, 1961, Appendix 1）。現代中國文學場域中的「民族文學」和「世界文學」想像，時常是一對成雙的概念，即有志者通常意欲發展前者、加入後者。陳季同之後，屢屢有中國譯者步武前賢，持續向世界文壇譯介中國文學，如：徐仲年。如同學者所說，1920—1930年代持續法譯中國文學的青年作家，多把「自己看成是『世界公民』，以介紹中外文化為己任，而其『世界公民』的身分想像，來自羅蘭（羅曼·羅蘭）」（錢林森，1990，頁205）。然而，我們也不能否認，或許此一世界人的身分認同，也可說是承繼了上述現代文壇及外譯前輩陳季同、宋春舫的「世界文學」眼光。

在此「世界人」的視野與「在莊嚴燦爛之世界文學上分一席之地」的懷抱下，期待新文學家「帶來中國文明的更新和進化」的徐仲年向法語讀者譯介中國現代文學時，力圖展現中國現代文學返本開新的詮釋圖景，並要破除西方讀者對中國約定俗成的成見。因此，當徐仲年在譯者前言中導讀〈為奴隸的母親〉時，他特別提到一般西方人對中國農村情況的無知，徐仲年說：「我經常嘲笑那些來過租界就認為自己懂中國、隨意批評的人」（Rou, 1930/1934, A6）。暗示法國讀者不要以偏概全，或肆意對中國進行片面的、武斷的評價。

談到王平陵描寫農民鬻子為生的小說時，徐仲年認為，現今中國社會的貧窮是因「民生」問題尚需時間解決，且政府為了達到國富民強的目標，已推出文學審查和出版管理條約，維持社會安定，以推動真正有益的文學（Wang, 1933/1934, A7）。介紹盧隱的〈何處是歸程〉時，徐仲年則稱作家為「布爾喬亞女性」（Une bourgeoise），認為她在小說中所刻畫的女性的煩惱，只是女主人公小圈子（milieu）中的一地雞毛，彰顯的是作家對社會體制、階層問題的缺乏覺察，提醒讀者將個別女性的生命困境擴大到對整個社會進行觀照（Lu, 1927/1934, A7）。在他的導讀中，中國鄉村民眾的苦難色彩被淡化了，新女性面臨的困境也弱化了。某種程度上，徐仲年在導言中引導讀者領會的「中國」，永珍更新、開來繼往，已不是老舊氣象；也因為中國的一切都將日新又新，農村中的苦難終將好轉，而不論男性、女性國民，都正為國族、社會覺醒、奮鬥。

也就是說，在徐仲年的中國現代文學譯介與詮釋中，中國現代文學似乎總是與政治、社會的變革緊緊連繫，反映的是中國文明從傳統到現代的進化，且不斷突飛猛進，最終要後來居上；中國現代文學進入世界文壇後，亦不斷吐故納新，占據世界中心的文學空間，象徵的也還是中國終將占據世界舞臺的聚光燈中央。故此，徐仲年的翻譯視域（Berman, 1995/2009）終究使得中國現代文學中光明進步外的其他逸聲雜音，止步於其譯介視角之外，未出現於其翻譯選擇之中。其中國現代文學譯寫，可以說呼應著自陳季同以降中國現代文人對外譯寫中國現代文學時，意欲「在世界文學上分一席地」的主旋律；更暗示著我們，中國現代文學外譯和其再興國族文化的想像間，存在著難以言明的張力，那時此刻，須臾不曾稍離。

另外，更值得關注的還有法國素有淵源流長的漢學研究傳統，指導徐仲年完成博士學位論文的里昂中法大學教授古恆（Maurice Courant）是漢學家，也負責制定該校教學計畫，他便曾指出，希望中國學生運用在法國受到的辯證訓練，進行中國文學、文化的研究，帶給法國新的知識（楊振，2013）。事實上，域外記者、譯者、讀者、學者對中國現當代文學充滿好奇心的原因，

通常皆為了藉由「文學」辨析老大中國跨入現代、接觸西方的文化進程，及其中所折射出的精神心態、社會百態、政治想像。這份對「今日」中國的好奇，是其接受、理解中國現代文學時的重要脈絡，比方說聖母聖心會會士文寶峰（Henri Van Boven）在他首開風氣評介中國現代文學的專著《新文學運動史》中說道：

他們的（文學）活動幾乎都與政治活動混雜在一起，30年來政治也已經發生了令人意外的大轉變。正是這種文學和公眾生活之間的協調一致的關係，引起了我們在宗教、道德、教義維護和社會角度上的關注。
（文寶峰，1946／2021，頁10）

便是一個好例子。可以看出，徐仲年在《法文上海日報》上的翻譯導讀對中國現代文學現實主義、人道精神等特色的關注、強調，其從政治、社會變革意涵對現代文學作品進行的解讀，及其不斷從「世界文學」框架下思索中國現代文學中的世界與中國之關係的視角，與歐洲文化界的氛圍、漢學界之中國現代文學研究視角亦有密切關係，饒富學術意義，值得在此一提，相關研究，待筆者未來展開。

伍、小結

中國現代文學在西方的譯介，與上個世紀之交於中國興起的西人出版之外文報刊密切相連，且並非只可見於人們如今較為熟悉的幾個大型英文報刊。事實上，法文報紙上也刊登了不少中國現代文學作品，對中國現代文學登上世界舞臺產生影響。留法學者徐仲年在當時中國最重要的外語報刊之一《法文上海日報》上翻譯、評述中國現代文學作家作品，便是一個很好的例子。

徐仲年在《法文上海日報》上翻譯的現代文學作品種類包括了詩歌、小說，他更在作品前同步刊登對作者的介紹以及心得評論，或補充作品誕生的脈絡，或說明作家的生平情況，致力於給法文讀者勾勒一幅不斷在進步、變化中「今日之中國」景觀及新文學地圖。其翻譯和當時該報刊其他「今日中

國」之政經新聞、藝文消息報導並陳，共同勾勒出一幅當代中國的風情畫，而這片中國景觀又在報端與其餘世界各國文學、文化、情報等共存，共同見證了上海 1930 年代多語、多元的文化空間樣貌，以及法國文化界於一戰後致力於歐亞文化交流的世界文學視野。

而睽諸徐仲年之翻譯，可說相當流暢確實，雖難免有精簡之處，仍力求忠實呈現作者原意，也不吝添加註解，尤其加上篇幅不短的譯者導言，引領讀者領略作者深意，用心深切，為法國讀者接受中國現代文學奠下基礎。而其現代文學翻譯既為海外讀者勾勒出現代中國的文化圖景，更同時呼應了本地社群文學典律的建構，其譯介也象徵著歐洲漢學界中國現代文學研究序幕即將展開。

而透過對徐仲年翻譯實踐的考察，吾人還得以窺見中國現代文學作品外譯在 20 世紀初期邁向世界時的蹣跚腳步與矛盾心態——譯者的翻譯目的如何與其選擇、詮釋作品的眼光共生。徐仲年的現代文學翻譯實踐中相當一致的譯介、詮釋特色——即呈現日新又新的現代中國身影，也因此尤具有學術意義。如同洪子誠（2022）指出，所謂中國經驗的「世界化」，無非「是攜帶不同文化成分，具有不同文化觀念和想像的作家、理論家，特別是文學『主政者』在當代博弈、衝突的過程」（頁 11）。從國族文學翻譯、世界文學與國內／國際政治情勢與文化交流需求間的合謀此一視角，挖掘並思考一國文學透過翻譯航向世界文壇時所凸顯或遮蔽的為何，恐怕更是吾人探索中國現代文學作品早期外譯之意涵時不能忽略的。然而，如同莫瑞提（Franco Moretti）曾言，「世界文學」乃一不斷籲請新的批評方法的「問題」（Moretti, 2000, p. 55），唯有透過對世界文學問題的不斷討論，持續關心其博弈、衝突的過程，方能改變現有的世界文學格局。由此看來，面對全球文化流動益發快速、迅捷，人人想要說好中國故事的今日，對民初以來中國現代文學外譯歷程進行分析，以回應、補述以上提問，並提供新的思考，無疑此其時也。

因篇幅所限，在此篇論文中，筆者首先關心了徐仲年於《法文上海日報》的中國現代文學譯介，然除此之外，如同卡薩諾瓦所言，世界文學空間有一

條自己的時間線，標示著現代，其他想進入此空間的作者，有時會依靠接近這條時間線，以此回顧民族文學傳統，釀成新的文學革新（Casanova, 2008, p. 146）。同一時期，徐仲年也積極向中國讀者翻譯法國文學，意在借鑑之，以「現代」中國文學，⁹ 依此來看，當時積極活躍於上海多語文化空間，致力於中西文化交流的徐仲年，其文學翻譯活動既向外又向內，充滿辯證空間。其他此時期法文報刊上的中國現代文學譯介，及徐仲年翻譯活動更全面的相關研究等，待筆者今後陸續開展。

⁹ 徐仲年曾編寫過《法國文學ABC》（1933年出版）、《法國文學的主要思潮》（1946年出版）等書籍，分別由世界書店、商務印書館出版。

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附錄

表一之一

《法文上海日報》徐仲年翻譯現代文學作品表

作者	中文篇名	法譯篇名	刊登日期
魯迅	〈肥皂〉	Le savon	1934年1月21日
魏金枝	〈父子〉	Père et fils	1934年2月11日
郭沫若	〈殘春〉	Le déclin du printemps	1934年3月11日
陳煒謨	〈狼筴將軍〉	Le général au lang-sien	1934年3月25日
丁玲	〈水〉	Inondation	1934年4月1日
王獨清	〈三年以後〉	Trois ans après	1934年4月15日
徐仲年	〈浮萍〉	Le Roseau flottant	1934年4月29日
劉獅	〈痛苦之源〉	La source de malheur	1934年5月13日
劉大白	〈勸您一杯酒〉、 〈兩個老鼠擡了一個夢〉、 〈舊夢〉、〈秋之夢〉	Je vous conseille de vider cette coupe, Deux rats transportent un rêve, Rêve d'antan, Emotion divers dans l'automne naissant	1934年5月20日
廬隱	〈何處是歸程〉	Où donc finirai-je mes jours?	1934年6月3日
柔石	〈為奴隸的母親〉	Esclavage d'une mère	1934年7月8日
孫福熙	〈春城〉	La cité printanière	1934年9月30日
王平陵	〈父與子〉	La vente d'un fils	1934年12月30日

《毛澤東語錄》的民間日語翻譯及其意識形態

曹嗣衡

二十世紀 60 年代中國發生文化大革命後，積極對外宣揚毛澤東思想，輸出革命，其中一個手段是翻譯《毛澤東語錄》（《毛語錄》）傳播到全世界。日譯版是《毛語錄》最多的外語版本，大多為民間翻譯。不論是歷史學、翻譯學，至今對《毛語錄》的研究相當匱乏，而學界過往對翻譯與意識形態的研究集中在文學與宗教文本，對政治文本及其日語翻譯涉獵較少。對此，本文透過比較《毛語錄》民間日語譯版的譯文、註釋，考察政治文本的翻譯與譯者意識形態的關係，探索不同的意識形態有無或如何介入翻譯之中。

關鍵詞：《毛澤東語錄》、意識形態、毛澤東、竹內實、中嶋嶺雄

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The Non-Official Japanese Translations of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Zedong* and Their Ideologies

Chi-Hang Cho

Since the Cultural Revolution in China in the 1960s, China had been actively promoting Mao Zedong's thought abroad and exporting the revolution, and one of the means of doing so had been to translate the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Zedong* (or *Mao's Quotation*) and disseminate them to the world. Japanese language is the most widely used foreign language version of *Mao's Quotation*, and most of them have been translated by non-official Japanese. There is a dearth of research on the *Mao's Quotation* in history and translation. Studies on translation and ideology have focused on literary and religious texts, but not on political texts and their Japanese translations. This paper examines the relationship between translations of political texts and the ideologies of the translators by comparing the translations and notes of the non-official Japanese translations of the *Mao's Quotation*, and exploring whether or how different ideologies intervene in the translations.

Keywords: *Mao's Quotation*, ideology, Mao Zedong, Takeuchi Minoru, Nakajima Mineo

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壹、前言

二十世紀 60 年代後半，中國文化大革命爆發，全球左翼運動風氣處於高潮，毛澤東思想猛烈輸出海外，其中一種實體輸出毛澤東思想與革命的方式，就是傳播《毛澤東語錄》（下稱《毛語錄》），日本是其中一個目標地點。據統計，日譯版《毛語錄》是最多的外語版本（唐炎明、唐亞明，2019，頁 45—51）。部分譯本的出版資料如表 1：

表 1

日譯版《毛語錄》資料

譯本代號	譯者	原書名	出版單位及年份
A	外文出版社	《毛主席語錄》	外文出版社，1966 年
B	毛澤東語錄研究会	《毛澤東語錄》	宮川書房，1966 年
C	中島嶺雄監修，市村水城譯	《全訳毛澤東語錄》	いずみ書房，1966 年
D	和田武司、市川宏	《毛澤東語錄》	河出書房新社，1966 年
E	竹內實	《毛澤東語錄》	角川書店，1971 年
F	中嶋嶺雄	《毛澤東語錄》	講談社，1973 年
G	竹內實	《毛澤東語錄》	平凡社，1995 年

由於《毛語錄》日譯版之多，如果要為譯者的性質作分類，可有幾種取向。第一，官方與民間：只有譯本 A 屬於官方翻譯，B 至 G 都是日本民間翻譯；第二，團體與個人：譯本 A、B 屬於團體翻譯，亦即真正是誰翻譯不得而知，C 至 G 都是具姓名的譯本，中嶋嶺雄、¹ 竹內實各與兩種譯本相關；第三，政治取向：這取向的分類較複雜，假如折衷地分為左派與右派，則 A、B、

¹ 中嶋嶺雄的名字唯 1966 年的譯本採用「中島嶺雄」。本文行文將用「嶋」，惟在引用該年譯本時才用「島」。

E、G 屬左派，F 屬右派，C 與 D 難以判斷。² 然而這分類並不圓滿，若只考慮民間譯者，有中嶋嶺雄這樣立場鮮明地否定毛澤東的右翼學者；有隸屬社會主義研究所的毛澤東語錄研究會，其委員多是高調支持毛澤東和文革的社會黨成員；竹內實雖然對毛澤東評價相當高，但他否定文革。民間日譯《毛語錄》版本眾多，完全不能簡化為配合中國對外輸出毛澤東思想的目的，尤其眾譯者的政治取向差異頗大，可以預期眾譯本或多或少會反映不同的意識形態。

自 20 世紀 90 年代，不僅是學術界，翻譯者本身也逐漸注意到意識形態在語言與翻譯中有不可忽視的重要性，兩者的關係及相關課題開始被討論（Gilbert, 2018, pp. 229-230）。Hatim 與 Mason（1997）是探討意識形態介入翻譯的先驅，指出「翻譯者在社會語境中活動，且是該語境的一部分。正是在這意義上，翻譯本身就是一種意識形態活動」（p. 121），翻譯者的意識形態在翻譯過程中有不同程度的介入。介入翻譯活動的意識形態，有可能是來自翻譯者有意識的「意識形態」，也可能是來自翻譯環境（Munday et al., 2022, p. 181），亦即意識形態對翻譯的影響有主動或被動兩面向。正如 Tymoczko（2014）所言，翻譯的意識形態不僅在文本本身，也存在於譯者的立場、接受翻譯者之中，即使翻譯同樣的文本，意識形態的影響程度也不同（p. 183）。本文討論的日譯版《毛語錄》，正是相同文本、不同譯者的意識形態與翻譯關係個案探討。

歷來對翻譯與意識形態的研究集中在文學與宗教文本，因此 Cunico 與 Munday（2007）特別以「翻譯與意識形態」為題，於翻譯研究期刊 *The Translator* 展示了翻譯在不同語言、語境及文本下，翻譯者如何處理社會與語言權力之間的角力（pp. 141-149）。本文主要關心的是相較於文學、宗教文

² 關於 C 的譯者市村水城的資料相當少，只知他與中嶋同是東京外國語大學中國科同學，往後成為記者。中嶋在何等程度干涉翻譯，並不清楚。中嶋嶺雄（1973b）言譯本 C 與自己「有關」（頁 4），沒有說參與翻譯，因此姑且視此譯本為市村水城獨立翻譯。譯本 D 的譯者和田武司、市川宏同為中國研究學者，以研究古典文學為主，前者曾在日語雜誌《人民中國》工作並任教於拓殖大學，後者任教於法政大學。兩人不活躍於論壇或政壇，其譯本中無表達肯定或否定毛澤東思想的文字，因此無法以政治取向為此譯本分類。

本，那些本來就帶有強烈意識形態的政治文本，如何被意識形態再製造？Munday (2007) 研究拉丁美洲革命領袖、前古巴共產黨中央委員會第一書記卡斯楚·魯斯 (Castro Ruz) 及前委內瑞拉總統烏戈·查維茲 (Hugo Chávez) 等人的演說、小冊子、訪問等政治文本的英譯版，有趣地指出一些文本即使被「潛在的敵對媒體」翻譯，「實際上或許更忠於那些源文本結構和信息，因此不可能根據目標文本的發布渠道來預測翻譯策略」(pp. 213-214)。這表示縱然翻譯者與文本內容或文本作者持對立的意識形態，亦不代表翻譯者會有意無意地改變文本意思，以遷就或迎合自己的意識形態。反過來說，翻譯者即使完全擁護文本內容、支持作者，分享相似意識形態，亦不代表其翻譯特別準確。因此這樣草率的結論顯然不被認同，即：因為翻譯者無可避免地持有其意識形態，所以譯文總是反映翻譯者的意識形態。

歷來關於毛澤東思想海外傳播的研究豐碩，但《毛語錄》的研究卻寥寥可數。Cook (2014) 所編的 *Mao's Little Red Book: A Global History* 是其一，論文集以《毛語錄》為線索，探討了《毛語錄》如何做為毛澤東思想的象徵物，在世界各國產生影響力；程映虹 (2008) 《毛主義革命：二十世紀的中國與世界》以一章簡略地提及《毛語錄》的世界傳播，但只是對前書的概括，沒有新猷。兩者以歷史角度考察《毛語錄》在世界各地的影響、接受情況，並未走進書的內容進行研究。唐炎明與唐亞明 (2019) 考察了《毛語錄》的成書背景與經過，並詳細地羅列了不同語言版本的《毛語錄》資料，但仍屬歷史論述。以歷史視角研究《毛語錄》的著述已不多，遑論翻譯研究。

就筆者所見，既是先驅亦是唯一一篇比較《毛語錄》日譯版的文章，是山中竜視 (1967) 〈『毛主席語錄』の各訳本について〉。該短文以文法、詞彙為切入點，簡略考察了 1966 年出版的四種《毛語錄》日譯版 (即表 1 譯本 A 至 D) 的翻譯問題，批評了四種翻譯皆有不足，歸因於譯者翻譯技巧不足、缺乏中國知識、不了解中國語結構等。該文提到各譯本在文法與詞句等語文問題，但發表於「書評」欄目，篇幅短，並非以翻譯研究角度撰寫學術論文，未有觸及各譯本的意識形態問題。該文見證了《毛語錄》日譯版出版

初期的盛況，礙於其出版時間，使之未有機會觸及往後出版的譯本。本文當然亦無法同時觸及所有譯本，但比起集中研究同一年出版的譯本，本文研究的版本遍及 20 世紀 60、70、90 年代，希望擴闊《毛語錄》日譯版在時間軸上更高細膩度的研究。

在以上的研究基礎，本文將透過同樣具有強烈意識形態的《毛語錄》日譯版，探究兩個問題：第一，持不同意識形態的譯者，對同一政治文本的翻譯有何不同？第二，如果這些譯者或團體對文本與作者具有強烈情感，不論是支持還是反對，會否或如何在翻譯文本中或明示或暗示地表達和透露？譯者與文本作者的意識形態是否相似，未必與譯文的準確度掛勾。同樣地，本文亦極力避免另一個思想陷阱，即：當持認同或反對文本作者立場的譯文出現與原文不符的地方，或出現與其他譯本明顯不同的譯文時，便簡單地歸結之為譯者有意無意地美化或醜化、擁護或批判文本及作者。固然，利用同一文本並比較各種翻譯異同的好處是，如果出現上述情況，可以說該譯本的「意圖」或「嫌疑」更大。另外，不僅是譯文本身，註釋、解說文章等都在此處所指「文本」的範圍之內。因為這些文字提供了解答上述提及第二個問題的啟示，翻譯者不一定在譯文內透露自己的意識形態，可以在「譯本」以內，「譯文」以外的地方透露。

基於上述問題意識，本文將從不同政治立場的譯者對同一文本《毛語錄》的不同翻譯，以及這些譯本的譯文、註釋、解說文章，探討譯者翻譯與意識形態問題。本文所分析的《毛語錄》是兼屬民間和政治取向清晰的譯本，即以譯本 B、E、F、G 為材料。譯本 C、D 的政治取向、意識形態並不突出，但由於同屬民間翻譯，在比較各譯本時亦會提及，以作對照。³ 為方便參照，以下再就本文反覆引用或提及的譯本依討論順序重新編次排序：

³ 這並不代表譯本 C、D 的譯文譯得準確。事實上，有具有明顯意識形態的譯本在某些地方譯得比這些譯本還要準確（詳見第肆節）。因此兩譯本於本文的意義在於當討論某譯本的翻譯時，在用於對比「其他譯本」時多添一個意識形態相對隱藏的例子作對照。另外，本文集中在研究日本的民間譯者與譯本之意識形態，故摒棄中國官方的譯本 A。

表 2

本文探討的日譯版《毛語錄》

譯本編號	譯者	出版年分
①	毛澤東語錄研究会	1966
②	竹內實	1971
③	竹內實	1995
④	中島嶺雄監修，市村水城譯	1966
⑤	中嶋嶺雄	1973
⑥	和田武司、市川宏	1966

所選譯本的譯者顧及了各種層面，以提高文章的完整性：第一，既有個人亦有團體譯者；第二，有貼近文革爆發時點、文革中期的、文革終結以後的譯本，以顯示不同社會氣氛對翻譯的影響；第三，有譯者左傾、左傾但反對文革，以及右傾的譯本，以探究持不同觀點的譯者對同一文本的處理；第四，同一譯者不同時期的版本，以反映個別譯者的意識轉變與翻譯的關係。本文試圖指出，不論有意或無意，有譯本的「譯文」本身確實有反映譯者意識形態的地方，或換句話說，是譯者有將其意識形態投入於譯文的「嫌疑」，但更多譯本的譯文則沒有。不過，本文還試圖指出，不在譯文中透露意識形態的譯者，將會另闢蹊徑，在註釋等其他地方顯示其意識形態。

貳、展示意識形態的嫌疑——毛澤東語錄研究會譯本

毛澤東語錄研究會隸屬於社會主義研究所，他的六名社會黨員兼眾議院或參議院議員楯兼次郎、楯崎彌之助、藤田高敏、大柴滋夫、野野山一三、鈴木力曾在文革初期到訪北京，正面評價了文革（〈文化大革命、高く評価する〉，1966，版2）。六人對中國建立起社會主義國家感到無比興奮，既支持毛澤東，亦為文革搖旗吶喊，對《毛語錄》此「紅寶書」也相當熱情，

所以當毛澤東語錄研究會翻譯並推出《毛語錄》譯本（下稱研究會譯本）時，六人在譯本的「發刊辭」表露了相當明顯的情緒：

毛澤東思想現在如同惑星般耀眼地照耀著全世界。究竟世界的人民，於越南以毛澤東思想為基礎的人民戰爭遊擊戰術戰勝美國資本主義的超近代兵器這一現實上，又或者在說著「雖然文化大革命是現今中國前所未有的的一條道路，但畢竟全世界的人民都會踏上這條道路」的中國的自信上，應該學習甚麼？特別是作為鄰國的日本，中國的產業發展愈接近日本，其思想對國民也會帶來有形無形的影響吧。這或許比在百年基督教進入日本帶來的影響更大，〔我們〕不可以視毛澤東思想為無物。（毛澤東語錄研究会，1966，頁7）

他們認為將毛澤東思想比喻為「惑星」，在越戰中「戰勝美國」，預期全世界將踏入「文化大革命」，蛻變成真正的社會主義，而毛澤東思想為「鄰國的日本」帶來的影響，將會超越基督教。眾人又說，譯本「在北京得到來自中國人民外交學會對普及毛澤東語錄全譯日語版的諒解」（毛澤東語錄研究会，1966，頁7-8），指的是在得到中國一方同意前，擅自翻譯並出版日譯《毛語錄》並得到「諒解」，可以斷言，研究會譯本本身就是主動與中國文革隔海呼應的產物。問題是這樣的熱情如何，或者更基本的是否反映在譯文上？為了回答這問題，此節將走入研究會譯本的譯文，就其翻譯方法，特別是詞語選擇、增譯（amplification）和誤譯（mistranslation），驗證其翻譯與意識形態。

首先是詞語選擇。在眾民間譯本中，研究會譯本選擇的詞語語氣最重，在一些簡單的詞語上，出現其他譯本譯文相同，唯獨研究會本不同的情況。《毛語錄》第二章「階級與階級鬥爭」第八項末句云：「革命是暴動，是一個階級推翻一個階級的暴烈的行動」（毛澤東，1995，頁9）。「推翻」一詞的翻譯，唯獨研究會譯本不同：⁴

⁴ 由於譯本②、③皆由竹內實翻譯，譯本④、⑤皆與中嶋嶺雄相關，因此比較時只取兩人時期較前的譯文為準，以配合同在文革熾熱的時代背景。

表 3

各譯本對《毛語錄》第二章第八項「推翻」的翻譯

譯本①	譯本②	譯本④	譯本⑥
革命は暴動であり、一つの階級が他の階級をぶっ倒そうとする猛烈な暴動である。(毛沢東, 1966 / 1966a, 頁 27)	革命は暴動である。ひとつの階級がひとつの階級をくつがえす激烈な行動である。(毛沢東, 1966 / 1971, 頁 30)	革命は、暴動であり、一つの階級が他の階級をくつがえす激烈な行動である。(毛沢東, 1966 / 1966c, 頁 14)	革命は暴動である。ひとつの階級が他の階級をくつがえす激烈な行動である。(毛沢東, 1966 / 1966b, 頁 17)

註：本文表 3 至表 19 文字之底線由筆者所加

其餘譯本皆用動詞「くつがえす」，研究會本則用「ぶっ倒す」。前者詞義近於「推翻」，「倒す」則近於「打倒」，「ぶっ」為加強動詞動作與作用的前綴，為動詞「倒す」增強氣勢，使之成為更接近口語的詞語。據筆者統計，《毛語錄》原文出現八次「推翻」，四個版本共運用了「くつがえす」、「ひっくりかえす」、「打倒する」、「倒す」和「ぶっ倒す」，唯獨研究會本使用了語氣最激烈、口語化的「ぶっ倒す」。同一段落，還應注意到原文指革命為「暴動」，是「暴烈的行動」。日語系統同樣使用漢字，只有研究會本將「行動」演繹為「暴動」，其餘譯本皆跟從原文，保留「行動」。然而，或許同段先有「暴動」一詞，使研究會本譯者產生手民之誤。這裡不無此可能性，這個誤譯的問題，本文將在之後詳細討論。無論如何，此譯文在眾多譯本中，毛澤東所指「革命」的暴烈程度，無疑以研究會本最為激烈。

其次，研究會本對虛詞的翻譯同樣別出心裁。《毛語錄》第一章「共產黨」第三項云：「沒有中國共產黨的努力〔……〕中國的獨立和解放是不可能的，中國的工業化和農業近代化也是不可能的」（毛澤東，1995，頁 2）。在連詞「和」的譯法上，研究會本別樹一幟：

表 4

各譯本對《毛語錄》第一章第三項「和」的翻譯

譯本①	譯本②	譯本④	譯本⑥
中国共産党の努力がなく〔……〕中国の独立と解放は不可能であり、中国の工業化や農業の近代化も、また不可能である。(毛沢東, 1966 / 1966a, 頁 18)	中国共産党の努力がなければ〔……〕中国の独立と解放は不可能であり、中国の工業化と近代化も不可能である。(毛沢東, 1966 / 1971, 頁 21)	中国共産党の努力がなければ〔……〕中国の独立と解放は不可能であり、中国の工業化と農業の近代化も不可能である。(毛沢東, 1966 / 1966c, 頁 9)	中国共産党の努力がなければ〔……〕中国の独立と解放はありえないし、中国の工業化と近代化もありえない。(毛沢東, 1966 / 1966b, 頁 10)

在第兩個「和」字，所有譯本都選用「と」，但同時只有研究會本在第二個「和」字選用「や」。在日語中，表示列舉的「と」與「や」有細微差異，「と」一般是全部列舉，「や」則是部分列舉。研究會譯本用「や」產生另一種語境，指如果沒有中國共產黨的努力，就沒有中國的工業化、農業的近代化，以及其他成果；其他用「と」的譯本，則指只是沒有中國工業化與農業近代化。固然，還不可不指出，譯本②、⑥將「農業近代化」的「農業」省略了，這無疑將中國共產黨的功勞提高了。但整體來說，研究會譯本不採用減譯，而傾向透過選詞、增譯，在語意異於其他譯本。而這種相異，往往傾向更加褒揚毛澤東思想。

將「推翻」譯為「ぶつ倒す」，「和」譯為「や」，可能是譯者判斷和推敲原文語境、語氣的結果，在客觀效果上加強了原文的意識形態，卻不能以此為唯一證據，判斷意識形態介入了翻譯。不過，除了詞語選擇，研究會譯本有增譯和誤譯《毛語錄》的情況，這有助更了解意識形態介入了此譯本翻譯的情況。

增譯是研究會譯本偶爾運用的翻譯方法，其增譯的效果往往突出了毛澤東思想的優秀。例如《毛語錄》第二章第六項：「人民靠我們去組織。中國的反動分子，靠我們組織起人民去把他打倒」（毛澤東，1995，頁 9）。研究會譯本在虛詞、動詞上增譯，亦只有此譯本有增譯：

表 5

各譯本對《毛語錄》第二章第六項「靠」的翻譯

譯本①	譯本②	譯本④	譯本⑥
人民はわれわれによ つてのみ、組織され る。中国の反動分子 は、われわれによつ て組織された人民に よつてのみ、打ち倒 すことができるので ある。(毛沢東, 1966 / 1966a, 頁 26)	人民を組織すること は、われわれにかか っている。中国の反 動分子は、われわれ が人民を組織してそ れを打倒することに かかっている。(毛 沢東, 1966 / 1971, 頁 29)	人民は、われわれに よつて組織されるの である。中国の反動 分子は、われわれが 人民を組織すること によつて打倒される のである。(毛沢東, 1966 / 1966c, 頁 13)	人民は、われわれ が組織するのだ し、中国の反動分 子は、われわれが 人民を組織する ことによつてう ち倒される。(毛 沢東, 1966 / 1966b, 頁 16)

在「靠」一詞，譯本皆用「よつて」或「かかっている」，但研究會增譯了「のみ」（只有），以及「できる」（能夠）。使用「のみ」，研究會譯本將能夠組織人民、打倒反動分子的對象，限定在「我們」，即中國共產黨上。在後半句增譯動詞「できる」，使句意被改為：中國的反動分子，只有靠我們組織起人民才能夠把他打倒。

增譯幾乎只在研究會譯本出現。《毛語錄》同章第十九項云：「如果對這種形勢〔指中國的階級意識〕認識不足〔……〕那就要犯絕大的錯誤，就會忽視必要的思想鬥爭」（毛澤東，1995，頁 15）。唯獨研究會譯本添加了連詞，改變了句子結構：

表 6

各譯本對《毛語錄》第二章第十九項的翻譯

譯本①	譯本②	譯本④	譯本⑥
もしもこうした情勢に ついて認識が足らなか ったり〔……〕絶大な 誤りを犯すであろう し、ひいては必要な思 想闘争をないがしろに することになる。(毛 沢東, 1966 / 1966a, 頁 34)	こうした情勢につ いて、認識が不足し たり〔……〕ひじょ うに大きな誤りを 犯すだろうし、必要 な思想闘争を無視 するだろう。(毛沢 東, 1966 / 1971, 頁 39)	もしも、こうした情勢 にたいして認識がたり なかったり〔……〕ひ どい誤りをおかすこと になり、必要な思想闘 争を無視することにな るであろう。(毛沢東, 1966 / 1966c, 頁 17)	もし、こうした情勢 について、認識が十 分でなかったり 〔……〕大變な誤り を犯すことになるし、 必要な思想闘争を無 視することになる。 (毛沢東, 1966 / 1966b, 頁 22)

研究會譯本增譯了「ひいては」（甚至），將「忽視必要的思想鬥爭」的嚴重性置於「犯絕大的錯誤」之上，深化了對「形勢」不了解的嚴重性。原文是並列句式，將兩種後果並置，而其他譯本的句式譯法，都較忠於原文。

增譯並非研究會譯本獨有的翻譯方法，但與其他譯本相比，在相同地方增譯時，研究會譯本在相似句式上有選取語氣較重者的傾向。例如在《毛語錄》第二章第四項，毛澤東指：「地主階級對於農民的殘酷的經濟剝削和政治壓逼，逼使農民多次地舉行起義，以反抗地主階級的統治」（毛澤東，1995，頁8）。在「農民多次地舉行起義」一段，研究會譯本與譯本④均在「舉行起義」前加上「一定／不得不」：

表 7

各譯本對《毛語錄》第二章第四項的翻譯

譯本①	譯本②	譯本④	譯本⑥
農民は何回も蜂起をおこなって、地主階級の統治に反抗しなければならなかった。 （毛沢東，1966 / 1966a，頁 25）	農民は、地主階級の支配に反抗して、何度となく暴動を起こした。（毛沢東，1966 / 1971，頁 28）	農民をいくたびか蜂起させ、地主階級の支配に反抗せざるを得なくさせた。（毛沢東，1966 / 1966c，頁 13）	農民をして、地主階級の支配に反抗して、何度となく暴動をおこさせた。（毛沢東，1966 / 1966b，頁 16）

研究會譯本與譯本④均增譯了「農民」是「不得不」反抗「壓逼」，前者的「なければならない」和後者的「ざるを得ない」都屬雙重否定句式，但語意上有細微分別。前者是義務與責任上的反抗，較肯定行為的必要性；後者則相對軟性，是無可奈何、逼不得已的反抗，相對消極。研究會譯本，正如在發刊辭中對毛澤東思想的熱情，選擇前譯，顯得匹配。

為頌揚毛澤東思想，翻譯過程中既有加強他的偉大之處，亦有深化敵對者的頑劣，如帝國主義者負隅頑抗的一面。在《毛語錄》同章第十七項，言「帝國主義者和國內反動派〔……〕要作最後的掙扎。在全國平定以後，他們也還會以各種方式從事破壞和搗亂，他們將會每日每時企圖在中國復辟」（毛澤東，1995，頁13）。研究會譯本也有增譯：

表 8

各譯本對《毛語錄》第二章第十七項的翻譯

譯本①	譯本②	譯本④	譯本⑥
帝國主義者と国内の反動派は〔……〕 <u>か</u> ならずや最後のあがきをするであろう。全国が平定されたのちも、彼らは各種各様の方式で、破壊とじょう乱をすることができ、毎日毎時となく、旧中国の復活をたくらむであろう。(毛沢東, 1966 / 1966a, 頁 32)	帝國主義者および国内の反動派は〔……〕最後のあがきをするだろう。全国平定後も、彼らは依然として、いろいろな形で破壊や攪乱に従事し、一日も休まず、 <u>中国での復辟をたくらむ</u> ことだろう。(毛沢東, 1966 / 1971, 頁 37)	帝國主義者と国内の反動派は〔……〕最後のあがきをするであろう。全国が平定されてからも、彼らはやはりさまざまな方法で破壊と攪乱を行い、毎日、毎時間、 <u>中国でのその支配を復活しよう</u> とたくらむであろう。(毛沢東, 1966 / 1966c, 頁 16 - 17)	帝國主義者および国内反動派は〔……〕かれらは最後のあがきを試みようとしている。全国平定後も、かれらは依然として、いろいろな形で破壊や攪乱をやっているし、これからあらゆる機会をみつけては、 <u>中国での復辟をねらう</u> ことだろう。(毛沢東, 1966 / 1966b, 頁 21)

毛澤東認為中國內的社會主義革命已基本取得成功，但還要提防「帝國主義者和國內反動派」「作最後的掙扎」。研究會譯本添加了「かならずや」（必定），毛澤東的預測，在研究會譯本上成了必然發生的事，加強了原句中對各種敵人的危險性。

此段譯文中還應注意到研究會譯本有一誤譯：毛澤東認為「帝國主義者和國內反動派」將密謀「在中國復辟」。譯本②、④、⑥將此句譯為「彼らは〔……〕中国での復辟（復活）をたくらむ（ねらう）」（他們〔……〕企圖／試圖在中國復辟／復活），合乎原意。唯獨研究會譯本譯為「彼らは〔……〕旧中国の復活をたくらむ」，即「帝國主義者和國內反動派」企圖使「舊中國」復活，乃錯誤理解原文。如同上文曾指出將「行動」誤譯為「暴動」一樣，研究會譯本是所有譯本中誤譯最多。我們無法知道譯者的誤譯是刻意還是無意——即使這些誤譯實在遠比其他譯本多，問題是這些誤譯對讀者理解造成甚麼結果？造成誤譯的可能原因會是甚麼？以下將就研究會譯本的誤譯進行討論。

研究會譯本最常見的誤譯，是將原文「應」（應該、應當）及「要」（就

要、都要)傾向以「なければならない」(一定/不得不)翻譯。這傾向其實所有譯本或多或少都有,研究會譯本則較頻繁。以下兩例,分別來自《毛語錄》第一章第六項「我們應當相信群眾,我們應當相信黨,這是兩條根本的原理」(毛澤東,1995,頁3),和第五章第九項「誰想奪取國家政權,並想保持它,誰就應有強大的軍隊」(毛澤東,1995,頁48)。前者「應當」與後者「應有」,都只有研究會譯本譯為態度更肯定的「一定/不得不」:

表 9

各譯本對《毛語錄》第一章第六項「應當」、第五章第九項「應有」的翻譯

譯本①	譯本②	譯本④	譯本⑥
われわれは大衆を信じ、党を信じなければならない。この二つは根本的な原理である。(毛沢東,1966 / 1966a, 頁 19)	われわれは大衆を信じるべきである。党を信じるべきであり、これは、根本的な二つの原理である。(毛沢東,1966 / 1971, 頁 22)	われわれは大衆を信じ、党を信じるべきであり、これは二つの根本原理である。(毛沢東,1966 / 1966c, 頁 10)	大衆を信頼すること、党を信頼すること、この二つは、われわれが守るべき根本原理である。(毛沢東,1966 / 1966b, 頁 10)
国家権力を奪取して、それを保持しようとする者は誰でも、強大な軍隊を持たなければならない。(毛沢東,1966 / 1966a, 頁 72)	国家権力を奪取し、しかもそれを保持しようとするものは、強大な軍隊をもつべきである。(毛沢東,1966 / 1971, 頁 74)	国家の政治権力を奪取し、しかもそれを保持しようとするものはみな、強大な軍隊をもつべきである。(毛沢東,1966 / 1966c, 頁 39 - 40)	国家権力を奪取し、しかもそれを保持しようとする者は、強大な軍隊をもつべきである。(毛沢東,1966 / 1966b, 頁 53)

甚至,研究會譯本亦偶爾將既不是「應」或「要」的原文,也譯成「一定/不得不」。如第四章最後一項:「匈牙利事件的這教訓〔指敵人在人民中挑動矛盾〕,值得大家注意」(毛澤東,1995,頁44)。在應「注意」的程度上,以研究會譯本最高,譯本④次之,只有譯本②最合乎原文意思。

表 10

各譯本對《毛語錄》第四章末項「值得大家注意」的翻譯

譯本①	譯本②	譯本④	譯本⑥
ハンガリー事件のこのような教訓は、われわれが大いに注意しなければならないことである。(毛沢東, 1966 / 1966a, 頁 67)	ハンガリー事件のこうした教訓は、すべての人々が注意するのに値する。(毛沢東, 1966 / 1971, 頁 69)	ハンガリー事件のこうした教訓は、みなが注意する必要がある。(毛沢東, 1966 / 1966c, 頁 37)	ハンガリー事件があったこの教訓に、すべての人々は注意をはらうべきである。(毛沢東, 1966 / 1966b, 頁 49)

研究會譯本的誤譯問題最嚴重，傾向選用程度最高的句式。⁵ 此譯本也有其他各式各樣的誤譯，出錯程度最嚴重，甚至在《毛語錄》首章第二項「既要革命，就要有一個革命的黨」（毛澤東，1995，頁 1）已經出現：

表 11

各譯本對《毛語錄》第一章第二項「革命的黨」的翻譯

譯本①	譯本②	譯本④	譯本⑥
革命をしようとするからには、 <u>革命政府</u> が必要である。(毛沢東, 1966 / 1966a, 頁 17)	革命をやりたいのだから、 <u>革命党</u> が必要。(毛沢東, 1966 / 1971, 頁 20)	革命をおこなうからには、 <u>革命党</u> がなければならない。(毛沢東, 1966 / 1966c, 頁 9)	革命を実行するからには、 <u>革命党</u> というものが必要だ。(毛沢東, 1966 / 1966b, 頁 9)

將原文「革命的黨」直接搬字過紙為日語既有漢字「革命党」已經圓足，將之譯為「革命政府」反而多花了筆墨。革命黨與革命政府顯然是兩個相異概念，因為政黨可以是在野黨或是執政黨，但政府則顯然是執政者。

相似誤譯，也在《毛語錄》第五章第一項「戰爭——從有私有財產和有階級以來就開始了」（毛澤東，1995，頁 45）出現，如將「階級」譯為「階級社會」：

⁵ 其他譯本並非沒有這傾向。例如《毛語錄》第四章第二項有「應該首先弄清楚甚麼是人民，甚麼是敵人」（毛澤東，1995，頁 35）一句，四種譯本同樣譯為「はっきりさせなければならない」，即「一定要讓弄清」。但整體來說，這傾向以研究會譯本最明顯。

表 12

各譯本對《毛語錄》第五章第一項「階級」的翻譯

譯本①	譯本②	譯本④	譯本⑥
戦争——それは私有財産と階級社会が発生してから始まったもので。(毛沢東, 1966 / 1966a, 頁 68)	戦争——それは、私有財産と階級が出現したときから存在した。(毛沢東, 1966 / 1971, 頁 70)	戦争——それは私有財産と階級が発生してから始まったものであり。(毛沢東, 1966 / 1966c, 頁 37)	戦争——それは、私有財産が出現し、階級が出現してからはじめられたところの。(毛沢東, 1966 / 1966b, 頁 50)

類似誤譯不勝枚舉，亦有錯字、句讀錯誤等其他問題，毋須再一一舉出。在句式選擇上加強了《毛語錄》原文的語氣，而這些誤譯或誤植，除了使讀者對原意理解出現偏差外，很難說還有其他影響。更重要的是，為什麼研究會譯本的翻譯錯誤最多？過往的研究提醒我們不應馬上得出譯者的意識形態影響譯文準確度之結論，但從研究會譯本的翻譯方法來看，它有更加深化、肯定《毛語錄》內容的傾向。它頻繁誤譯，除了譯者水平不足外，也不能忽視它急於推出市面的因素。

如前文提及，研究會譯本是先翻譯出版，後得中方「諒解」。譯者群寫下的發刊辭，以毛澤東思想為「惑星」，表達了對毛澤東的崇拜、欲積極發揚毛澤東思想的熱誠。在各種 1966 年的民間譯本中，以研究會譯本最早印刷發行，捷足先登，進占市場。可以想像一群在文革時期熱衷於毛澤東思想的日本左翼政黨員，看到文革爆發，全國上下一遍狂熱，於是同受鼓舞決定翻譯《毛語錄》，想盡快引入這本「小紅書」，務求最快出版，翻譯質素自然降低。這過程固然只是想像，但就翻譯問題而言，研究會譯本偏離原意者最多，可以歸類各種幾項因素：第一，翻譯能力與外語知識不足；第二，全面擁護毛澤東思想，故有刻意深化原文意思、加強原文語氣的嫌疑；第三，急於推出市場，疏於校正。這些因素互相影響，且《毛語錄》本身已帶有強烈的意識形態，又被再製造了一個意識形態更加濃厚的版本，同時是翻譯最粗糙的譯本。

還值得一提的是研究會譯本是唯一沒有解說文章、幾乎沒有註釋的民間譯本，在形式上與精簡的《毛語錄》最相似。從前述的研究可見，翻譯者本身必然受社會及意識形態影響，翻譯本身就是意識形態活動，雖然並不保證譯文的信度本身也會受到意識形態影響，但研究會譯本的例子恰好是這樣的一個例子：它既反映了譯者的意識形態，其信度亦明顯較差。

參、流動的意識形態——竹內實譯本的註釋

漢學研究者竹內實於 1971 年首度翻譯出版《毛語錄》，1995 年修訂後再出版，是日本唯一推出兩種《毛語錄》譯本的學者。竹內譯本的最大特色是註釋量豐富，註釋項數、篇幅遠勝其他譯本，一些註釋甚至比該語錄本身還要長。其註釋內容大體分為三種：一、補充或解釋該項目蘊含的毛澤東思想；二、解釋專有名詞；三、列出並解釋原文典故出處。竹內譯本工於考證、註釋詳盡、翻譯嚴謹，附上毛澤東年表，知性勝於其他譯本，亦令本來應是鬥爭工具的《毛語錄》化為一冊書卷氣極重的知識讀物。

竹內實在中國山東省出生和成長，對中國有深厚感情，特別關注中國文學與文人，曾翻譯多種中國書籍。竹內仰慕毛澤東，曾在文革以前親身見過他，覺得他有「自信、霸氣」，令人聯想到「中國名畫中常常見到的猛虎」，也會尊稱他為「主席」（竹內實，1972，頁 69、71）。竹內讀《毛語錄》時最喜歡、感受最深刻的是以下一段：

一個人做點好事並不難，難的是一輩子做好事，不做壞事，一貫的有益於廣大群眾，一貫的有益於青年，一貫的有益於革命，艱苦奮鬥幾十年如一日，這才是最難最難的呵！（毛澤東，1995，頁 196）

竹內認為這是「平凡的真理」（竹內實，1971，頁 396）。然而竹內否定文革，認為文革是一種破壞（馬場公彥，2010，頁 246）。學者一般將竹內歸類為左翼學者，但他對中國和毛澤東的感情相當複雜，較之於毛澤東語錄研究會全盤支持毛澤東及文革，和之後提及的中嶋嶺雄全盤否定兩者，竹內雖否定文革，但個人對毛澤東有特殊感情。

然而，竹內這樣複雜的感情沒有反映在其譯文上，單憑譯文本身，無法看出竹內對毛澤東或文革的情感。他是唯一公然說有最喜歡的語錄之譯者，其譯本反而忠於原著，如在《毛語錄》第四章末項「值得大家注意」（毛澤東，1995，頁44）一句中，只有竹內譯本以「値する」譯「值得」外（見表10），在第三章第十三項「貧農必須向中農做工作、把中農團結到自己方面來，使革命一天一天地擴大，直到取得最後的勝利」（毛澤東，1995，頁25），只有竹內譯得準確：

表 13

各譯本對《毛語錄》第三章第十三項「直到取得最後的勝利」的翻譯

譯本①	譯本②	譯本④	譯本⑥
貧農は中農にはたきかけて、中農を自分の側に團結させねばならない。そうしてこそ革命は一日一日と拡大して、 <u>最後の勝利をえられるのである。</u> （毛澤東，1966 / 1966a，頁46）	貧農はかならず、中農にたいして工作し、 <u>最後の勝利をかちとるまで革命を日ま</u> しに拡大して行かなければならない。（毛澤東，1966 / 1971，頁50）	貧農はぜひと中農にはたきかけ、自分たちの側に團結させ、革命は一日と拡大し、 <u>最後の勝利をかちとらなければなら</u> ない。（毛澤東，1966 / 1966c，頁24）	貧農は、中農が自分たちの側につくよう、中農にたいしてはたらきかける必要がある。こうすれば、革命は一日と拡大され、 <u>ついには最後の勝利をおさめることができる。</u> （毛澤東，1966 / 1966b，頁32）

毛澤東原文的意思是在得到「最後的勝利」前，「貧農必須向中農做工作」，譯本①、④、⑥將之理解為條件句，即「貧農必須向中農做工作」，在最後會得到勝利，屬錯誤理解，唯獨竹內理解原文意思。竹內治學嚴謹，曾出版多種中國文獻的譯本，加上出版時間較後，有參考其他譯本的機會（竹內実，1971，頁396－397），與各1966年版本相比，其譯文可信度最高。

相比研究會譯本在譯文裡已滲透出對毛澤東思想的熱情，像竹內這樣對毛澤東有深厚感情的學者，因要在翻譯上追求信度，恪守學術原則，在譯文上並無插手的空間。然而，在20世紀70年代初，中日兩國的社會運動達到高峰，其翻譯可以完全抽空社會氣氛嗎？本文認為竹內譯本的註釋，是最能

體現其意識形態之處，其註釋有數項特色：第一，補充、延伸原文內的毛澤東思想；第二，流露對蔣介石的厭惡；第三，展示對中國文化、掌故和語言的熟悉，符合譯者對中國的感情。以下將分述各項特點，並對照兩種譯本，考察竹內豐富的註釋如何折射出其左傾卻複雜的意識形態。

首先，在 1971 年舊譯本的註釋中，竹內會補充或延伸毛澤東思想，間中亦會闡述個人看法；1995 年新譯本則傾向將個人看法刪去，或修改用詞，務求降低主觀色彩。以下四例分別來自《毛語錄》首章「共產黨」首項：「領導我們事業的核心力量是中國共產黨。指導我們思想的理論基礎是馬克思列寧主義」（毛澤東，1995，頁 1）。第七項：「以馬克思列寧主義的理論思想武裝起來的中國共產黨，在中國人民中產生了新的工作作風」（毛澤東，1995，頁 3）。第十五章「三大民主」第三項：「目前在我軍部隊中熱烈進行的三查、三整」（毛澤東，1995，頁 124）。以及第十七章「為人民服務」第五項（毛澤東，1995，頁 134）。竹內為四項語錄中的「中國共產黨」、「工作」、「三查三整」，以及出處〈為人民服務〉註釋。兩譯本的註釋同中有異：

表 14

竹內實兩譯本對「中國共產黨」、「工作」、「三查三整」、「〈為人民服務〉」的註釋

譯本②	譯本③
<p>第九屆全國代表大會中採用的新規約，規定「黨的最終目的在實現共產主義。」因不限定於「在中國」，<u>明確表示其目標是實現世界革命。</u>（毛澤東，1966 / 1971，頁 19）</p>	<p>第九屆全國代表大會中採用的新規約，規定「黨的最終目的在實現共產主義。」（毛澤東，1966 / 1995，頁 32）</p>
<p>原文為「工作」。「工作」指極普通的一般工作、勞動。亦指黨或軍隊的，<u>基於計劃而被限定的活動。至於這詞語的語感，蘊含一種感情，即從事的勞動和工作不是為了換取報酬或月薪。另外，這詞語也有專指勞動或工作本身的感覺。</u>（毛澤東，1966 / 1971，頁 22）</p>	<p>原文為「工作」。指一般工作、勞動、活動。（毛澤東，1966 / 1995，頁 35）</p>

（續下頁）

表 14

竹內實兩譯本對「中國共產黨」、「工作」、「三查三整」、「〈為人民服務〉」的註釋（續）

譯本②	譯本③
<p>三查、三整是整頓黨和軍隊的重要運動，中國共產黨在人民解放戰爭時期結合土地改革進行。所謂「三查」，在軍隊以外指檢查出身階級、思想、作風，在軍隊則是檢查出身階級、活動、鬥志。所謂「三整」，指整頓組織、思想、作風。（毛澤東，1966 / 1971，頁 147）</p>	<p>所謂「三查」，在軍隊指檢查出身階級、活動、鬥志，在軍隊以外則是檢查出身階級、思想、作風。所謂「三整」，指整頓組織、思想、作風。（毛澤東，1966 / 1995，頁 160）</p>
<p>1944 年 9 月 5 日，〔張思德〕在陝西省北部安塞縣山中燒炭時因窯洞塌方犧牲。（毛澤東，1966 / 1971，頁 157）</p>	<p>1944 年 9 月 5 日，〔張思德〕在陝西省北部安塞縣山中燒炭時因窯洞塌方死亡。（毛澤東，1966 / 1995，頁 170）</p>

竹內的註釋從兩種方法向讀者解釋毛澤東思想：第一，以毛澤東思想解釋毛澤東思想；第二，以自己意見補充。兩者有時會同時出現。前者如對「三查」、「三整」的定義，因為考慮到語錄本身就是文章、發言的簡略片段，沒有前文後理，讀者未必有相關背景知識，因此以毛澤東本身的說話來做註似乎相當適合。但這解釋方法同時直接傳播並深化了毛澤東思想。後者如對「工作」的解釋，竹內憑自己的解讀方法放大了中國共產黨的願景，認為其革命目標不止於中國，而在世界。他聖化了中國人的新工作作風，認為「工作」一詞有一種滅私奉公、無私奉獻的感情，還提到「三查三整」在中國共產黨與軍隊中的重要。這些主觀描述在新譯本中被刪除，或許竹內意識到身為譯者，除了譯文，註釋都應該持平。兩譯本的譯文幾乎一樣，竹內只提到自己在新譯本的「譯文上若干加筆，使之易讀」（竹內實，1995，頁 6），但事實上新譯本刪減最多的是註釋。在提及「為人民服務」的張思德身故之事跡時，舊譯本用相對主觀的「犧牲」，新譯本用客觀的「死亡」，可見不能純粹以「使譯本易讀」為由，解釋竹內大幅改動註釋之舉。

另一方面，竹內尊崇毛澤東，故在《毛語錄》提及蔣介石時，其註釋毫不掩飾對蔣介石的厭惡。竹內的新譯本對相同註解的文字也有修改，顯得舊

譯本註釋的左傾意識形態更明顯。《毛語錄》於第二章首次提到蔣介石，對照竹內兩種譯本對「蔣介石」的註釋：

表 15

竹內實兩譯本對「蔣介石」的註釋

譯本②	譯本③
<p>蔣介石〔……〕雖然在「北伐」開始後成為國民革命軍總司令官，<u>但</u>途中，1927年4月12日，發動反共政變，鎮壓共產黨，於南京樹立同〔國〕民政府。雖然於抗日戰爭中與共產黨結成統一戰線，<u>但一貫採反共政策</u>。國民黨主席。1948年當選初代中華民國大總統。（毛澤東，1966／1971，頁31）</p>	<p>蔣介石〔……〕「北伐」時為國民革命軍總司令官。1927年4月12日，發動反共政變，鎮壓共產黨，於南京樹立國民政府。抗日戰爭中與共產黨結成統一戰線。國民黨總裁。1948年當選初代中華民國大總統。在大陸與中國共產黨的內戰中落敗，將國民政府移到臺灣，在臺灣死去。浙江省人。（毛澤東，1966／1995，頁44）</p>

新譯本除補充一些史實外，竹內更動了內容和句法。在內容上，刪除了指控蔣介石在結成統一戰線後「一貫採反共政策」。竹內俯視歷史發展，認為蔣介石即使與共產黨聯手抗日，但其內心仍是反共，乃指出蔣介石「一貫」反共，在相當程度上以唯心的角度評價蔣介石。在句法上，新譯本將兩個「雖然……但……」（……が、……）的轉折複句刪去。轉折複句強調句子後半，在舊譯本，竹內要突出並批評的是蔣介石「發動反共政變，鎮壓共產黨」以及「一貫採反共政策」。新譯本的更動，突出了舊譯本譴責蔣介石的意圖。

竹內亦在註釋直接批判蔣介石。《毛語錄》第二章第十一項提及「我們」的敵人是「一切勾結帝國主義的軍閥、官僚、買辦階級、大地主階級以及附屬於他們的一部分反動知識界」（毛澤東，1995，頁11），沒有提及蔣介石。竹內注解「軍閥」卻借題發揮：

表 16

竹內實兩譯本對「軍閥」的註釋

譯本②	譯本③
<p>清朝末期取代衰弱的滿洲「八旗」的軍事力量，以漢人為主體而創設的新式軍隊。將校為地主層出身，與地方封建勢力結合，於中華民國成立後仍在駐屯地域軍隊的支配之下。這就是軍閥，其中，有袁世凱、段祺瑞、曹錕、吳佩孚、張作霖等勢力。要將之打倒的就是國民革命軍發起的「北伐」，但它的總司令<u>蔣介石</u>也不外乎是<u>新軍閥</u>。大小軍閥背後有各國帝國主義，為獲得各自的利權，軍閥互相之間的內戰無日無之。戰爭掠奪、為了補充士兵而擄拐青壯年等，<u>破壞民眾生活的就是軍閥</u>。（毛沢東，1966 / 1971，頁 32 - 33）</p>	<p>清朝末期取代衰弱的滿洲「八旗」的軍事力量，以漢人為主體而創設的新式軍隊。清朝滅亡後，地方駐屯的司令官私兵化，於中華民國成立後仍各自在駐屯地域的支配之下。這就是軍閥，其中，有袁世凱、段祺瑞、曹錕、吳佩孚、張作霖等勢力。要將之打倒的就是國民革命軍發起的「北伐」。大小軍閥背後有各國帝國主義，為獲得各自的利權，軍閥互相之間的內戰無日無之。戰火帶來的破壞、掠奪暴行、為了補充士兵而擄拐青壯年等，使民眾生活陷入混亂。（毛沢東，1966 / 1995，頁 44）</p>

竹內提到「北伐」時以引號括著，因為舊譯本中他認為蔣介石是「新軍閥」，「新軍閥」討伐軍閥是矛盾，並沒有合法性，竹內對蔣介石的厭惡躍然紙上。同樣，竹內將「破壞民眾生活」的罪魁禍首歸咎於「軍閥」之上，由於他認為蔣介石是「新軍閥」，當然要承擔責任。在新譯本，竹內刪去直接批評蔣介石的句子，將「民眾生活陷入混亂」的責任重新歸咎在「戰火」、「內戰」之上。《毛語錄》第十九章「革命英雄主義」第五項對「北伐戰爭」的註釋，亦看到竹內的厭惡情感：

表 17

竹內實兩種譯本對「北伐戰爭」的註釋

譯本②	譯本③
<p>指 1926 年 7 月，國民革命軍於廣東省出發北上，以討伐北洋軍閥的戰爭。因有中國共產黨的政治指導，得勞工、農民的廣泛支持，所以急速進軍長江（揚子江）流域，佔領約半個中國。〔19〕27 年 4 月 12 日，國民革命軍總司令<u>蔣介石</u>於上海發動<u>反革命政變</u>，<u>虐殺共產黨員、勞工</u>，波及各地，<u>奪取革命的成果</u>。（毛沢東，1966 / 1971，頁 165）</p>	<p>指 1926 年 7 月，國民革命軍於廣東省出發北上，以討伐北洋軍閥的戰爭。因有中國共產黨的政治指導，得勞工、農民的廣泛支持，所以急速進軍長江（揚子江）流域。1927 年 4 月 12 日，國民革命軍總司令<u>蔣介石</u>發動政變，<u>虐殺共產黨員、勞工</u>，波及各地，<u>奪取北伐的成果</u>。（毛沢東，1966 / 1995，頁 180）</p>

但竹內的批評有矛盾。他批評國民黨是「新軍閥」，「北伐」不過是新軍閥打舊軍閥、是導致民不聊生的戰爭，可是他又同時認為「北伐」之所以有的大好形勢，乃得中共吸引了廣泛支持之故，是一場「革命」。按此雙重標準，北伐在國民黨領導下是「破壞民眾生活」，在共產黨領導下則是具成果的「革命」。新譯本將「反革命」刪去，改「革命」為「北伐」，將其主觀色彩抹去，反而清楚顯示了文革期間竹內的立場。

最後，竹內譯本的註釋能反映竹內對中國學問之深，乃至對中國文化的感情。其譯本在眾譯本之中對《毛語錄》關於傳統思想、文化解釋得最詳盡，保留原文漢字詞語、諺語、古典，以註解釋的傾向，較少為遷就日本讀者而將中國典故意譯（paraphrasing）。據筆者所查，在各譯本皆意譯或誤譯，唯獨竹內保留原文的詞語有「中流砥柱」、「文質彬彬」、「溫良恭儉讓」等（毛澤東，1966 / 1971，頁 21、30），凡有運用古典之處，皆註明古語、諺語出自何經何典。這種富於考證的註釋，與前述反映竹內擁毛反蔣的意識形態形成一種軟性對照：竹內高度評價毛澤東，厭惡蔣介石，又對中國傳統文化有深厚感情，曾說過「中國是自己的『第一故鄉』」（程麻，2013，頁 5）。其《毛語錄》譯本的註釋，就能看到竹內對毛澤東、文革、中國的複雜感情。

竹內身為學者，對翻譯準確度的要求嚴謹、工於考據，兩譯本的譯文忠於原著，就翻譯與意識形態的關係來說，並不可能憑譯文判斷其受意識形態影響之處，但這並不代表譯者沒有方法宣洩、明示或暗示其意識形態的地方。在市場、讀者或譯者自己對譯文信度有一定程度的要求下，譯者亦有辦法在翻譯之中主動或被動投入其意識形態，而無損其「翻譯」的可信度。在竹內的個案，那就是註釋。翻譯「信、達、雅」的要求往往指向譯文本身，註釋未被限制在內。竹內兩種相距 20 多年的譯本譯文差異不大，但註釋相異，從中看到了譯者從熱情到冷淡的意識形態之流動。

肆、「敵對」譯本？中嶋嶺雄的《毛語錄》譯文

儘管竹內舊譯本與中嶋嶺雄 1973 年譯本（下稱中嶋譯本）同在文革時期出版，但相差兩年的譯本所處之社會氣氛完全不同。中嶋嶺雄是日本的右翼學者，質疑毛澤東思想、否定文革（中嶋嶺雄，1971，頁 288—351），對改革開放後的中國前途悲觀，是「中國威脅論」的倡議者之一（劉智璋，2008，頁 128—129）。1972 年中日邦交正常化，文革在中國已陷入停滯，且日本經歷新左翼聯合赤軍的血腥肅清事件和挾持人質的淺間山莊事件後，國內普遍對激進左翼運動反感。因此，中嶋在 1973 年頗有一種「勝利者」的姿態，在其譯本中批評《毛語錄》在中國受到狂熱追捧並非因為語錄內容：

《語錄》的信仰，對中國民眾來說是對毛澤東崇拜的一種象徵式自我的確認，無論那些斷章怎樣屢屢成為口號、大合唱的格言，或許也不可以說它的根底裡規定了民眾的實存。（中嶋嶺雄，1973a，頁 279）

他提到香港曾有《劉少奇語錄》，但隨劉少奇失勢，則成了「反黨、反社會主義」的讀物，他預測《毛語錄》可能會落入同一命運：

假如將來中國在某日出現價值轉換，毛澤東自身在歷史中被正當地相對化，《語錄》所具有的魔術效力，也有可能在一瞬間失去。儘管我們毋須想起我國戰時中的《教育勅語》，但在言語或文章自身被絕對化、物神化的瞬間，它就開始踏上終究應成為死語的命運吧。（中嶋嶺雄，1973a，頁 279—280）

中嶋在文革逐漸被否定的社會氣氛之下翻譯《毛語錄》，他不僅是「潛在的敵對」譯者，本身就是衝著文革衰頹之勢而翻譯。問題是，中嶋的譯文受到其意識形態影響嗎？為了驗證中嶋的翻譯與意識形態的關係，本節將從譯本⑤的譯文、解說譯本的文章為主，譯本④為輔作討論。⁶

⁶ 目前幾乎沒有任何關於譯本④譯者市村水城的資料。中嶋在譯本④寫了一篇〈出典解說——毛澤東思想小史〉，該文經修改後以〈出典解題——「毛澤東思想」の展開〉為題刊登在譯本⑤。兩譯本應有關係，不過將市村與中嶋的意識形態劃上等號是武斷和不當的，故此處集中討論譯本⑤。

中嶋對於顯示語氣、程度的用詞處理得相當仔細，有刻意降低原文語氣的傾向。本文曾提及所有譯本對「要」（就要）或多或少譯成「一定／不得不」的傾向，在程度上「要」介乎於「應要」與「必要」之間，各譯者皆以自身的理解，選擇其在日語表現的意向程度。《毛語錄》第二章第十四項說：「凡是敵人反對的，我們就要擁護；凡是敵人擁護的，我們就要反對」（毛澤東，1995，頁12）。對於「就要擁護」、「就要反對」，所有譯本都是以譯為「擁護しなければならない〔……〕反対しなければならない」（毛澤東，1966／1966a，頁31）、「支持しなければならない〔……〕反対しなければならない」（毛澤東，1966／1966b，頁20），或「守らなければならない〔……〕反対しなければならない」（毛澤東，1966／1971，頁36），與中嶋相關的兩種譯本則有不同：

表 18

中嶋嶺雄監修與翻譯的譯本對「就要」的翻譯

譯本④	譯本⑤
なんでも支持するだろうし〔……〕なんでも反対するだろう。（毛澤東，1966／1966c，頁16）	擁護すべきであり〔……〕なんでも反対すべきである。（毛澤東，1966／1973，頁21）

中嶋譯本參考過所有譯本，也包括自己早年監修的譯本（中嶋嶺雄，1973b，頁4）。中嶋譯本以「べき」（應該）譯，經過考慮與取捨，並不是純粹將已有的譯本搬字過紙。毛澤東原文表示的程度，似乎在「應該」與「一定」之間。中嶋譯以「べき」，是個負責任的翻譯，其語感沒有「なければならない」來得強烈，但又不像「だろう」般含不肯定的推量，沒有將原文的「就要」推進至「一定」。再舉第三章第十項為例：「沒有農業社會化，就沒有全部的鞏固的社會主義」（毛澤東，1995，頁24）。中嶋譯本對「就沒有」的翻譯，也是返璞歸真：

表 19

各譯本對《毛語錄》第三章十項「就沒有」的翻譯

譯本①	譯本②、③	譯本④	譯本⑤	譯本⑥
全面的な強固な社会主義はありえない。(毛沢東，1966 / 1966a，頁 44)	欠けたところのない(、)強固な社会主義はない。(毛沢東，1966 / 1971，頁 47 - 48，1966 / 1995，頁 60)	全面的で強固な社会主義はあり得ない。(毛沢東，1966 / 1966c，頁 23)	全面的で強固な社会主義はない。(毛沢東，1966 / 1973，頁 30)	全体が一つにまとまった強固な社会主義は存在しない。(毛沢東，1966 / 1966b，頁 30)

譯本①與④皆譯為「不可能（有）」，否定程度甚於原文；譯本⑥譯為「不存在」亦略嫌花巧；唯有中嶋與竹內譯本只譯作「沒有」，最質樸自然。

本文無意再逐個舉例，因為相比證明譯者或作者「有」意圖表達什麼，則只須在文字裡尋找其「有」的證據；然而要成功證明譯者或作者「沒有」意圖表達甚麼，恐怕難有什麼發現。即使像中嶋這樣「敵對」的譯者，讀者和研究者都難以在其譯文中找到證據，證實其意識形態介入了翻譯，甚至如同竹內譯本一樣，中嶋附上毛澤東年譜，也附上約 60 頁的解說，列出每項語錄的原典。竹內在註釋中表達不少個人評論，但中嶋在解說語錄原典時完全沒有，亦幾乎沒有註釋，唯一展露其對毛澤東的否定、對《毛語錄》的悲觀預期，只在另外的解說文章內。「敵對」的中嶋，其翻譯可謂比「友好」的研究會、竹內所受意識形態干擾更少。確實，中嶋幾乎對中國的大部分事情都感到悲觀，但還是維持了翻譯者的責任，並對自己的譯本評價：「本書畢竟只是以譯者的責任，嘗試做到最好的新譯」（中嶋嶺雄，1973b，頁 4）。

伍、結語

本文考察了日本民間《毛語錄》譯本與意識形態的關係，討論的譯本囊括了個人與團體譯者，有相同譯者的不同譯本，不同意識形態的譯者群，有貼近文革爆發初期、文革失速，以及到 90 年代事過境遷的譯本。透過橫向和

縱向比較，我們既能在同時代的《毛語錄》譯本中，篩選出翻譯較受意識形態影響的譯本，亦能就同一譯者不同時代的翻譯，窺探譯者意識形態的流動。

就翻譯與意識形態的關係而言，本文發現像中嶋嶺雄這樣對原文內容或作者持敵對或否定態度的譯者，雖然會在譯本以內、譯文以外的地方明確表達否定意見，但不影響翻譯素質，合乎 Munday (2007) 對政治文本的考察。不過，對原文作者持友好態度的翻譯呈現兩種情況：第一，像毛澤東語錄研究會這樣對原文及作者趨之若鶩的譯者，或因出版趕急，譯文質素粗疏；或有可能受意識形態驅動，譯文語氣較強、在細微處深化了原文的激烈程度、加強對毛澤東的褒揚。第二，像竹內實這樣的學者，雖然對毛澤東抱有感情，但翻譯亦相當準確，不過他透過註釋著手，補充並闡發了毛澤東思想、直接批評蔣介石，在遣詞用字上美化毛澤東及中國共產黨。綜合來說，反而是對原典友好的翻譯者，在翻譯過程更加受意識形態干擾。

日本譯者翻譯《毛語錄》的動機或多或少受社會氣氛影響，不過如果只在社會環境或時局內尋求翻譯與意識形態關係的答案，則恐怕會抽空翻譯者的內在動機，有只視之為被動地受環境驅動而翻譯之虞。不像文學作品能給予翻譯者很大的再製造空間，嚴格來說一段忠於原文的政治文本翻譯，最終往往仍是一段平平無奇的翻譯，尤其像竹內大致忠實於原文的譯本，其很多註釋的政治意味雖仍濃厚，但在其考據細緻嚴謹的註釋中，流露出對中國文化的愛慕。翻譯者本身的內在感情，顯然在翻譯與意識形態之間的課題中占一重要席位。

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同調異聲——以命輯《滿洲源流考》 上諭的三個滿文譯本為例

蔡名哲

乾隆四十二年，皇帝下令編纂《滿洲源流考》。這道上諭出現多個滿漢文本，相較於漢文本的高度一致，此上諭在滿文《實錄》、滿文《起居注冊》與滿文本《滿洲源流考》的內容卻不盡相同。《滿洲源流考》與《起居注冊》滿文譯文的語句順序及用字均不一致；滿文《實錄》雖與《起居注冊》的語句順序較為一致，但用字仍不同，且其斷句更貼合漢文本《實錄》。這顯示當初纂修滿文《實錄》時，並不照錄滿文《起居注冊》，同時未參考已經成書的滿文本《滿洲源流考》。原因應是滿文本《起居注冊》修纂倉促，《實錄》遂在其基礎上加以修改。滿文是二手文獻，譯者追求貼合漢文本的語意，而不追求滿文文本之間的文字相沿，顯示在文書制度中對傳達文義的要求高於文字的照錄，也因此保留了翻譯者對同一漢文文獻的不同理解，呈現「同調異聲」之態。

關鍵詞：滿文翻譯、《實錄》、《滿洲源流考》、《起居注冊》、史料性質

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本文係「語言、知識、族群與政治——以《御製清文鑑》與《御製增訂清文鑑》為中心的研究」部分成果，期間獲國科會專題研究計畫（112-2423-H-001-005-MY2）補助，寫作期間承蒙業師趙令志教授多方指點，初稿曾發表於「歷史的聲音：首都高校研究生論文研討會」（北京，2019年3月），會議上感謝諸多學友惠予寶貴意見，投稿期間獲得匿名審稿人諸多指正，投稿通過後，承蒙《編譯論叢》編輯部多方協助，並由國立臺灣師範大學臺灣史研究所碩士生張佑豪與約翰霍普金斯大學博士候選人吳曼竹分別協助本文漢、滿文文獻的校對，於此致上萬分謝意。

The Variations in the Same Theme: A Comparative Study on Three Manchu Translations of the Edict About *Researches of Manchu Origins*

Ming-Che Tsai

In 1777, Emperor Qianlong issued an edict to compile the *Researches of Manchu Origins*. This edict existed in multiple Chinese and Manchu versions. The Chinese versions were mostly consistent. However, the Manchu versions of this edict as recorded in *Veritable Records*, *Imperial diaries*, and *Researches of Manchu Origins* differed from each other. There is a discrepancy between the Manchu translation of *Researches of Manchu Origins* and the Manchu translation of *Imperial Diaries* in terms of wording and sentence sequencing. By comparison, the Manchu translation of *Veritable Records* and the Manchu translation of *Imperial Diaries* share largely similar sentence sequencing but not the wording (or the choices of words), and their word grouping and punctuating are more coherent to the Chinese version of *Veritable Records*. This indicates that the compilation of the Manchu *Veritable Records* at the time did not entirely duplicate the Manchu *Imperial Diaries* and did not reference the Manchu *Researches of Manchu Origins* that had previously been completed. The reasons could be that the Manchu *Imperial Diaries* was hastily compiled and the Manchu *Veritable Records* was a result of a moderately modified version of the Manchu *Imperial Diaries*. The Manchu translations of the aforementioned texts are a secondary source and the translators place more focus on faithfully conveying the meanings of the Chinese texts than on checking on the semantic connection between the two to follow a consistent choice of words between different versions of Manchu translations. This goes to show that in the narration and documentation system (of the Qing dynasty), there was a higher demand for conveying the semantics and meanings than duplicating the words, which would therefore result in a case of “variations in the same theme” when translators hold discrepant views on the same Chinese text.

Keywords: Manchu translation, *Veritable Records*, *Researches on Manchu Origins*, *Imperial Diaries*, nature of historical documents

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壹、前言

滿文材料是清史研究的重要資料，其文本種類繁多，然而各種文本間的關係究竟為何？以漢文上諭為例，本身有漢文之《上諭檔》、《實錄》與《起居注冊》，以及傳抄至各地的抄本，同時亦有滿文本的《實錄》與《起居注冊》。陳捷先（1983）的研究指出：「大抵言之，除部分雍正朝以後的軍機事務外，實錄都取材於起居注冊，而內容則遠不如起居注冊詳盡」（頁2—3）。馮爾康（2006）亦贊同此說。莊吉發（1980）亦指出乾隆朝以後，《起居注冊》先修漢文本再譯成滿文本，而《起居注冊》所載的諭旨均可見於《實錄》。而在滿文檔案與漢文《實錄》的關係中，趙令志與郭美蘭（2015）指出其編纂方針應是滿文本將滿文材料節略，漢文本利用所譯漢文稍加詞藻，但不許偏離原意，而經比對也發現《實錄》修纂並未歪曲原意。學者們逐步釐清了檔案與各種官書的關係，但似乎未提乾隆朝後若上諭原文是漢文，相關的滿文本會如何呈現？滿文本《實錄》與其他滿文材料也有彼此沿襲取材的關係嗎？抑或是各自譯滿，在滿文《起居注冊》與《實錄》的相關研究上，可知乾隆朝開始漢文本為先，但上述問題並未見解答（陳捷先，1978，1973 / 2018），¹此即為本文所欲解答的問題。²

本文選擇乾隆四十二年（1777年）八月十九日命纂《欽定滿洲源流考》（hesei toktobuha manjusai da sekiyen-i kimcin）之上諭，³因其滿文本除有滿文

¹ 目前相關比較似只有莊吉發（2013）的研究，但其文比對之材料為康熙朝《起居注冊》與《實錄》，未涉及乾隆朝。

² 為求行文簡便，本文涉及文獻比對的段落，將中國第一歷史檔案館出版之《乾隆朝上諭檔》簡稱一檔館藏《上諭檔》；《乾隆四十二年長本上諭檔》簡稱為《上諭檔》；《為本朝肇興東土仍係大金部族事》簡稱內閣大庫藏件；《奉上諭項閱金史世紀我朝肇興舊稱滿珠相沿訛為滿洲他如沿革滿洲始基古今地名同異稽考勒為一書著大學士阿桂等悉心檢核分條編輯以次呈覽由》簡稱盛京內務府藏件；《起居注冊乾隆四十二年八月下草本》簡稱《起居注冊》草本；《起居注冊乾隆四十二年八月下正本》簡稱《起居注冊》正本；《滿文起居注冊乾隆四十二年八月下》簡稱滿文《起居注冊》；《滿文本欽定滿洲源流考》簡稱滿文《源流考》；《欽定滿洲源流考》簡稱《源流考》；《滿文本大清高宗純皇帝實錄》簡稱滿文《實錄》；《清高宗實錄》簡稱漢文《實錄》。

³ 本文之滿文轉寫大體使用穆麟德（Paul Georg von Möllendorff）轉寫法，只有二處略有不同。首先左邊有一點點的n，穆麟德轉寫法未提供相關符號，本文模仿其形制轉寫為“n”；穆麟德轉寫法將單點停頓符號轉為“，”，雙點為“，，”，但容易讓人將其等同於逗號與問號，本文模仿其形制分別轉寫為“，”與“，，”。

《起居注冊》與滿文《實錄》版本外，另也收錄於滿文本《源流考》。滿文本《源流考》約成書於嘉慶四年（中國第一歷史檔案館，2000），其修纂官中的董誥同時也是《實錄》修纂負責人之一，因此成書於嘉慶十二年（1807年）的《高宗純皇帝實錄》，應該有條件知道當時有滿文本《源流考》這本書。滿文本之外，本文同時取《源流考》（阿桂、于敏中，1967）、《實錄》（慶桂等，1986）、一檔館與臺北故宮《上諭檔》（中國第一歷史檔案館，1991；佚名，1777c）、臺北故宮《起居注冊》草本與正本（佚名，1778a，1778b）、中研院史語所藏內閣大庫藏件、遼寧省檔案館藏盛京內務府藏件（佚名，1777a）的各種漢文本上諭版本加以比對，希望能解答上述問題。

貳、文本比對

上述收錄本道上諭的各文獻，由於格式的不同，其前後文會有些許字樣的不同，比如《源流考》與《起居注冊》都會書明奉上諭的日期，而《實錄》則是在上諭之外，前後寫明事情的始末，比如上諭前寫「命輯滿洲源流考，諭」（慶桂等，1986，頁918），滿文為“hesei manju-i da sekiyen-i kimcin-be acabume banjibukini seme afabure jalin hese wasimbuhanngge”（慶桂等，1807，頁6a），其中便可以見滿文《實錄》所書之《源流考》滿文書名與滿文《源流考》上所書並不同，滿文《源流考》的滿洲使用複數的所有格形式“manjusai”，便可以說明本書所討論的是滿洲人的源流，本身較漢文更能清楚表達其意，⁴而不會有後世滿洲是否是地名的疑問（傅斯年，2012）。而盛京內務府藏件雖是本道上諭的漢文抄本，但封套上用滿文寫明文書之事由，亦用“manjusai”一字，可見盛京地方官員也理解此道上諭之滿洲為滿洲人。

經過比較，漢文諸版本的內容高度相同，大體上是增缺字或是異體字的

⁴ 《四庫全書》、《清史稿》將《滿洲源流考》列入「史部」的「地理類」，學者認為掩蓋了其做為民族史論著的特徵。此外，論者認為時人將滿洲當作地名，最後合理化中國東北的分離主義，促成「滿洲國」政權的出現，因而強調滿洲是族名而非地名（孫文良，1987，頁49、51；鄭天挺，2011，頁3）。所謂民族與民族史論著是當代的概念，但從滿文來看確實本書討論的是滿洲人群的源流。

差異。但有三處涉及文義的差異，⁵前兩處是「三國必有三汗」、「史家不知汗為君長之稱」（佚名，1777c，頁 84a）二句中的「汗」，內閣大庫藏件、盛京內務府藏件均寫「漢」（佚名，1777a，原咨黏單，1777b，頁 5），《起居注冊》的草本原寫為「漢」，後塗改為「汗」（佚名，1778b）。此處「漢」、「汗」之異，應是上諭自軍機處發往內閣時傳抄錯誤，又或是內閣以為「汗」字用於三韓不妥而作修改，兩份移會均由內閣發出而沿襲此寫法。起居注官員應是依據內閣絲綸簿修纂草本，後核對其他檔案再予更改。第三處是《上諭檔》寫「《後漢書·三韓傳》為辰韓人兒生欲令頭匾」（佚名，1777c，頁 84a），但一檔館藏《上諭檔》、內閣大庫藏件、盛京內務府藏件、臺北故宮藏兩種《起居注冊》與《實錄》改為「《後漢書·三韓傳》謂辰韓人兒生欲令頭扁」（中國第一歷史檔案館，1991，頁 742；佚名，1777a，原咨黏單，1777b，頁 5，1778a，十九日壬子，段 3，1778b，十九日壬子，段 3；慶桂等，1986，頁 918）。《實錄》等書改動的漢文較為正確。這一處差異也可與滿文譯文的差異對照，下文將說明之。

相對於漢文本的高度雷同，滿文本的差異卻較大。據本文估算，漢文本若將所有歧異都計算進去，《上諭檔》與其他文本的歧異度約為 0.96%，但滿文《源流考》與滿文《起居注冊》的歧異度約為 19.34%，與滿文《實錄》的歧異度約為 20.92%，滿文《起居注冊》與滿文《實錄》的歧異度約為 8.13%。⁶滿文譯文這些差異大致可分為「錯譯／誤譯」、「有歧義的翻譯」、「翻譯者不同的文句斟酌」幾種狀況，以下分析滿文本的差異。

⁵ 漢文本有 11 處文字上的差異，但除正文提及的「漢」與「汗」、「謂」與「為」、「金世祖」與「金始祖」較涉及文義的差異外，大致上屬於增缺字或異體字的差異。這些差異為「後改滿珠」與「後改稱滿珠」、「甚矣其妄」與「甚矣其妄也」、「無庸深較」與「毋庸深較」、「松山」與「崧山」、「為之報仇」與「為之報讎」、「統一寰宇」與「統壹寰宇」、「布勒瑚里池」與「布勒瑚里」。與下文的滿文本差異相較，可見漢文本的差異幅度小於滿文本。

⁶ 本文計算歧異度的方法，為利用 word 軟體的「比對」功能得出修正筆數，該功能會將一字的差異理解為增與刪兩筆修訂，因此取修訂筆數的二分之一除以做為母文本之總字數，藉此計算文本的歧異程度。word 是以單字數而非字元數計算滿文字數，譯文之字數約為漢文的 0.91 倍，若將此翻譯產生的比率考慮進去，將滿文文本的差異度乘以 0.91，其差異度亦高於漢文文本之間的程度。word 若遇到連續的修改，僅會視為兩筆修訂，因此若以單字甚至字元的更動計算滿文文本之間的歧異度，將會得出更高的數值。

一、錯譯／誤譯

「錯譯／誤譯」是指在漢文本之文義相對明確的狀況下，有些版本的滿文譯文卻理解錯誤而產生的翻譯，或者是漢文本本身文字不同，導致滿文譯文因誤解而誤譯的狀況。前者比如漢文「他如建州之沿革，滿洲之始基」（佚名，1777c，頁 85b）一語，滿文《源流考》譯為“jai giyan jeo-i halaha songkoloho. manjusai da sekiyen”（阿桂等，1799，頁 9b）（及建州之沿革，滿洲人之源流），但滿文《起居注冊》卻翻譯為“tereci gūwa ilibuha jeo-i dahara halara manju-i da sekiyen”（佚名，1778c，頁 27b）（此外如建立州之沿革，滿洲之源流），滿文《實錄》譯為“jai hecen ilibure-de songkoloho halaha. manju-i deribuhe sekiyen.”（慶桂等，1807，頁 10b）（及建城時之沿革，滿洲開始之源）。其中「建州」一詞便涉及錯譯，滿文《源流考》直接音譯為“giyan jeo”，但滿文《起居注冊》卻翻譯為“ilibuha jeo”（建立的州），不知道其是要意譯建州，還是以為是滿洲初興之時所立的各州，但從滿文《起居注冊》翻譯「列公」、「三韓」都採取音譯為“liyei gung”、“san han”的模式來看，翻譯者應是不知道建州是滿洲初興時的集團名稱，而滿文《實錄》更直接將建州理解為“hecen ilibure”（建城），其採用動賓片語，代表翻譯者直接將建州當做建城的行動，完全不知道建州為專有名詞。

有些則是因漢本文字不同產生的錯譯。這種情形在上諭一開頭便可見，「金世祖居完顏部」一語中的「金世祖」，若翻查《金史》可知原文應是「始祖」，《源流考》已改為「金始祖」（阿桂、于敏中，1967，頁 3），滿文《源流考》也譯為“deribuhe mafa”（阿桂等，1799，頁 1a）（始祖），滿文《起居注冊》則理解為金朝的開國人群而譯為“aisin gurun”（佚名，1778c，頁 20a）（金朝），滿文《實錄》翻譯為“ši dzu han”（慶桂等，1807，頁 6a）（世祖汗），譯文接近漢文的《上諭檔》，理解為「金世祖」一人，雖然此發音亦符合「始祖」的音，但若配合漢文看應是將《金史》故事的主角誤解了。

《上諭檔》的「《後漢書·三韓傳》為辰韓人兒生欲令頭匾，押之以石」（佚名，1777c，頁 84a），一些漢文本則寫「為」為「謂」，意思較為正確。

滿文《源流考》譯為“geli amangga ha.n gurun-i bithe-i ilan ha.n gurun-i ulabun-de cen ha.n gurun-i niyalma. juse banjifi uju-be halfiyan okini seme wehe-i gidambi sehebi.”（阿桂等，1799，頁 2a-b）（又《後漢書·三韓傳》云辰韓之人，孩子生了之後，希望頭扁而以石頭壓之），滿文《實錄》的譯文亦差不多，但滿文《起居注冊》卻譯為“geli amangga ha.n gurun-i bithei san ha.n sere ulabun-de. cen ha.n seme narahabi[arahabi]. tubai niyalma jui banjifi uju-be halfiyan okini seme wehe-i gidambi sehebi.”（佚名，1778c，頁 21a）（又《後漢書》的叫做三韓的傳中寫做辰韓。云：那邊的人孩子生了之後，希望頭扁而以石頭壓之），與《上諭檔》原「謂」寫「為」的錯誤類似，不知是否受漢文影響？倘若如此，滿文《起居注冊》的修訂與上諭檔的關係亦值得推敲。

另外也有因為漢文斷句不同而產生的不同翻譯。「我朝肇興時，舊稱滿珠所屬曰珠申」（佚名，1777c，頁 83b）一句，滿文《源流考》為“musei gurun deribume mukdehe fonde daci manju-i harangga niyalma-be jušen sembihe.”（阿桂等，1799，頁 1b）（我朝開始興盛之時，原稱滿洲屬人為珠申），滿文《起居注冊》與之類似，譯為“musei gurun fukjin mukdere-de. daci manju-i hartungga-be jušen sembi”（佚名，1778c，頁 20b），惟時態上滿文《源流考》使用 -mbihe 更為貼合語境，表示是過去的習慣（河內良弘、清瀨義三郎則府，2002）。滿文《實錄》則譯為“musei gurun fukjin mukdere-de. daci manju sembi. harangga urse-be jušen sembihe”（慶桂等，1807，頁 6b）（我朝發祥時，原稱滿洲，屬人稱珠申）。滿文《實錄》譯文與其他兩版本的差異，正好與《實錄》斷句為「舊稱滿珠，所屬曰珠申」相同（慶桂等，1986）。陳捷先（2007）依據《實錄》的斷句，認為乾隆皇帝於《源流考》中對「滿洲」的解釋模稜兩可，一方面說是肅慎的轉音，一方面又聯繫到藏傳佛教。其實若依據滿文《源流考》與滿文《起居注冊》，可知此處所討論的是身為「滿珠所屬」的「珠申」是肅慎的轉音，主語是珠申，不包含滿珠，《實錄》版本的斷句誤導陳捷先以為此處同時討論滿珠與珠申。

二、有歧義的翻譯

「有歧義的翻譯」是指其譯文不到錯譯的層次，但是若細讀某些版本之滿文譯文，會發現其不符合漢文的語境，或者是無法貼合漢文語境，產生歧義的翻譯。如乾隆帝認為當時三韓各有其汗，「各統其一」一語（佚名，1777c，頁 84a），滿文《源流考》用“meimeni emte gurun-be kadalahabi”（阿桂等，1799，頁 2b）（各統領一國），但滿文《起居注冊》與滿文《實錄》則譯為“meimeni emu babe uherilehebi.”（佚名，1778c，頁 22a；慶桂等，1807，頁 7b）（各統一一地），將漢文的「統」理解為「統一」，不符合原文語境。「明季」（佚名，1777c，頁 84b）中文意思應為明朝末年，滿文《源流考》作“ming gurun-i dubesilehe fon”（阿桂等，1799，頁 4a）（明朝末年），但滿文《起居注冊》與滿文《實錄》均寫為“ming gurun-i fonde”（佚名，1778c，頁 22b；慶桂等，1807，頁 7b）（在明朝），並未捕捉到「明季」的確切意涵。

又如「尊崇本朝者」（佚名，1777c，頁 84b）一句，滿文《源流考》與滿文《起居注冊》均書為“musei gurun-be wesihuleme tukiyere urse”（佚名，1778c，頁 23a；阿桂等，1799，頁 4b），但滿文《實錄》卻寫為“musei gurun-i wesihuleme tukiyere urse”（慶桂等，1807，頁 8a）（本朝所尊奉者），雖能以所有格翻譯為「本朝的尊奉者」，但讀者亦可能以主格屬格理解（河內良弘、清瀨義三郎則府，2002），而譯為「本朝所尊奉者」。滿文《實錄》以所有格翻譯會產生歧義，不如以前二者以賓格“-be”翻譯來得貼合漢文。

「譬之漢唐宋明之相代。豈皆非其勝朝之臣僕乎」（佚名，1777c，頁 84b）中的「相代」與「勝朝」，滿文《源流考》分別作“ishunde halanjahangge”（相互更替）與“etehe gurun”（勝利之國）（阿桂等，1799，頁 5b），看似按照漢文原文字面意思翻譯，但「勝國」二字據學者研究，原先是「亡國」，本身使用涉及先秦時期的政治思想，涉及了征伐之意涵，字面上看不必然是先朝之意，但在明清之時華夏之辨的語境中使用，意思漸明

確為已亡的先朝，使用該字能避免華夏之辨中的歧視字眼，也能確立朝代的承傳（洪麗珠，2018）。但是滿文的“etehe gurun”反而是「勝利之國」的意思，若將“etehe”（勝利）改用被動態翻譯似乎較好。滿文《起居注冊》與滿文《實錄》則寫為“ulanduhangge”（相互傳遞）與“nenehe jalan”（前代）（佚名，1778c，頁 24a；慶桂等，1807，頁 8b），除了將「勝朝」為先朝的意思表述出來，也將朝代之間相互競爭，滅亡前朝的意象轉變為連續性的承傳。

「可為金源同派之證」（佚名，1777c，頁 84b）一語，滿文《源流考》為“erebe aisin gurun-i emu sekiyen ojoro temgetu obuci ombi.”（阿桂等，1799，頁 5a）（此可為與金朝一源之證），滿文《起居注冊》為“erebe aisin gurun-de daci emu fisen ojoro temgetu obuci ombi.”（佚名，1778c，頁 23b）（此可為在金朝時原是一系之證），滿文《實錄》則為“erebe daci aisin gurun-i emu fisen ojoro temgetu obuci ombi”（慶桂等，1807，頁 8a-b）（此可為與金朝一系之證），“sekiyen”與“fisen”都表明了乾隆皇帝心目中的金朝與愛新覺羅皇室有同一來源的關係，但“fisen”可能是較晚出的滿語詞彙，並非早期滿洲人習慣使用的表達方式，使用“fisen”應較使用“sekiyen”受到漢文字面影響。⁷另外，滿文《起居注冊》的譯文，卻明確表示了時間點在金朝，令人進一步感到三仙女神話發生於金代，這並非乾隆皇帝所表述的或明言的，因此這應是翻譯者自己的理解。

在描述金朝之先的渤海國等已有文字禮樂一段（佚名，1777c，頁 85b），滿文《源流考》在時態上使用過去式“bihe”（阿桂等，1799，頁 9a）（曾有），較為正確，滿文《起居注冊》與滿文《實錄》則使用“bisire”（佚名，1778c，頁 27a；慶桂等，1807，頁 10b）等現在式形態。提及滿文為額

⁷ 康熙朝編纂以滿文釋義滿文的《御製清文鑑》，其中“sekiyen”的釋義為「水源所出的地方」（阿爾泰語研究所，1978，頁 50），“fisen”一詞則未被收錄。康熙年間編纂的《大清全書》另稱“fisen”為「以頸血濺大王之濺」（沈啟亮，2008，頁 361），同為康熙年間編纂的《滿漢同文全書》亦如此釋義（佚名，1690，頁 17a）。乾隆朝的《御製增訂清文鑑》則有“han-i fisen”一詞對應之漢字寫為「帝系」（清高宗，1986，頁 11a-b）。推測“fisen”作為「系」是由「濺」、「噴」之類的概念推演而來，表示兩個事物由同一來源衍生而來，應是較晚出的滿語。“fisen”與“sekiyen”雖都是描述來源的辭彙，但“fisen”似乎較強調衍生，較少強調最初來源的意涵。

爾德尼等人「遵制」時，滿文《起居注冊》僅用“toktobufi”（佚名，1778c，頁 27a）（使定），滿文《實錄》則是“fukjin toktobufi”（慶桂等，1807，頁 10b）（初定／定下基礎），滿文《源流考》則為“songkolome banjibufi”（阿桂等，1799，頁 9a）（遵制），較為清楚，且用“songkolombi”一字表示出額爾德尼等人遵照了努爾哈齊的意旨。「金初之字」一語，滿文《源流考》為“aisin gurun-i tuktan fon-i banjibuha hergen”（阿桂等，1799，頁 9a）（金朝初始之時所造之字），滿文《起居注冊》與滿文《實錄》則為“aisin gurun-i fukjin toktobuha hergen”（佚名，1778c，頁 27b；慶桂等，1807，頁 10b）（金朝初定／定下基礎之字），滿文《源流考》較符合漢文語境，因為這些文字皇帝認為是金初所定，譯文書明時間點，但若是滿文《起居注冊》與滿文《實錄》的譯文，這些「初定」之字也可以是金末方初定，語意並不清楚。乾隆帝這道上諭強調了清朝與金朝的連續性，因此上諭此時討論金朝文字與滿文之關係，應是要解答兩者既然有連續性，為什麼文字不一樣，乃至額爾德尼等人必須創製滿文的問題。滿文《起居注冊》與滿文《實錄》的譯文選用“fukjin”（開端）描述金朝或金朝之前的文字，或許也是這種金朝文字與本朝文字應有連續性思維的反應。

三、翻譯者不同的文句斟酌

「翻譯者不同的文句斟酌」是譯文有所差異，但未涉及文義的理解錯誤，而是不同譯者對同一漢文的斟酌。雖未涉及錯誤，但亦能見到不同譯者面對同一漢文之用心，顯示翻譯並非僅是機械性的對應。有一些是名詞的差異，比如「鞞鞞」（佚名，1777c，頁 83b）一詞，滿文《源流考》、滿文《起居注冊》與滿文《實錄》分別翻譯為“mo ho”（阿桂等，1799，頁 1b）、“mo he”（佚名，1778c，頁 20b）、“me he”（慶桂等，1807，頁 6b），顯示了翻譯者對該詞彙的發音並不一致。此外，乾隆皇帝視為滿洲先祖的族群卻沒有統一的滿文名稱，而滿文的“ho”跟“he”的子音“h”發音部位亦不同，⁸此二

⁸ “ho”的“h”發音為 /χ/，“he”的“h”則為 /x/。/χ/是當時漢文沒有的音，《欽定清漢對音字式》則說“ho”要「重讀」（清高宗，1772，頁 2b）。

點值得研究者注意。

「漢字相沿，訛為滿洲」（佚名，1777c，頁 83b）一語，滿文《起居注冊》與滿文《實錄》譯為“nikan hergen ishunde songkolohoi tašarame. man jeo seme arahabi”（佚名，1778c，頁 20b；慶桂等，1807，頁 6b），用副詞“ishunde”翻譯「相」字，“songkolohoi”（奉行著）表示「奉行」動作的延續，貼合了「相沿」二字，但滿文《源流考》則翻譯為“nikan hergen-i songkolome arahai tašarame man jeo sehe”（阿桂等，1799，頁 1b—2a），則用“arahai”，表示「書寫」動作的延續，亦符合漢文「相沿」的意思，斷句上更接近漢文原文，同時指出乾隆皇帝所指之訛乃是相繼的書寫錯誤所產生。「其實即古肅慎為珠申之轉音」（佚名，1777c，頁 83b—84a）一語的「其實」，滿文《源流考》譯為“yargiyan oci”（阿桂等，1799，頁 2a）（實為），較貼合漢文，而滿文《起居注冊》則為“terei yargiyan-be kimcici”（佚名，1778c，頁 20b）（究其實）則更為生動；滿文《實錄》則翻譯為“terei yargiyan-be kimcici. julgei su šen serengge. uthai jušen shei forgošoho mudan”（慶桂等，1807，頁 6b），其中用“shei”表示珠申為肅慎轉音一點是自古一直持續的，符合皇帝證明滿洲族源淵遠流長的編纂目的，更傳達漢文未能清楚傳達的意境。

「意當時三國必有三汗，各統其一」（佚名，1777c，頁 84a）一句，三份滿文譯文在表示「汗」及「韓」時，均小心符號的使用，若表示「韓」，均在滿文左邊加上一點，作“ha.n”以示不同於君長之號的「汗」，但滿文《實錄》則是在表示此句的「汗」時也作“ha.n”（慶桂等，1807，頁 7b），應是翻譯人認為此處所表示的「汗」，畢竟與指稱皇帝的「汗」不同，因此仍予以加點避諱。同樣涉及「汗」名號理解的還有「桀犬之吠」（佚名，1777c，頁 84b）中的「桀」的譯文，滿文《源流考》與滿文《起居注冊》均書為“giyei han”（佚名，1778c，頁 22b；阿桂等，1799，頁 4a），夏桀雖為暴君，但仍是正統王朝之帝王，但滿文《實錄》則寫為“giyei ha.n”（慶桂等，1807，頁 8a），隱含對其地位的貶斥。「文王西夷之人」（佚名，1777c，頁 84b）一句中文王的譯文亦涉及此問題，滿文《源流考》與滿文《起居注冊》均書為“wen wang”（佚名，1778c，頁 23a；阿桂等，1799，頁 4b），但滿文《實錄》

書為“wen wang han”（慶桂等，1807，頁 8a），綜合前述「三汗」與「桀」的例子，可以看出滿文《實錄》此處清楚稱周文王為汗，表示其正統地位，“wang”本身已是稱號，但滿文《實錄》翻譯者可能認為如此無法突出周文王的正統地位，因此加上“han”字。⁹

「普天率土，統於一尊，理固如斯也」（佚名，1777c，頁 84b）一語，滿文《源流考》譯為“abkai fejergi gubci baingge emu ejen-de uherilebure-be dahame. gijan-de yargijan-i uttu.”（阿桂等，1799，頁 5b）（天下全境統於一主，故於理真是如此），滿文《起居注冊》卻譯為“abkai fejergi gubci baingge uhei emu-be wesihulerengge gijan uttu kai”（佚名，1778c，頁 24a）（崇奉天下一統，理應如此），滿文《實錄》多同滿文《起居注冊》，惟將「崇尚」一詞改以過去式“wesihulehengge”表達（慶桂等，1807，頁 8b），兩者的意思都較漢文原文多做引申。

「妄信讒言」（佚名，1777c，頁 85a）一語，滿文《源流考》書為“geli acuhiyan gisun-de balai akdafi”（阿桂等，1799，頁 6b）（又妄信讒言），滿文《起居注冊》與滿文《實錄》寫為“geli acuhiyadara gisun-be balai donjifi”（佚名，1778c，頁 25a；慶桂等，1807，頁 9a）（彼又妄聽讒言），「信」與「聽」二者程度不同，滿文《源流考》譯文較佳也貼合漢文。「以七大恨告天」（佚名，1777c，頁 85a）一語，滿文《源流考》為“nadan amba koro baita-be abka-de alafi cooha gaifi kimun gaimen.”（阿桂等，1799，頁 6b）（將七大恨告天，領兵復仇），滿文《起居注冊》作“nadan amba seyecun-be arafi. abka-de

⁹ 清代翻譯工作者對於滿文之譯法，並非隨意譯之，應是都有各自的一套翻譯訣竅，惟僅看字面意義難以理解。古代聖王是否加“han”，能見諸於當時的相關討論。中央民族大學藏有《翻譯批答》一書，時間與作者不詳。本文推測為光緒朝之書，因其中提及要避諱“hūwan”字為“huwan”，應是避光緒帝生父醇親王之諱。該書談論滿文翻譯之理論，其中便提及：「舜、禹、文、武、新法以未有天下之時言之，則不加 han，然細按之，則是連番疊舉，泛而論之之辭，刪去 han 字，以求簡耳。蓋舜禹等字，皆為上賓以後，郊天而祀以證之者也。夫重華協帝曰舜，受禪成功曰禹，以德有天下曰文，以威有天下約武，既舉其證而稱之，曷可不加 han 哉。至武王伐紂，厥時，已自稱王，故曰：『惟有道曾孫周王發也。』是宜加 han 矣。然不加 han，亦不為錯者」（佚名，1863—1907，頁 8—9）。由此觀之，文本加“han”與不加“han”並非隨意為之，雖然兩種譯法都沒有錯誤，但隱含了譯者的理解與思想在其中。

alame wecefi. kimun gaime cooha deribufi.”（佚名，1778c，頁 25a）（作七大恨告祭天，復仇興兵），滿文《實錄》則為“nadan amba koro-be abka-de alame wecefi. kimun gaime cooha deribufi.”（慶桂等，1807，頁 9a）（將七大恨告祭天，復仇興兵），七大恨的「恨」，滿文《起居注冊》作“seyecun”（怨恨），滿文《源流考》與滿文《實錄》均為“koro”（傷害、怨恨），看似兩者都可，但在《滿文原檔》中，七大恨的原文確實寫為“koro”（馮明珠，2006，頁 79—82）。“koro”本身還有受到傷害、苦痛的意思（阿爾泰語研究所，1978，頁 218），使用“koro”一詞表示了當年清太祖向上天控訴明朝不公對其造成傷害的情境。康熙年間編纂的滿文辭書，則未見到“seyecun”一詞，從詞根可知該詞是從“seyembi”（恨）派生而來。因此滿文《源流考》與滿文《實錄》譯文的用字較符合七大恨告天時的歷史情境，滿文《起居注冊》譯者前述其曾使用“fisen”一詞，此處使用“seyecun”一詞，顯示該名譯者較易受到漢文字面意思影響並使用相對晚出的滿語詞彙。

「明為元之百姓」（佚名，1777c，頁 85a）一語中的「百姓」，滿文《起居注冊》直接翻譯為“tanggū hala”（佚名，1778c，頁 25b）（百姓），直接翻譯自漢文字面，滿文《實錄》則採用意譯，直接翻譯為“irgen”（慶桂等，1807，頁 9b）（民），滿文《源流考》的翻譯則剛好綜合了兩者，為“tanggū halai irgen”（阿桂等，1799，頁 7a）（百姓之民），既翻譯了字面也翻譯了字義。《御製清文鑑》釋義“irgen”為「天下之人」，該書也收有應是來自漢文的“tanggū hala”一詞，表述是因為天下之人姓氏眾多，所以總稱為“tanggū hala”（阿爾泰語研究所，1978，頁 138）。《御製清文鑑》的釋義顯示“tanggū hala”是專門用來統稱“irgen”的姓氏，雖然釋義偏重於「姓氏」的層面，但應已具備指涉“irgen”的作用。滿文《源流考》譯者可能因對“tanggū hala”的釋義偏重於姓氏層面，也可能受到該詞的字面意思「一百個姓」影響，而認為該詞不夠精確（若細思，公侯將相不亦在「百姓」的範圍）遂加上明確指涉的“irgen”。這本身的問題涉及漢語「百姓」一詞所包含的意義，不一定同等轉移到滿文相同字面的詞彙。

上諭評判漢唐宋明取秦隋周元而代之，「或攘或侵，不復顧惜名義」（佚名，1777c，頁 85a），滿文《源流考》翻譯為“*uttu bime.ememungge durime gaihabi. ememungge necinjime sucunjihabi. gebu jurgan-be majige hono hairame tuwašataha ba akū*”（阿桂等，1799，頁 7b）（然而，有些奪取，有的侵犯，無稍惜守名義之處），滿文《起居注冊》作“*embici durire embici necinere-de fuhali gebu jurgan-be gūninahakūbi*”（佚名，1778c，頁 25b）（或奪或侵，此中竟不思及名義），滿文《實錄》譯為“*embici durime gaiha embici gidanafi gaihangge-de fuhali gebu jurgan-be gūninahakūbi*”（慶桂等，1807，頁 9b）（或奪取或欺壓取之，此中竟不思及名義），滿文《源流考》翻譯較貼合漢文強調的「顧惜」意思，滿文《起居注冊》及滿文《實錄》較屬意譯。

「若我朝乃明與國，當闖賊擾亂，滿文明社既移之後，吳三桂迎迓王師入關」（佚名，1777c，頁 85a）一語，滿文《源流考》翻譯“*aika musei gurun oci. ming gurun-i gese sasa gurun. cuwangdzei hūlha burgindume facuhūraha. ming gurun-i doro emgeri guribuhe manggi. u san gui han-i cooha-be okdome gajifi. furdan-de dosifi*”（阿桂等，1799，頁 7b）（若我朝如明一般的並存之國。闖賊動亂，明朝之道已被移，吳三桂迎領汗軍後，入關），滿文《起居注冊》譯為“*musei gurun oci. ming gurun-i adaki gurun. cuwang dzei hūlha ming gurun-be facuhūrame jobobume guribuhe amala. u san gui. wang-ni cooha-be furdan-de okdome dosimbufi.*”（佚名，1778c，頁 25b—26a）（我朝為明朝之鄰國。闖賊擾亂明朝，使其移後，吳三桂將王師迎入關），滿文《實錄》譯為“*musei gurun oci. ming gurun-i adaki gurun. liodzei hūlha facuhūrame jobobume ming gurun-i doro-be guribuhe amala. u san gui. amba cooha-be okdome furdan-de dosifi.*”（慶桂等，1807，頁 9b）（我朝為明朝之鄰國。流賊擾亂，使明朝之業移後，吳三桂迎大軍而入關）。關於「與國」的概念，一般認為是「相互友好之國」，但這似乎不太符合明清兩國之關係，因此滿文的翻譯值得一看，滿文《源流考》譯為「如明一般的並存之國」，強調了清政權的性質與明朝平等，而當時共同存在，滿文《起居注冊》及滿文《實錄》則翻

譯為「鄰國」，但是漢文的與國概念不一定要相鄰，¹⁰ 因此翻譯為鄰國雖符合明清的地理位置，但與漢文語意有差別。而關於「王師」，滿文《起居注冊》譯為「王的軍隊」，雖然與漢文字面完全貼合，但是清世祖當時並不僅是「王」，而是「皇帝」，滿文《實錄》則改為「大軍」，強調大清軍容壯盛而不按照「王」的字面翻譯，而「滿文《源流考》則譯為「汗的軍隊」最為貼切，因為“han”也有皇帝的意思。而「明社」，滿文《源流考》與滿文《實錄》都翻譯為明朝之「統」（doro），¹¹ 滿文《起居注冊》僅翻譯為「明朝」，前二者翻譯似較佳，更清楚指涉明朝統緒（doro）已亡。

「朱果發祥」（佚名，1777c，頁 85b）一語，滿文《源流考》譯為“fulgiyan tubihe-i sabi-de eldekengge”（阿桂等，1799，頁 8a）（因朱果祥瑞降生），滿文《起居注冊》則是“fulgiyan tubihe-i sabi tucinjihengge”（佚名，1778c，頁 26b）（朱果祥瑞出），滿文《實錄》則為“fulgiyan tubihe-ci hūhuri badarakengge”（慶桂等，1807，頁 10a）（從朱果闡福），滿文《實錄》應是以“hūhuri”（福）為「祥」，“badarambi”（張揚）為「發」，應是為了貼合漢文，滿文《源流考》則是清楚表示此語與布庫里雍順之降生有關，滿文《起居注冊》相比之下意思雖沒錯，但在字面與字義似都不如另兩者。「周之高禰履武」（佚名，1777c，頁 85b），滿文《源流考》譯為“jeo gurun-i amba niyalmai songko-be fehuhu”（阿桂等，1799，頁 8a-b）（周朝的踩到巨人腳印），滿文《起居注冊》與滿文《實錄》都翻譯為“jeo gurun-i g’ao mei wecen-de bethei songko-be fehure”（佚名，1778c，頁 26b；慶桂等，1807，頁 10a）（周朝的因高禰神而踩到腳印一事），滿文《源流考》譯文翻譯周朝起源傳說本

¹⁰ 《御製清文鑑》釋義“adaki”為「任何附近緊挨居住的房子」（阿爾泰語研究所，1978，頁 333），可見滿文語境中“adaki”強調了地理空間上的接近。但在漢文史料中使用「與國」一詞時兩國不一定要相近，比如《籌辦夷務始末》提及查拏匪徒恐礙英國船隻通行時，便曾言及「殊非優待使臣、結交與國之意」（賈楨等，1970，頁 5815）。英國與清朝明顯非「相鄰」之國度。

¹¹ “doro”一詞語意甚多，常見的有「道」、「禮」等等意思，亦能指涉一個政權或一個事業。《御製清文鑑》釋義“doro”為“an kemun dorolon kooli”（阿爾泰語研究所，1978，頁 65），大致可譯為「常規禮法」，都是要讓人遵循的規範。可能規範的概念，與政權這種制訂規範使人遵守的力量在意涵上是可以共通的。在此處可以使用政權或事業的概念來理解，本文則選用字典釋義所無的「統」字，因在許多文獻中“doro”與「統」可以對譯，比如筆者所見檔案中「繼承大統」之滿文本寫為“amba doro-be sirame alifi”（李蔭樾，1735，頁 6、10）。

身，但未提及高禱。「垂示天下萬世」（佚名，1777c，頁 85b）一語，滿文《源流考》為“abkai fejergi tumen jalan-de isitala tutabuci acambi.”（阿桂等，1799，頁 9b）（應存留直至天下萬世），滿文《起居注冊》與滿文《實錄》則是“abkai fejergi tumen jalan-de tuwabume tutabuci acambi.”（佚名，1778c，頁 27b—28a；慶桂等，1807，頁 11a）（應垂示天下萬世），以“tuwabume”翻譯「示」，較滿文《源流考》貼合漢文；不過滿文《源流考》另外使用了“isitala”（直至）一詞，也頗符合語意，因為天下萬世乃是一時間延續的概念。

參、從差異看編纂過程

前文比對命輯《滿洲源流考》上諭的滿漢文本，研究發現漢文本內容高度一致，僅存在個別文字的差異，且其中大部分僅是異體字之別。臺北故宮的長本上諭檔與方本上諭檔，以及第一歷史檔案館的上諭檔，彼此之間沿襲關係如何，是可以追究的問題（莊吉發，1978），而上諭傳抄盛京等地方行政單位的過程，也是可以再追問的問題。

相較於漢文本文字的高度相同，滿文本的內容卻不盡相同，滿文《源流考》與滿文《起居注冊》的語句順序及用字均不一致，滿文《實錄》版雖與滿文《起居注冊》版的語句順序較為一致，但用字仍有不同；且斷句相對更貼合漢文《實錄》。顯示當時滿文《實錄》纂修時，並不完全照錄滿文《起居注冊》，同時並未參考已經成書的滿文《源流考》。

究之三種滿文本上諭的時空背景，滿文《源流考》應是較能反應編纂者思想的譯本，滿文《起居注冊》則是最接近上諭發布時間的版本，滿文《實錄》則反映了嘉慶朝官員對此篇上諭的理解。相較而言，有時是滿文《源流考》較貼合漢文，但有時則相反，不過滿文《源流考》的譯文雖未完全貼合漢文，但其語意卻與漢文頗為契合；滿文《起居注冊》雖較為貼合上諭字句，但卻有誤解上意的情況；滿文《實錄》的語句順序看得出承襲自滿文《起居注冊》

譯文，但由於滿文《起居注冊》本身追求字面上與漢文貼合，因此滿文《實錄》在此基礎上亦有理解錯誤的情況，而從滿文《實錄》對滿文《起居注冊》的修改看來，可看出滿文《實錄》本身也是追求貼合漢文本的文字。

漢文本高度相同，滿文本卻差異甚大，除了代表漢文應是第一稿之外，值得追問的是，為什麼對於第二稿的譯本，反而會有修改的過程？滿文《起居注冊》與滿文《實錄》看起來有沿襲的關係，同時滿文《實錄》也有不少對滿文《起居注冊》的修改之處，除部分原屬於滿文《起居注冊》的錯誤之外，許多修改其實只是換句話說，並不涉及譯文正確與否，為何各版的漢文本幾乎是一字不漏地照騰，滿文卻不這麼做呢？若說因為滿文是第二稿，所以不需像漢文這麼嚴格地一致，但對於編纂人員而言，照錄不是比較容易嗎？本文認為原因或許在滿文《起居注冊》的修纂過於倉促之故。

《起居注冊》制度原先的設計是在彙整之後「每葉鈐以翰林院印，貯之鐵甌，扃鐃封識，歲終題明送內閣，會同內閣學士監視藏之內閣大庫」（清高宗，1983，頁28），亦即《起居注冊》的修纂時間本來就有限。隨著清政府檔案制度日趨完備，《起居注冊》所記注之內容與其他檔案必有重複，因此時間愈後，《起居注冊》的纂修愈依賴其他部院檔冊。乾隆朝之《起居注冊》，通常是隔年修纂上一年的《起居注冊》，並於12月封存（托津，1991；莊吉發，1980）。每年的《起居注冊》於隔年年末修成，這樣的成例一直持續到清末（陸潤庠、榮慶，1910）。檔案中可見起居注官於一年之開始要求各單位彙編去年之檔案（佚名，1781，1844），有些部院甚至遲交檔案，起居注官亦會向各部院詢問去年的相關細節，¹²從檔案時間可見《起居注冊》可能過了大半年都還在修纂。

莊吉發（1980）本於實物文獻的研究，指出《起居注冊》是先修漢文本再修滿文本，並舉乾隆三十六年《起居注冊》為例，該年正月下的《起居

¹² 可見相關檔案（佚名，1800），此時已十一月，但起居注冊仍未完成。另查成書之《起居注冊》，可知該親王為儀親王永璇。

注冊》稿本封面寫有「九月二十六日送繙，十月十四日領回」，三月上稿本則寫「九月二十六日送繙，十月十四日收回」（頁 131—132）。¹³ 由此可知，翻譯的工作約莫僅有 20 個工作日，而且上半年的《起居注冊》直到九月才完成草本，要到十月中旬才完成滿文本，可見留給滿文本的翻譯時間並不多，滿文本可能有趕工的狀況，因此錯誤也較多。

收有命輯《滿洲源流考》上諭的《起居注冊》草本，並未寫明送翻與領回時間。該段《起居注冊》草本於命輯《滿洲源流考》上諭之後注明「前經降旨一道，增」（佚名，1778b，十九日壬子，段 4），而在《起居注冊》正本確實較《起居注冊》草本多一段上諭，滿文《起居注冊》也較《起居注冊》草本多出該道上諭，推測此時或為簡化行政程式，是完成正本之後才送翻。無論如何，《起居注冊》滿文本的翻譯工時都不長。前引《嘉慶朝上諭檔》提及《滿洲源流考》滿文本直到嘉慶四年才成書，若《起居注冊》的修纂如此倉促，必須在上諭發布的隔年便完成，那麼滿文本《起居注冊》就沒有參考滿文本《源流考》的條件。

這應是比較三份滿文本時，會發現滿文《起居注冊》的翻譯有些地方確實較不高明，甚至有誤解的原因。滿文《實錄》與滿文《起居注冊》滿文本不同的原因，應是實錄館臣知道滿文《起居注冊》中的文字並非原創，而翻譯過程較趕，錯誤可能較多，或是有格式、用語不劃一之處，因此必須加以修改。乾隆四十二年份的《實錄》大約在嘉慶十年（1805 年）完成，¹⁴ 時間上有條件參考《滿洲源流考》滿文本。但《實錄》可能僅依據《起居注冊》修改，且此時距離原始的上諭發布時間更遠，因此可能出現脫離過往語境而無法正確理解之處。

¹³ 筆者亦親見三月上稿本，情況如莊吉發先生所述（佚名，1772）。

¹⁴ 《清實錄》記載嘉慶十年皇帝恭閱其皇考之實錄時，皇帝引用了乾隆四十一年二月份的諭旨，由此推斷乾隆四十二年份的《實錄》也在這段時間內修纂完成；另外，嘉慶七年也提及《高宗純皇帝實錄》「進呈至二十年」。見《清實錄》（曹振鏞等，1986，頁 139、430）。

肆、結語

本文比對乾隆四十二年命輯《滿洲源流考》上諭的滿漢文本，發現漢文本即便有許多版本，內容卻高度相似。相較於漢文本的高度相同，滿文本卻有許多差異，滿文《源流考》與滿文《起居注冊》語句順序、理解邏輯與用字均不一致，滿文《實錄》雖與滿文《起居注冊》語句順序較為一致，但用字仍有不同，且斷句相對上更貼合漢文《實錄》。此現象顯示滿文《實錄》在纂修時，應是以滿文《起居注冊》為底稿但並不完全照錄，同時未參考已經成書的滿文《源流考》。原因應在於滿文《起居注冊》修纂倉促，滿文《實錄》遂在其基礎上修改，但亦有趕辦之問題，滿文本《實錄》可能又需待漢文本《實錄》完成方開始纂修（楊立紅、朱正業，2014），因此也未有時間逐一核對曾經出版的如滿文本《源流考》等材料，更何況不是所有上諭都有滿文譯本，與其費心找到一本書又只能翻譯幾道上諭，滿文《實錄》翻譯人員不如拿已經成文且連貫的滿文《起居注冊》為底稿。對於翻譯人員而言，滿文因是第二稿，只要追求意思符合漢文即可，而不需追求字字照錄。這同時也顯示在清朝滿文文書制度中，有時文義較文字的傳真來得重要，而這樣的行政程序保留了翻譯者對於文本的理解。

無論如何，在此例中滿文文獻雖是二手材料，卻可以看出滿文本保留了翻譯者對同一漢文材料的不同理解。如前所述的究竟是「金世祖」還是「金始祖」；是「舊稱滿珠所屬曰珠申」還是「舊稱滿珠，所屬曰珠申」；對於「建州」應該怎麼理解等問題，都顯示滿文材料是我們理解漢文材料的內容與傳播時，不可或缺的一個側面。本文將此同一材料的滿文各版本修改幅度明顯高於漢文各版本的現象，稱為「同調異聲」，亦即在同一主旋律下的不同聲音，此間的差異或許不到歐立德（2006）所言滿漢檔案「二重唱」的程度（頁10），所代表的也並非更接近統治者內心想法的聲音，但可能代表了基層官僚的理解與想法，亦不可忽視。本文希望藉由命輯《滿洲源流考》上諭的例

子，拋磚引玉，令吾人對此種滿文材料的性質能有更深之理解與運用，避免過度誇大或貶低了其重要性。

沈衛榮（2019）提及近年來對於滿漢文檔案的性質，出現一種過猶不及的態度，對漢文文本的真實性表達懷疑，認為滿文等其他語言的檔案可以更接近真實，對非漢文檔案的真實性則不表懷疑，但不管是哪個語言的檔案，都是經官方程序所形成，會盡量保持各語種內容的一致，製作者不會刻意竄改某一個語種的檔案。在各語種間讀到的差異，很可能在當時語文和歷史語境中是完全相同的意思，雖然這些文字的不同只是表面的，但其中的「細微差別」正是學者值得著力之處，將他們簡單看成漢人竄改是不正確和不學術的態度（頁 257—261）。這樣的研究取徑能夠加深對於各語種的語境與相關制度的認識，誠如本文所呈現的，文本呈現的諸多差異，並非是某文本竄改了內容，而是不同譯者對同一事情的理解差異。本文的例子特別可見基層文官對於皇帝上諭的理解並非完全一致，讓我們見到相異的思想與詮釋，有時候可能正是這些不同於第一手史料的理解，推動了歷史的發展。

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【Anonymous. (1778a). *Qiju zhuce Qianlong sishier nian ba yue xia zhengben* (File number: 104001233). National Palace Museum, Taipei.】

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【Anonymous. (1778b). *Qiju zhuce Qianlong sishier nian ba yue xia caoben* (File number: 104001257). National Palace Museum, Taipei.】

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【Anonymous. (1778c). *Manwen qiju zhuce Qianlong sishier nian ba yue xia* (File number: 114001310). National Palace Museum, Taipei.】

佚名 (1781)。《為恭纂乾隆四十五年起居注冊將乾隆四十五年份所有欽奉清漢字上諭等按月造冊送館事致內務府》(編號: 05-13-002-000453-0016)。中國第一歷史檔案館, 北京。

【Anonymous. (1781). *Wei gong zuan Qianlong sishiwunian qiju zhuce jiang*

Qianlong sishiwu nianfen suoyou qinfeng Qing Han zi shangyu deng anyue zaoce song guan shi zhi neiwufu (File number: 05-13-002-000453-0016). The First Historical Archives of China, Beijing.】

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附錄

表一之一

本文比對內容

上諭檔	滿文《源流考》	滿文《起居注冊》	滿文《實錄》
頃閱金史世紀云：金世祖 ¹⁵ 居完顏部（佚名，1777c，頁83b）	jakan aisin gurun-i suduri-i jalan-i hergin-be tuwaci. tede arahangge aisin gurun-i deribuhe mafa wanggiyan aiman-de tembi.（阿桂等，1799，頁1a）	jakan aisin gurun-i suduri-i jalan-i hergin-i bithe-be tuwaci. tede aisin gurun daci wanggiya aiman-de tehebi.（佚名，1778c，頁20a）	jakan aisin gurun-i suduri jalan-i hergin-i bithe-be tuwaci. tede aisin gurun-i ši dzu han. daci wanggiya aiman-de tehebi.（慶桂等，1807，頁6a）
史又稱金之先出靺鞨部，古肅慎地。我朝肇興時，舊稱滿珠所屬曰珠申，後改滿珠。 ¹⁶ 而漢字相沿，訛為滿洲，其實即古肅慎為珠申之轉音，更足徵疆域之相同矣。（佚名，1777c，頁83b—84a）	suduri-de geli aisin gurun-i mafa mo ho aiman-ci tucikebi. julgei su šen gurun-i ba inu sehebi. musei gurun deribume mukdehe fonde daci manju-i harangga niyalma-be jušen sembihe. amala manju seme halaha bicibe. nikan hergen hergen-i songkolome arahai tašarame man jeo sehe yargiyan oci uthai julgei su šen sere hergen-be jušen sehe forgošoho mudan. ede jase jecen-i ishunde adališara-be ele yargiyalaci ombikai.（阿桂等，1799，頁1b—2a）	suduri bithe-de. geli aisin gurun-i nenehe jalan. mo he aiman-ci tucikengge. julgei su šen-i ba inu sehebi. musei gurun fukjin mukdere-de. daci manju-i hartungga-be jušen sembi. amala manju seme halaha bicibe. nikan hergen ishunde songkolohoi tašarame. man jeo seme arahabi. terei yargiyan-be kimcici. julgei su šen serengge. uthai jušen sere forgošoho mudan. ede jase jecen ishunde adališara-be ele temgetuleci ombi.（佚名，1778c，頁20b—21a）	suduri bithe-de. geli aisin gurun-i nenehe jalan. me he aiman-ci tucikengge julgei su šen-i ba inu sehebi. musei gurun fukjin mukdere-de. daci manju seme halaha bicibe. nikan g i s u n i s h u n d e songkolohoi tašarame man jeo seme arahabi. terei yargiyan-be kimcici. julgei su šen serengge. uthai jušen sehei forgošoho mudan. ede jase jecen ishunde adališara-be ele temgetuleci ombi.（慶桂等，1807，頁6b）

(續下頁)

¹⁵ 《滿洲源流考》為「金始祖」。

¹⁶ 《實錄》，一檔館藏《上諭檔》、《內閣大庫檔案》、《盛京內務府檔案》均寫為「後改稱滿珠」。

表一之一

本文比對內容(續)

又後漢書三韓傳，為 ¹⁷ 辰韓人兒生欲令頭匾 ¹⁸ ，押之以石。(佚名，1777c，頁84a)	geli amagangga ha.n gurun-i bithe-i ilan ha.n gurun-i ulabun-de cen ha.n gurun-i niyalma. juse banjifi uju-be halfiyan okini seme wehe-i gidambi sehebi. (阿桂等，1799，頁2a-b)	geli amgangga ha.n gurun-i bithei san ha.n sere ulabun-de. cen ha.n seme narahabi[arahabi]. tubai niyalma jui banjifi uju-be halfiyan obuki seme wehei gidambi sehebi. (佚名，1778c，頁21a)	geli amgan ha.n gurun-i bithei ilan ha.n sere ulabun-de. cen ha.n-i niyalma. jui banjifi uju-be halfiyan obuki seme wehei gidambi sehebi. (慶桂等，1807，頁6b)
意當時三國必有三汗 ¹⁹ ，各統其一。史家不知汗為君長之稱，遂以音同誤譯。(佚名，1777c，頁84a)	gūnici tere fon-i ilan gurun-de. urunakū ilan han bifi meimeni emte gurun-be kadalajahi dere. suduri arara urse. han sere hergen ejen da-i tukiye hengge-be sarkū ofi. uthai mudan adališaha hergen-be tašarame nikanrame ubaliyambikai. (阿桂等，1799，頁3a-b)	ainci tere fon-i ilan gurun-de. urunakū ilan han bifi. meimeni emu babe uherilehebi. suduri arara urse han serengge. ejen-i tukiye inu-be sarkū ofi. uthai mudan gaime tašarame ubaliyambuhabi. (佚名，1778c，頁22a)	ainci tere fon-i ilan gurun-de. urunak ilan ha.n bifi. meimeni emu babe uherilembehe. suduri arara urse ha.n serengge. ejen seme tukiye rengge inu-be sarkū ofi. uthai mudan-de acabume tašarame ubaliyambuhabi. (慶桂等，1807，頁7a-b)
致明季狂誕之徒，尋摘字句，肆為詆毀，此如桀犬之吠，無 ²⁰ 庸深較。(佚名，1777c，頁84b)	ming gurun-i dubesilehe fon-i balama kūwasa urse gisun hergen-be sonjome gaifi gūnin-i c i h a i e h e c u m e wakašara-de isinahabi. ere uthai giyei han-i indahūn gūwara adali. šumilame bodoro-be baiburakū. (阿桂等，1799，頁4a-b)	ming gurun-i fonde. balame holo urse. gisun hergen-be sonjome gaifi. gūnin cihai ehecume gisurerengge ere uthai giyei han-i indahūn gūwara adali šumilame faksalara-be baiburakū. (佚名，1778c，頁22b-23a)	ming gurun-i fonde. balama holo urse. gisun hergen-be sonjome gaifi. gūnin-i cihai ehecume wakašahangge. ere uthai giyei ha.n-i indahūn gūwara adali šumilame faksalara-be baiburakū bicibe (慶桂等，1807，頁7b-8a)

(續下頁)

¹⁷ 《實錄》，一檔館藏《上諭檔》、《內閣大庫檔案》、《盛京內務府檔案》均寫為「謂」。

¹⁸ 《實錄》寫為「扁」。

¹⁹ 《內閣大庫檔案》、《盛京內務府檔案》「汗」為「漢」，臺北故宮藏《起居注冊》草本則原寫漢，後改為汗。

²⁰ 《實錄》為「毋」。

表一之一

本文比對內容 (續)

<p>至於尊崇本朝者。謂雖與大金俱在東方，而非其同部，則所見殊小。我朝得姓、曰愛辛覺羅氏。國語謂金曰愛辛。可為金源同派之證。蓋我朝在大金時。未嘗非完顏氏之服屬。猶之完顏氏在今日。皆為我朝之臣僕。普天率土。統於一尊。理固如斯也。譬之漢唐宋明之相代，豈皆非其勝朝之臣僕乎。(佚名，1777c，頁 84b)</p>	<p>jai musei gurun-be wesihuleme tukiyere urse. udu amba aisin gurun-i sasa gemu dergi ergi-de bicibe harangga aiman waka sehebi sahangge mujak buya musei gurun-i hala aisin gioro sehe. manju gisun gin-be aisin sembi. erebe aisin gurun-i emu sekiyen ojoro temgetu obuci ombi. ainci musei gurun amba aisin gurun-i fonde wanggiyan hala-i harangga waka seci ojarah uthai wanggiyan hala ne gemu musei gurun-i amban aha ojoro adali. abkai fejergi gubci baingge emu ejen-de uherilebure-be dahame. giyan-de yargiyan-i uttu. duibuleci ha.n gurun tang gurun sung gurun ming g u r u n - i i s h u n d e halanjahangge. aika gemu etehe gurun-i amban aha wakao. (阿桂等，1799，頁 4b—5b)</p>	<p>jai musei gurun-be wesihuleme tukiyere urse. muse-be udu aisin gurun-i sasa gemu dergi bade bicibe. emu aiman-i niyalma waka seme henduhengge. ere sahangge jaci ajigen. musei gurun-i hala. aisin gioro hala sembi. manju gisun-de gin-be aisin sembi. erebe aisin gurun-de daci emu fisen ojoro temgetu obuci ombi. musei gurun. aisin gurun-de bisire fonde. wanggiya halangga niyalmai hartungga waka seci ojarah. uthai te-i forgon-de wanggiya halangga niyalma gemu musei gurun-i amban aha oho adali abkai fejergi gubci baingge uhei emu-be wesihulerengge giyan uttu kai. te bicibe ha.n gurun. tang gurun sung gurun. ming gurun-i ishunde ulanduhangge. aika gemu nenehe jalan-i amban aha waka semeo. (佚名，1778c，頁 23a—24a)</p>	<p>jai musei gurun-i wesihuleme tukiyere urse. muse-be udu aisin gurun-i sasa gemu dergi bade bicibe. emu aiman-i niyalma waka seme henduhengge. ere sahangge jaci ajigen. musei gurun-i hala. aisin gioro sembi. manju gisun-de gin-be aisin sembi. erebe daci aisin gurun-i emu fisen ojoro temgetu obuci ombi. muse gurun. aisin gurun-de bihe fonde. wanggiya halai hartungga waka seci ojarahū. uthai te-i forgon-de wanggiya halai niyalma gemu musei gurun-i amban aha oho adali. abkai fejergi gubci baingge uhei emu-be wesihulehengge giyan uttu kai. te bicibe. ha.n gurun. tang gurun. sung gurun. ming gurun-i ishunde ulanduhangge. aika gemu nenehe jalan-i amban aha waka semeo. (慶桂等，1807，頁 8a-b)</p>
<p>且彼妄信讒言，潛謀戕害，於是我太祖赫然振怒，以七大恨告天，興師報復。(佚名，1777c，頁 85a)</p>	<p>tese geli acuhiyan gisun-de balai akdafi dorgideri hebešeme ebdereme jocabure jakade. tereci musei taidzu han ambarame jili banjifi. nadan amba koro baita-be abka-de alafi cooha gaifi kimun gaime. (阿桂等，1799，頁 6b)</p>	<p>ere dade ce geli acuhiyadara gisun-be balai donjifi. jendu argai nungneme jobobure jakade. taidzu han ambula jilidafi. nadan amba seyecun-be arafi. abka-de alame wecefi. kimun gaime cooha deribufi. (佚名，1778c，頁 25a)</p>	<p>ere dade ming gurun geli acuhiyadara gisun-be balai donjifi. jendu argai nungneme jobobure jakade. taidzu han ambarame jili banjifi. nadan nadan amba koro-be abka-de alame wecefi. kimun gaime cooha deribufi. (慶桂等，1807，頁 9a)</p>

(續下頁)

表一之一

本文比對內容 (續)

且漢高乃秦之亭長，唐祖乃隋之列公，宋為周之近臣，明為元之百姓，或攘或侵，不復顧惜名義。若我朝乃明與國，當闖賊擾亂，明社既移之後，吳三桂迎迓王師入關，為之報仇²¹殺賊(佚名，1777c，頁 85a)

至若我國家誕膺天眷，朱果發祥，亦如商之元鳥降生，周之高禰履武(佚名，1777c，頁 85b)

tere anggala ha.n gurun-i g'ao dzu han serengge. cin gurun-i gašan-i da. tang gurun-i g'ao dzu han serengge. sui gurun-i siraha gung. sung gurun seci. jeo gurun-i hanci amban. ming gurun seci. yuwan gurun-i tanggū halai irgen. uttu bime. ememungge durime gaihabi. ememungge necinjime sucunjihabi. gebu jurgan-be majige hono hairame tuwašataha ba akū. aika musei gurun oci. ming gurun-i gese sasa gurun. cuwangdzei hūlha burgindume facuhūraha. ming gurun-i doro emgeri guribuhe manggi. u san gui han-i cooha-be okdome gajifi. furdan-de dosifi tesei jalin hūlha wame kimun gaiha. (阿桂等，1799，頁 7a-b)

jai musei gurun abkai kesi-be alifi. fulgiyan tubihe-i sabi-de eldekengge. inu šang gurun-i yacin gasha-i turgun-de banjiha. jeo gurun-i amba niyalmai songko-be fehuhē adali. (阿桂等，1799，頁 8a-b)

tere anggala han gurun-i g'aodzu han oci. cin gurun-i gašan-i da. tang gurun-i g'aodzu han oci. sui gurun-i liyei gung. sung gurun oci. jeo gurun-i hanciki amban. ming gurun oci. yuwan gurun-i tanggū hala bihe. embici durire embici necinere-de fuhali gebu jurgan-be gūninahakūbi. musei gurun oci. ming gurun-i adaki gurun. cuwang dzei hūlha ming gurun-be facuhūrame jobobume guribuhe amala. u san gui. wang-ni cooha-be furdan-de okdome dosimbufi. ceni jalin kimun gaime hūlha-be waha manggi. (佚名，1778c，頁 25b—26a)

jai musei gurun abkai kesi-be alifi. fulgiyan tubihe-i sabi tucinjihengge inu uthai šang gurun-i yacin gasha wasifi banjire. jeo gurun-i g'ao mei wecen-de bethei songko-be fehure baitai adali. (佚名，1778c，頁 26a-b)

tere anggala. han gurun-i g'ao dzu han oci. cin gurun-i gašan-i da. tang gurun-i g'ao dzu han oci. sui gurun-i liye gung. sung gurun oci. jeo gurun-i hanciki amban. ming gurun oci. yuwan gurun-i irgen bihe. embici durime gaiha embici gidana fi gaihangge. fuhali gebu jurgan-be gūninahakūbi musei gurun oci. ming gurun-i adaki gurun. liodzei hūlha facuhūrame jobobume ming gurun-i doro-be guribuhe amala. u san gui. amba cooha-be okdome furdan-de dosifi. ceni jalin kimun gaime hūlha-be waha manggi. (慶桂等，1807，頁 9b)

jai musei gurun abkai kesi-be alifi. fulgiyan tubihe-ci hūturi badarakangge inu šang gurun-i yacin gasha wasifi banjire. jeo gurun-i g'ao mei wecen-de bethei songko-be fehure baitai adali. (慶桂等，1807，頁 10a)

(續下頁)

²¹ 《實錄》為「讎」。

表一之一

本文比對內容 (續)

<p>是金之先即有字矣，而本朝國書，則自太祖時命額爾德尼巴克什等遵製通行。或金初之字，其後因式微散佚，遂爾失傳（佚名，1777c，頁 85b）</p>	<p>uttu oci aisin gurun-i onggolo uthai hergen bihe kai. muse gurun-i hergen oci taidzu han-i forgon-de erdeni baksi sede afabufi songkolome banjibufi bireme yabubuhabi. ainci aisin gurun-i tuktan fon-i banjibuha hergen amala ebereme wasifi samsime waliyabure jakade（阿桂等，1799，頁 9a-b）</p>	<p>erebe tuwaci aisin gurun-i cargi-de uthai hergen bisire-be saci ombi. musei gurun-i manju hergen-be taidzu han-i fonde. baksi erdeni sede afabufi. tokto bufi bireme yabubuhabi. ainci aisin gurun-i fukjin tokto buha hergen. amala eberefi tereci ulara-be ufarafi（佚名，1778c，頁 27a-b）</p>	<p>erebe tuwaci aisin gurun-i onggolo uthai hergen bisire-be saci ombi. musei gurun-i manju hergen oci taidzu han-i fonde. baksi erdeni sede afabufi. fukjin tokto bufi bireme yabubuhabi. ainci aisin gurun-i fukjin tokto buha hergen. amala eberefi tereci ulara-be ufarafi.（慶桂等，1807，頁 10b）</p>
<p>他如建州之沿革，滿洲之始基，與夫古今地名同異，並當詳加稽考，勒為一書，垂示天下萬世。（佚名，1777c，頁 85b）</p>	<p>jai giyan jeo-i halaha songkoloho. manjusai da sekiyen julge te-i ba na-i gebui adali encu babe gemu giyan-i narhūšame yargiyalame kimcifi emu yohi bithe obume tokto bufi. abkai fejergi tumen jalan-de isitala tutabuci acambi.（阿桂等，1799，頁 9b）</p>	<p>tereci gūwa ilibuha jeo-i dahara halara. manju-i da sekiyen. julge te-i ba-i gebu-i adali encu-be suwaliyame gemu narhūšame kimcime baicafi. šošome emu bithe arafi. abkai fejergi tumen jalan-de tuwabume tutabuci acambi.（佚名，1778c，頁 27b）</p>	<p>jai hecen ilibure-de songkoloho halaha manju-i deribuhe sekiyen. julge te-i ba-i gebu-i adali encu-be suwaliyame gemu narhūšame kimcime baicafi. šošome emu bithe arafi. abkai fejergi tumen jalan-de tuwabume tutabuci acambi.（慶桂等，1807，頁 10b—11a）</p>

The Reprocessed and Repositioned Poe: Investigating Translated Tales of Poe in Taiwan

Shuoyu Charlotte Wu

The present study investigates the translation of Edgar Allan Poe's tales in Taiwan from post-war to the contemporary era. Despite the huge enthusiasm in translating his works, limited studies have been done on how Poe is translated in the local context. To provide a systematic description on how Poe's tales have been translated between 1950 and 2020, a total of 88 translations of Poe's tales published within the specified time frame have been studied and analyzed, with four different text processing modes identified in the so-called "translation" of Poe: fake translations, local translations, adaptations and repackaged translations. Further analysis of the four modes demonstrates how Poe as a literary sign has been reprocessed and repositioned for various purposes. The intricate interplay between translation and reprocessing gives rise to hybridity, which defines the reception of Poe's tales in Taiwan and reflects how translation as a literary production practice has been appropriated, negotiated, confronted and compromised in this post-colonial context.

Keywords: Edgar Allan Poe, literary (re-)translation, reprocessing in translation

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重製／置之坡：1950—2020 愛倫坡 短篇小說在臺翻譯研究

吳碩禹

本研究探討臺灣愛倫坡短篇小說翻譯現況，旨在提供坡短篇小說在臺譯介系統描述。自 1950 年代至 2020 年，坡短篇小說譯介不斷，相關研究卻相當有限，加上臺灣特有的「假譯」現象，本已零星之研究成果往往因不得全貌而致有誤。為此，本研究分析了近 70 年來於臺灣出版的 88 個愛倫坡短篇小說譯本，發現其中包含四種不同文本生成模式：假譯、在地翻譯、改寫與重製，各涉及不同程度的譯寫與再處理。坡做為文學符號，在四類翻譯活動中不斷被重製與重置，以符合在地政治社會脈絡與讀者需求。而坡短篇小說譯介過程中展現的混雜性，更映照出翻譯做為文學生產活動，如何隨臺灣由殖民過渡到民主社會而不斷質變。

關鍵詞：愛倫坡、文學（重）翻譯、翻譯中的重製

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本研究論文為科技部計畫：〈雙面愛倫坡：愛倫坡短篇小說在台灣之重譯現象（1949—2017）〉之計畫成果，計畫編號（107-2628-H-033-001-）。承蒙匿名審查人提供諸多修改意見，謹此致謝。

Introduction

Edgar Allan Poe is surely one of the most popular American writers translated in contemporary Taiwan. From the 1950s to 2020, at least 88 translations of Poe's short stories are identified in the study.¹ Despite the enthusiasm in translating Poe, how Poe is translated in Taiwan has received limited attention.² The sharp contrast above, however, may pose a great threat to the local Poe studies. The lack of systemic description of the translated Poe in Taiwan has jeopardized the credibility of relevant studies, which is strongly associated with the socio-political context in post-war Taiwan. After the Kuomintang (herefrom KMT) lost its reign in China, the KMT government retreated to Taiwan in 1949. Martial law was soon imposed in Taiwan in the same year to better control the former Japanese colony and to prevent the spread of Communism. Literary activities and the adoption of Mandarin as the "national language" served as a social institution to segregate the Japanese-ruled local elites (Lai, 2014a) and to promote anti-communism. Over the 38 years of the martial law period (1949-1987), publication was therefore severely censored. All publications had to conform to the regulations depicted by the book ban and newspaper ban, which resulted in the unique practice of pseudo-books and fake translations (Lai, 2014b; Tsai, 2004),³ a coping strategy that allowed publishers to

¹ The first translation of Poe's tales in Mandarin circulating in Taiwan after 1949 is *Selected Tales of Poe* by Ren-Ren press in 1952. As the study aims to investigate the reception of Poe after KMT's retreat to Taiwan, this volume is considered the starting point of Poe's reception in post-war Taiwan.

² As of 2022, a total of 46 theses and dissertations, along with 19 journal articles, focusing on Poe's works have been published in Taiwan, with Poe's short stories being extensively examined in various aspects. However, out of these, only four (Lee, 2022; Liu, 2017; Wu, 2016, 2019) investigated the translation of Poe's tales.

³ Distinguished from pseudo-translations (i.e., make-up translations), in the present study, fake translations refer to the reusing of existing translations without identifying the original translator(s) or publishers. The practice may involve various text modifying strategies (as will be discussed later) aimed at evading censorship or other publishing considerations. Although unauthorized and plagiarized translations constitute the majority of the identified fake translations in the study, there are also cases where fake translations were intentionally created by the original copyright holders or patrons to comply with the book ban regulations. Therefore, the term "fake translation" is adopted to encompass both plagiarized and appropriated translations.

“legally”⁴ reuse publications from China before 1949 by changing authorial/translatorial information, book titles or sensitive content in the texts.⁵ The unidentified publication information about the translated works of Poe may lead researchers to problematic conclusions. For instance, T. Wang (2018), when describing the translations of Poe’s tales in Taiwan, mentions:

Contrary to the lack of translation of Poe in the 60s and 70s [in China], translation of Poe in Taiwan seemed more active. Juyin Jiao’s *Selected Tales of Poe*, originally published in 1949, was reprinted by Cactus Press (1970). This is followed by an immediate new translation by Tienhua Chu’s *Poe’s Stories* [(T. H. Chu, 1978)]. (p. 240)

A closer examination of Jiao’s and Chu’s renditions shows that both are, in fact, the reprints of Jiao’s 1949 rendition. Similar fallacy can also be seen in the local research community. In one out of the only two local theses examining the translations of Poe’s tales, Liu (2017) analyzed the translation strategies and language usages in different renditions of Poe’s tales. When comparing the translations of “The Fall of the House of Usher” by two translators— Li (1999) and Jian (2005), Liu (2017) argues that the language use in Jian’s translation “sounds more natural” (p. 55) than that in Li’s. What is neglected by Liu is that Li’s edition was not a new translation, but a reprocessed version of a translation from China by Tang et al. (1995). Hence, the different language presentations that Liu found may be attributed to regional variations in language usages and translation norms rather than idiosyncratic choices of the translators.

⁴ According to the supplement regulation of the book ban, if the books written or translated by pro-communist writers before 1949 hold referencing value, they can be published in Taiwan, provided that the names of the authors are effaced or the books are edited and/or repackaged to comply with censorship requirements (Shi, 1981, pp. 82-83).

⁵ Descriptions about the agents (both translators and publishers) of fake translations, as well as its bibliographic and contextual depictions have been provided elsewhere (Lai, 2012, 2014a, 2019; Lai & Chang, 2011).

The aforementioned cases highlight the dire lack of exploration on how Poe is translated in Taiwan, which is an integral yet neglected part to the local Poe studies. To address this gap, the present study aims to offer a comprehensive description of the translated tales of Poe between 1950 and 2020 in Taiwan, which, as is illustrated in the following sections, is closely linked to a variety of text reprocessing manipulations that constantly renew Poe as a literary sign for varying purposes as “translation practice” per se underwent qualitative changes in the local context.

Overview of the Translations of Poe’s Tales in Taiwan

A close examination of the 88 translations of Poe’s tales published between 1950 and 2020 in Taiwan reveals that the (re)translation, in a broad sense, of Poe’s tales consists of four modes of “translations”: translations involving fake translations, local new translations, rewritten tales (including abridgments and adaptations) and repackaged renditions (see Table 1).⁶

Overall speaking, 19 out of 88 (21.6%) are fake translations (i.e., category A) while 69 (78.4%) are non-fake translations (i.e., categories B, C, and D combined). The peak in translating Poe’s tales (across all four categories) falls in the 2000s, followed by the 1990s and 2010s. A closer look at the development of each category shows a different trajectory. Fake translations of Poe’s tales dominated the first three decades of Poe’s reception in Taiwan, with the number of fake

⁶ The four categories in Table 1 will be elaborated upon in later sections. Yet, for better understanding of Table 1, brief definitions to the terms are included here. Translations that involve little or no abridgment to the source texts are categorized as “translations” while adaptation, rewriting, abridgment are classified as “rewritten works.” Repackaged translations are defined by the repackaging of existing translations with the original translatorial information disclosed.

Table 1*A Text-Processing View of Translations of Poe's Tales in Taiwan: 1950-2020*

Time/Text Modes	(A) Fake Translations	(B) Local New Translations	(C) Rewritten Works	(D) Repackaged Translations	Translations Each Decade
1950s	2	1	0	0	3
1960s	2	2	1	1	6
1970s	7	2	0	1	10
1980s	1	6	3	0	10
1990s	5	1	7	4	17
2000s	0	10	9	4	23
2010s	2	3	4	10	19
Total	19	25	24	20	88

translations peaking in the 1970s and 1990s. The 2000s witnessed the surge in local new translations of Poe's fictions, which is seeded in the gradual increase of the local translations from the 1980s onwards. Rewritten and adapted works gained their popularity after the 1990s. Repackaged renditions were sporadic in the first four decades of Poe's reception, but experienced steady growth after the 1990s, ultimately dominating the 2010s.

The table above shows the shifting dominance from fake translations, local new translations, rewritten works to repackaged translations. The mediation of either, hence, cannot be overlooked in the local reception of Poe's tales.

Fake Translations of Poe's Tales

As stated above, at least one in five “translations” of Poe’s tales in Taiwan is a fake translation, namely, a reprocessed translation⁷ issued without acknowledging the original seed translation⁸ (i.e., the source of fake translations) or the translator. The percentage of fake translation would be higher, if we only focus on the translations published by 1987—the year the martial law (i.e., the political drive for fake translation practices) was lifted. Fake translations accounted for 46% of all translated fictions of Poe in Taiwan in the martial law period. Despite the prevalence of fake translations of Poe’s tales, only six seed translations have been identified. The seed translations, along with their fake translations, are listed below according to the year of publication:

Table 2

Seed Translations and Corresponding Fake Translations of Poe's Tales in Taiwan

Number	Translator/ Seed Translation	Derived Fake Translations
1	Maodun 茅盾 (Poe, 1843/1920) “The Sound of Heart”	1-1 “The Sound of Heart” in <i>Masterpieces of Modern World Short Stories</i> (1975)
2	Ge-chuan Chien 錢歌川 Chien (1937) <i>Black Cat</i>	2-1 Lu (1963) 2-2 Wen (1969) 2-3 Chen (1971) 2-4 Chamberlin (1968/1971) 2-5 <i>Red Death</i> (1978)

(continued)

⁷ In this study, the term “reprocessed translation” is used as a general concept that encompasses various forms of modification, editing, refinement, or any other type of reworking applied to translations. It is an umbrella term that signifies translations that have undergone some sort of reprocessing. It should be noted that the term does not have any specific taxonomic meaning like the terms listed in Table 1.

⁸ The term “seed translation” (種子本) is adopted from Lai (2019) to refer to the original translation that is further reprocessed into other translations.

Table 2*Seed Translations and Corresponding Fake Translations of Poe's Tales in Taiwan (continued)*

Number	Translator/ Seed Translation	Derived Fake Translations
3	Juyin Jiao 焦菊隱 (Poe, 1838/1949) <i>Adventure on the Sea</i>	3-1 Poe (1838/1958)
4	Juyin Jiao 焦菊隱 Jiao (1949) <i>Selected Tales of Poe</i>	4-1 Jiao (1970) 4-2 H. Chu (1970) 4-3 Chamberlin (1968/1971) 4-4 T. H. Chu (1978) 4-5 Zheng (1978) 4-6 Du (1987) 4-7 Du (1996) 4-8 Du (1999) 4-9 Zhong (1999) 4-10 <i>Selected Tales of Poe</i> (1999)
5	Yinsun Tang, Yingjie Deng, Fangming Ding 唐蔭蓀、鄧英杰、丁放鳴 Tang et al. (1993) <i>Selected Tales of Allan Poe</i>	5-1 Li (1999)
6	Minglun Cao 曹明倫 (Quinn, 1984/1995) <i>Edgar Allan Poe: Poetry and Tales</i>	6-1 Jiang (2012) 6-2 Jiang (2018)

Four out of the six identified seed translations are Chinese renditions published before 1949, while the remaining two published after the 1990s. This means the pre-1949 renditions serve as the primary sources for fake translated tales of Poe in Taiwan. The most popular seed translations are Jiao's *Selected Tales of Poe* and Chien's *The Black Cat* as both receive multiple reprocessing into fake translations. Fourteen⁹ out of the 19 (73.6%) fake translations originate from these two seed translations. Jiao's translation makes the most popular target for fake translations. Ten out of the 19 (52.6%) fake renditions are based on Jiao's collection. It also has the longest presence among the six, with traces of Jiao's translation seen from the

⁹ A unique case is Chamberlin (1968/1971), which adopts both Jiao's and Chien's translations.

1950s to the 1990s. Chien's translation, though being reused five times, was present only in the 1960s and 1970s. Neither constant recycling nor long dominance has been seen in other seed translations.

The popularity of Jiao's and Chien's translations could be attributed to their usability and availability. Firstly, Jiao's and Chien's translations provide "ready-to-use" materials for local publishers. They offer short yet representative collections of Poe's tales, which requires minimal effort of reprocessing. This may explain why Maodun's translation, which includes only one tale ("The Sound of Heart") and has been reprinted and collected in multiple anthologies in China, appeared as only one fake translation in Taiwan. The usability of the two collections also lies in the choice of the target language. Both translations were rendered in vernacular Mandarin (*baihuawen* 白話文), which was the "national language" that the KMT approved and promoted for its identity-building movement in postwar Taiwan. This could be supported by the fact that the earliest Mandarin collection of Poe's tales—*Dupin's Detective Tales* (*Dubin Zentan An* 杜賓偵探案) (Poe, 1841/1918), translated in classical Mandarin (*wenyanwen* 文言文), was never reprocessed in Taiwan after 1949 despite its introduction to Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period (Lu, 2004). The usability of the two renditions is very likely further enhanced by their availability, which is closely associated with Hong Kong—a key mediator and source provider for fake translations during the martial-law period of Taiwan (Lai, 2019).

Jiao's rendition stands out as a notable example of "legal" reprocessing of seed translations. The 1949 rendition was commissioned by John Fairbank of the United States Information Service (USIS) in Shanghai (Cao, 2009). With the break of diplomatic tie between the US and Communist China, the rendition was re-published by Ren-Ren Press in Hong Kong, one of the affiliating publishing houses to the USIS in the city state. In this 1952 version, Jiao's name was replaced by "Board of Editors," potentially as a gesture to protect the translator and the

translation. Since Jiao was considered a pro-communist writer in Taiwan, the translatorial effacement allowed the rendition to be published under the book ban regulations. The deliberate transformation of the seed translation by such a powerful patron and agent like the USIS significantly increased the availability of Jiao's translation, considering the close ties between the KMT and US governments in the Cold War and the cultural campaigns the USIS launched in Taiwan (Chen, 2012; Shan, 2007).¹⁰ This may explain the long dominance of Jiao's rendition in the reception of Poe's tales in Taiwan. It also highlights Hong Kong's role as exchange center of publications between China and Taiwan during the Cold War, which could have contributed to the accessibility of Chien's volume.¹¹

The popularity of the two renditions suggests that fake translation originated as a response to the geo-political context of the martial-law imposed Taiwan. However, it also reveals a strong competition among these fake translations, as the identified reprocessing strategies are much more complex than what was required by the book ban regulation. A closer examination shows a gamut of manipulations from repackaging, reediting, reprinting or the combination of several of the above. Five major reprocessing strategies are identified as follows.

First, the simplest manipulation is to publish seed translations anonymously or under a pseudonym without making any further changes. An example of this is the 1952 rendition by Ren-Ren Press (*Selected Tales*, 1952). Another interesting case to

¹⁰ During the Cold War, Taiwan heavily relied on the United States both economically and culturally. The USIS in Taiwan was an important agent, patron and sponsor of a variety of literary activities. Chen (2012) identified the USIS as a significant player in contemporary literary history of Taiwan.

¹¹ When conducting library research in Hong Kong, the present researcher discovered a collection titled *The Oval Portrait* (Poe, 1842/196?), which was published in Hong Kong. According to the library catalogue, this collection includes the same three stories as Chien's (1937) collection—albeit presented in a different order. The Hong Kong version, interestingly, presents the stories in the exact same order as Lu's (1963) fake translation, which is based on Chien's (1937) work. Moreover, the translator of the Hong Kong volume is listed as *Gin-ge* 金戈 (golden dagger-axe), which happens to be the two components of the Chinese character of Chien's surname 錢. Unfortunately, the researcher was not able to access the volume during the visit. Yet, based on its similarity to Lu (1963) and the "name" of the translator, it is very likely that the accessibility of Chien's rendition is somehow mediated or enhanced through this Hong Kong rendition.

note is *Selected Tales of Poe* (1999) published by Da Lin Press. This version is basically an anonymous replica of Jiao's 1949 rendition, which presents the potential impact posed by fake translations—the language uses and translation norms of the 1940s can be transplanted de-contextually nearly five decades later. This may very likely mislead translation researchers if such practices are not identified.

The second reprocessing strategy entails a spectrum of linguistic changes made to the seed translations for varying purposes. Du (1987), for example, adapted three stories from Jiao's rendition. The translations were edited both lexically and syntactically; for example, “I sensed it [我覺出來的] [emphasis added]” (*Selected Tales*, 1952, p. 110) was changed to “I just knew [我就是知道] [emphasis added]” (Du, 1987, p. 218). Similar cases can be easily found in Du (1987) where traces of 1940s language uses are accommodated to later linguistic conventions. This suggests the translator/editor's potential awareness of the nearly forty-year time gap between the two versions and explains the corresponding linguistic changes. Another case of accommodating changes can be found in Chamberlin's (1968/1971) bilingual rendition, where the “source text” is a ladder reader rewritten by Elinor Chamberlin. The publisher describes Chamberlin's edition as intended for “readers for whom English is a second language” and “anyone who has learned 1,000 words of English” (“Cover Copy,” 1968/1971), the tales are extensively abridged and rewritten. The translator of the volume—Shuang Jun Chen, incorporating two translations from Jiao (“The Murder of the Rue Morgue,” “The Gold Bug”) and one translation from Chien (“The Masque of Red Death”), accommodates the seed translations to the juxtaposed and abridged English source texts.

Other than accommodating seed translations to later linguistic conventions or to a new “source text,” linguistic changes are also made for other purposes. A good

example can be seen in the fake translation by Li (1999). As mentioned, Li's version is based on Tang et al. (1995). The following example presents the extracts from Li's and Tang's translations of "The Fall of the House of Usher":

[Example 1]

在那年秋天的一個鬱悶、陰沉而又寂靜的日子，天上形雲密佈，我整天騎在馬上，獨自穿過鄉間一個極其冷清的地帶。

[Back translation: In the autumn of the year, on a dull, dark, and soundless day, dark clouds gathered in the sky. I sat on the horseback for a day, passing through an extremely bleak tract of the country.] [emphasis added] (Tang et al., 1995, p. 151)

那年秋天，一個鬱悶、陰晦又寂靜的日子，天空形雲密佈，我騎了一整天的馬，獨自穿過鄉間一個極其冷僻的地區。

[Back translation: That autumn, during a dull, gloomy and soundless day, dark clouds gathered in the sky. I sat on the horseback for a whole day, passing through an extremely deserted tract of the country.] [emphasis added] (Li, 1999, p. 2)

The linguistic changes in Li's version primarily involve minimal lexical replacements using synonyms, e.g., "gloomy" (陰晦) replaces "dark" (陰沉); "deserted" (冷僻) replaces "bleak" (冷清). The overall syntactical structure of the seed translation remains mostly the same. The pattern can be observed in all of the six tales in Li's volume (all based on Tang et al., 1995), which result in my speculation that such variations are intended for similarity reduction. What can be concluded from the above is that changing linguistic features of seed translations is a common approach observed in the fake translated tales of Poe, where textual features of seed translations are modified for various purposes.

The third reprocessing strategy involves changes to paratextual materials, which range from book titles, introductions, illustrations, annals of the author,

pictures of the author or critical reviews. These variations range from minor corrections to major enhancement of background knowledge about Poe and his works. On one end of the spectrum, paratexts in seed translations may undergo minor changes to make fake translations fit into the right context. For example, in Chen (1971)—a near duplication of Chien (1937)—the note stating “By the translator, in Shanghai, February 1929” was deleted. In addition, the transliteration of Poe’s name in the 1937 rendition—“*Yia Lun Po*” 亞倫坡, different from the common usage in Taiwan (“*Ai Lun Po*” 愛倫坡), was also adjusted to the local usage. Both of which re-contextualize the seed translation by de-contextualizing the original seed translation. On the other end of the spectrum, paratexts are included to enhance readers’ understanding. In addition to informational paratexts such as annals of Poe’s life and works or pictures of Poe, critical introductions to Poe and his works are commonly included in later fake translations. Interestingly, these introductions also present collage-like pictures, demonstrating layers of interpretation of Poe. Du (1987) offers a glimpse. The rendition includes a translation of a critical introduction to Poe by Edogawa (1974)—a famous Japanese detective tale writer inspired by Poe. The use of paratextual supplements from other sources is not limited to critical introductions. In the three volumes compiled and rendered by Du (1987, 1996, 1999), illustrations by Rackham (1935/2013) and Clarke (1919) are adopted. Both cases demonstrate how the reprocessing of fake translations may resemble the anthologizing process where the inclusion of paratextual materials from various sources creates layers of intertextuality and frames how Poe is interpreted by writers or illustrators from different cultural contexts (e.g., Japan and America). Overall, the manipulation of paratexts allows for contextual understanding—either by de- and re-contextualizing the seed translation or by offering established interpretations of Poe— in these fake translations.

The fourth approach involves mixing old translations with news ones, which is only seen between the 1970s and 1990s. Out of the 19 fake translations of Poe's tales, five are identified as mixed renditions, which are: *Six Tales of Fear* (Chamberlin, 1968/1971), *The Giant Axe* (Zheng, 1978), *The Murders in Rue Morgue* (Du, 1987), *The Black Cat. Gold Bug* (Du, 1996), and *The Fall of the House of A-Shia* (Du, 1999). A closer examination shows that these mixed translations go beyond simple reworking of seed translations. On the one hand, the selection of the old translations serves the validation function. With the exception of Zheng (1978), the other four mixed translations adopt only parts of the translations by Jiao and/or Chien. This means the "mixing approach" involves selection, namely, the inclusion and exclusion of works in the seed translations. It may indirectly "canonize" the selected translations/works. For instance, out of the five volumes above, "The Murders in the Rue Morgue" and "The Gold Bug" translated by Jiao are adopted for four times, while the translation of "Oval Portrait" by Chien, for example, is never chosen in the mixed versions. Being selected, in this case, presupposes recognition. Such recognition can also be observed in the case of Rouzhou Du's translations. Du translated a dozen of new tales of Poe in three collections (Du, 1987, 1996, 1999). But he also included the translations by Jiao, indicating no intention to replace the established seed translations. Furthermore, Du (1996) collects 12 stories of Poe, with ten new stories translated by Du and two by Jiao. Yet, instead of highlighting the new tales in the volume (as is done in Zheng's volume),¹² Du's rendition is titled as *The Black Cat. Gold Bug*—the exact two seed translations adopted from Jiao. From here, I would argue that by selection, the mixed volumes confer a certain kind of "canonical

¹² Zheng (1978) includes all of the five tales translated by Jiao (1949) and one new translation of "Pit and Pendulum" by Zheng. The collection is titled as "Giant Axe," which is the Mandarin title of the new tale.

status” to these tales and their fake translations. On the other hand, the mixing approach also implies the limitation of seed translations. The well-known tales in the seed translations may not suffice, leading to the inclusion of new tales in the collections. As mixed renditions are predominantly found among the later fake translations, it can be assumed that seed translations somehow depreciate after being constantly reprocessed, necessitating the inclusion of new stories as a value-enhancing strategy. Thus, the mixing approach stands for both the recognition and rejection of the seed translations. Since mixed volumes are only seen between the 1970s and the 1990s, they provide a great site to observe how the local system responds to the transition and qualitative change in the concept of “translation practices” with the gradual ease of restriction on literary production with the end of the martial law period in 1987¹³ and the introduction of the new copyright laws¹⁴ in Taiwan in 1992.

The fifth approach involves creating fake translations based on previous fake translations. Three out of the 19 fake translations utilize this approach. One notable example is *Red Death* (1978), an anthology of tales by Poe and two Nobel laureates, Frank Stockton and Pearl Sydenstricker Buck, published by Wei Wen Press. The volume includes two of Poe’s tales: “The Black Cat” and “The Masque of the Red Death.” Both translations of these tales are fake translations. What is interesting, however, is that while the volume adopts Chien’s “Black Cat” from his 1937 rendition, that of “The Masque of the Red Death” is based on Shuang-jun Chen’s abridged version of Chien’s rendition in Chamberlin (1968/1971). Instead

¹³ The lift of the martial law marked an end of political censorship and restrictions on publication, allowing for greater freedom in literary production

¹⁴ The original copyright laws were made in 1910, where copyrights would not be granted without registration. This offered the publishers a grey area for appropriating unregistered works. Yet, in the new copyright laws, copyright ownership is granted immediately upon the completion of the work. This prevents copyright infringement and hence put a stop to subsequent fake translation practices.

of directly adopting both of Chien's renditions, Chen's abridged version came to be a new "source" for fake translations, creating a second-layer fake translation that further enhances the "afterlife" of fake translations.

Regardless of the approaches taken, it is fair to suggest fake translation defines the most iconic tales in Poe's early reception in Taiwan. Meanwhile, the collage-like textual and paratextual presentations found in fake translations also imply multiple layers of source texts. The "source texts" in fake translations may range from the actual texts by Poe, one or more seed translations, literary commentaries, critical introductions, illustrations or other fake translations. The diverse sources contribute to the interpretation of Poe. In this regard, despite their potentially plagiaristic nature, fake translations do play a role in shaping the reception of Poe's work in Taiwan.

Non-Fake Translations of Poe's Short Stories

As is illustrated in section 2, the peak of non-fake translations of Poe's tales falls between the 1990s and 2010s. According to Table 1, statistic figures show that local new translations (28.7%), rewritten/adapted tales (27.5%) as well as repackaged renditions (22.9%) are equally significant in the contemporary introduction of Poe's tales in Taiwan. Traces of the three groups of "translations" were seen at the early reception of Poe. "The Beating Heart" (i.e., the translation of "The Tell-Tale Heart") (Poe, 1843/1952), Hsing's translation of *The Ghost Ship* (Takeda, 1958/1962) and the repackaged volume of Fu and Yu's (1937) *American Short Stories* in 1968 (Fu & Yu, 1968) mark the onset of the three translational modes. However, they remain sporadic in the first three decades of Poe's reception in Taiwan. Growth of non-fake translations becomes evident after the 1980s, with local new translations dominating the 1980s and rewritten/adapted works taking the

1990s. Both peak in the 2000s. Repackaged renditions, however, remain a minor form of “(re)-translations” of Poe until the turn of the century. It is the 2010s that sees the dominance of repackaged translations of Poe’s tales.

The analysis of non-fake translations in the following sections suggests how Poe as a literary icon and his “classic” works are constantly conjured as responses to diversified reading demands. The qualitative change of “translation practices” observed in the fake translated tales of Poe between the 1970s and 1990s did not stop with the appearance and growth of non-fake translations. Rather it continues through the emergence of new translations, rewritten works and repackaged renditions, creating a spectrum of varying translational manipulations that shape Poe’s reception.

Local Translations of Poe’s Tales

Local translations of Poe’s tales exhibit two different patterns in terms of their forms and sources of publication. From the 1950s to the 1980s, the majority of locally translated tales of Poe consists of single tales, such as “The Tell-Tale Heart,” “The Masque of the Red Death,” or “The Cask of Amontillado.” The two exceptions were the anthologies by Song (1978) and Tsai (1978). The early local translations, especially those in the 1980s, are mostly published in literary magazines or newspaper supplements such as *Chunguo Wenyi* (Chinese Literary), *Taiwan Shin Sheng Daily News*, the supplement of *Independence Evening Post*, or *Youth Literary*. Some translations, published as part of short stories collections (e.g., “The Red Death” by Hu) (Poe, 1842/1964) or “The Cask of Amontillado” by Ji (1980), are also included in book series aimed at literary readers (e.g., Wenxing literary series, New Tide Library). In the 1990s, only one new local translation was published. The 2000s saw another wave of new translations of Poe’s tales. While individual tales of Poe were collected in variously themed anthologies (e.g., *The*

Book of Cats, Kiping's Ghost Theater), the majority of local translations after the Millennium were published as omnibus collections or anthologies of Poe's tales by various commercial presses in wide-ranging book series such as "The Black Study," "The Master of Horror," Collections of Classics or "English learning," specifying a much wider and more diverse readership.

Despite the differences, a common pattern can still be observed in the local translations. The dark macabre tales of Poe are popular targets for the local translations, which can be seen both in the packaging of the renditions and the retranslation choices. To begin with, book titles mostly emphasize "darkness." Other than a handful of selections titled neutrally as "Allan Poe's Collection" or "American Short Stories," it is very common to see book titles that use expressions such as "dark," "arabesque," "thrill," "suspension," or "murder" alongside Poe's name. The title of W. L. Tsai's 1979 collection—*Allan Poe's Horror Stories*—seems to set the formula for subsequent anthologies and collections. Even for collections or anthologies titled differently, similar elements of darkness are still present (e.g., *Resurrection From the Hell, Keeping's Ghost Theater, The No. 249 Mummy*). Interestingly, although Poe was largely introduced as the father of short stories and detective stories in local reviews,¹⁵ these aspects are not much highlighted in the packaging of local renditions.

This can also be seen from the retranslation choices. The total of 25 entries of local translations results in frequent retractions of Poe's tales. Poe's tales of ratiocination, however, are not the most commonly selected ones for retranslation among the 51 tales introduced by all of the local translations, as is illustrated in Table 3.

¹⁵ The present researcher reviewed 113 critical reviews, general introductions, thesis/dissertations, and journal articles that mentioned Poe in Taiwan from the 1950s to the 2010s, and found that Poe is widely recognized and acknowledged as the father of detective tales and short stories both in both academic and general reviews.

Table 3*Top Retranslation Choices of Poe's Tales in Taiwan*

Tales	Number of Times Being Translated
The Black Cat	11
The Cask of Amontillado	11
The Tell-Tale Heart	10
The Fall of the House of Usher	9
The Masque of the Red Death	9
The Pit and Pendulum	8
Ligeia	8
The Purloined Letter	8
The Premature Burial	7
William Wilson	7

As can be seen from the table, “The Black Cat” and “The Cask of Amontillado” make the most frequently (re-)translated tales of Poe in Taiwan. Other popular choices for retranslation revolve around tales prominently featuring death and murder. Among Poe’s tales of ratiocination, “The Purloined Letter” is the only one that made the top ten most frequently retranslated tales of Poe in Taiwan. Other signature tales of ratiocination such as “The Gold Bug” and “The Murders in the Rue Morgue” were only translated for six times, with “The Mystery of Marie Rogêt” translated for five times. This may reflect the impact from fake translations. As most fake translations originated from Jiao’s and Chien’s renditions, the tales included in these two seed translations seem to be less favorable for later retranslation consideration. Other than “The Masque of the Red Death,” “The Oval Portrait” and “The Purloined Letter,” most of the tales included in Jiao’s and Chien’s volumes (especially Poe’s tales of ratiocination) are locally translated and retranslated only after the Millennium. This is an indication of the indirect impact of fake translations on local translation choices.

Adaptations and Rewritings

Although the number of adaptations is quite close to that of local translations, their presentation of Poe's works is different. In contrast to the 51 tales introduced by local translations, only 17 tales are introduced through adaptations/rewritings. This reflects the fact that most adaptations include only a handful of tales. Furthermore, the figure also suggests a much smaller repertoire of Poe's tales, which results in the highly repetitive tale selection in these rewritten works. For instance, "The Gold Bug" and "The Black Cat" both appear in eleven out of the 24 rewritten volumes. Popular choices for adaptation are listed in Table 4.

Table 4

Top Rewritten Tales of Poe in Taiwan

Tales	Number of Times Being Rewritten
The Gold Bug	11
The Black Cat	11
The Murders in the Rue Morgue	9
The Cask of Amontillado	7
The Fall of the House of Usher	7
The Purloined Letter	7
Pit and Pendulum	7

Similar to local translations, "The Black Cat," "The Cask of Amontillado" and "The Fall of the House of Usher" are the most common and representative tales of Poe in adaptations. Yet, while only one tale of ratiocination appears among the top retranslation choices in local translations, "The Gold Bug," "The Murders in the Rue Morgue" and "The Purloined Letter" emerge among the most frequently rewritten tales, suggesting detective tales of Poe being much more highlighted in rewritings than in local translations. Other than the smaller and repetitive repertoire

of Poe's works presented in rewritings, another significant feature of the adapted tales of Poe lies in how Poe is repackaged for various reading purposes.

The adapted or rewritten tales of Poe before the 1990s are primarily intended for young or teenage-readers. Evident manipulations can be observed both textually and para-textually. A common practice is abridgement. Plots of stories may remain intact. Yet long monologues or contextual descriptions in the stories are often shorten or omitted, creating a plot-driven and entertaining reading experience. Para-textual presentations of these early adaptations also facilitate reading. These include illustrations, reading instructions, extra headings, vocabulary bank, worksheets and even reading tests. Purposes of these paratexts may be beyond entertainment. Illustrations are often used for plot deployment. In *A Strange Case in Rue Morgue* (1985), illustrations foreshadow the mysterious Dupin cases before the main text and visually demonstrate the ratiocination process. In another case, the preface of *Best of Poe* states how the comic adaptation of the tales makes the tales "easy to understand" ("How to Read," 1988, para. ii). Other paratexts also serve as reading-facilitators. Subheadings and/or annotations are added as signposts. Word banks or vocabulary lists are provided in bilingual adaptations. Prefaces or introductions are made to guide readers to read and to interpret the works in certain manners, e.g., "[b]e sure to look up words you don't know" ("How to Read," 1988, para. iv); "[a]lthough Poe's stories are frightening, any reader can see that they happen only in the writer's imagination. This is perhaps why Poe has remained popular for so many years" ("Workbook," 1988, p. 20). What is particularly interesting to note is that all early adaptations of Poe were translations of foreign adaptations from Japan and America. This means these translated adaptations introduced not only Poe's tales, but also the adaptation conventions for young readers from different contexts and, more importantly, the way "reading"

should be. In these cases, the adapted works are read not merely as classics, but as a pedagogical instrument—where reading channels enhancement in linguistic capacities, knowledge and even character development.

After the 1990s, adapted tales of Poe came to be more diverse as targeted readership expanded. The simple dichotomy between young and adult readership was no longer applicable. There are comic adaptations for mature readers who wish to “gain access to classic literature” (“Cover Copy,” 2015/2018).¹⁶ Even rewritings intended as language readers are no longer limited to young language learners (Luo, 2011). Meanwhile, there is also teenage adaptation where rewriting no longer centers on comprehension enhancement for readers with limited language capacity (Masako & Sachiyo, 2020/2020). Some other distinctive representations of Poe’s tales emerge. There are adaptations featuring different aspects of Poe’s works, from the classic (e.g., “Famous literature”) (Doriyasfabrik, 2015/2018), the horrific (e.g., “Horror tales”) (Hsieh, 1997), the dark (e.g., “The Supernatural series”) (*Black Tales*, 2007; Lin, 1994), the detective, e.g., “King of Ratiocination” (Xenogeneic-snail, 2018) and “top five detective writers” (Lin, 1995), to even some of the above aspects combined (“Selected World Classics: Horror Tales of Poe”) (Shih, 2002) and “Black Cat: Poe’s Horror and Ratiocination Tales” (Masako & Sachiyo, 2020/2020). These diverse representations reflect both the increasing complexity in the local readership and how Poe is interpreted or, perhaps, appropriated to meet different reading needs. In these adapted and rewritten tales, we found how Poe’s works serve as a conduit for achieving different reading needs.

¹⁶ This adaptation does not exclude plots about suicides, homicides and sex scenes, which would typically be edited out for younger readers.

Repackaged Translations

Repackaged translations,¹⁷ distinct from mere reprints, involve various degrees of reprocessing of the seed translations with the original translatorial information retained. They present a unique case in Poe's reception in Taiwan not only because they account for 23.2% of all translated tales of Poe, but because they present layers of re-interpretations added upon Poe's tales and the seed translations, which are significantly affected by where the seed translations are from. Sources of seed translations consist of local and Chinese translations of Poe's tales. Although both involve various degrees of repackaging, the nature for reprocessing the two groups of renditions seems to be different.

Local renditions serve as the primary source (65%) for repackaged translations. The first repackaged volume of local renditions of Poe is Ji (1994). In this case, the number of tales in his 1980 rendition was reduced from 20 to 19. The simple manipulation may represent the overall nature in repackaged local renditions. Local translations of Poe's tales are mostly repackaged with different tale selection/presentation, book series, book titles, and/or by different publishers. The modifications may not significantly change the content of the seed translation. Yet, they do demonstrate layers of intended interpretation added upon the texts. For instance, *Poe's Suspension Murder Cases* (2005) is repackaged in 2007 (*Poe's Suspension Murder Cases*, 2007). The only difference between the two volumes is that the 2005 rendition was released under the "Master Classics" series while the 2007 one was published under the "Detective Theater" series. Simple might the change be, the move demonstrates how repositioning the same translations with a different book series may target different readerships and hence renew the seed translations.

¹⁷ What is interesting to note is that few adaptations have been repackaged. As most repackaged volumes are based on translations, for the convenience of discussion, the practice will be termed as "repackaged translations/renditions."

There are, of course, more complex manipulations. One common approach is to add new stories to the seed translations. For instance, Chen's (2002) *Resurrection From Hell* is repackaged into *New Selection of Allan Poe's Horror and Detective Tales* (Chen, 2009) by adding the translation of "The Masque of the Red Death," a tale not present in the seed translation. Jian (2005) is reissued again in 2018, with the addition of the translations of "The Conversation of Eiros and Charmion" and "The Raven" by Lin (Jian & Lin, 2018). Another approach is to select/re-use part of the seed translations. Four out of the nine tales from Hsieh (1997) are gathered and repackaged into a bilingual version of Poe's tales (Hsieh, 1998). A notable case of tale selection as repackaging would perhaps be the reworking of Xiaoyun Shen and Shufeng Zhou's translations. Xiaozhitang Culture issued a series of collections of Poe: *Collection of Poe's Horror Tales 1 and 2* and *Suspension Tales of Poe* between 2002 and 2004 by the two translators (Shen, 2002a, 2002b; Zhou, 2004). A total of 29 tales of Poe were rendered in the three volumes. These 29 tales underwent further reprocessing for three times. They were initially repackaged as a two-volume collection with a slightly different book title: *Selection of Poe's Horror Tales 1 and 2* in 2013 (Shen & Zhou, 2013a, 2013b). But the "after-life" of these 29 translated tales does not end here. Eighteen of them were selected and repackaged in another two-volume collection titled *The Gold Bug: Selection of Poe's Short Stories 1 and 2* (Shen & Zhou, 2018a, 2018b). In 2020, nearly 15 years after Shen and Zhou first published their translations, ten of out the 29 tales were collected and published again as *The Murders in Rue Morgue: Selections of Poe's Tales* (Shen & Zhou, 2020) by another publisher. The above manipulations show how repackaged local translations center on repurposing existing translations by redefining Poe's tales through book titles, book series or tale selections to appeal to new readerships. Despite no actual retranslation efforts being made, the lives of these translations are extended through repackaging.

Repurposing keeps local translations relevant. It is not, however, the goal when foreign seed translations are reprocessed.

Although early traces of repackaged Chinese translations emerged around the 1970s,¹⁸ renditions of Poe's tales published in China after the 1990s are the major sources for repackaged foreign translations. These contemporary Chinese seed translations exhibit two features. First, the translators are often renowned literary translators and/or scholars—such as Minglun Cao, Yingsun Tang, or Puxuan Zhu—whose translations are highly praised. For instance, in the preface of Tang et al. (1995), the collection is highly praised for its exceptional quality, characterized by “faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance” (Tang et al., 1995, p. 3). Secondly, the chosen seed translations are usually omnibus collections of Poe's works, encompassing a comprehensive range of Poe's repertoire. The comprehensive selection offers a level of legitimacy to the renditions, enhancing the value of the seed translations. An example is Cao's 1995 translation (Quinn, 1984/1995), which is the seed translation for four repackaged renditions and two fake translations in Taiwan. This two-volume Chinese rendition contains more than one million words, making it the most extensive rendition of Poe's works in Mandarin to date. The prominent status of this seed translation explains why it has been such a popular target for repackaged and fake translations. The literary status of the translators and comprehensive tale selection in these seed translations contribute to their subsequent reprocessing and publication in Taiwan. However, such desirable features are not prominently highlighted in the repackaged volumes.

In contrast to the focus on repurposing existing translation in the reworking of local translations, the repackaged volumes of them Chinese renditions appear to

¹⁸ The former one is the 1968 repackaging of Fu and Yu (1937). The latter one is Cactus Press's re-issue of Jiao's 1949 *Selected Tales of Poe* (Jiao, 1970). Both of them make interesting cases as the translators were all enlisted as communist translators in the book ban period. Yet in both cases, the translators' names were not effaced.

emphasize the inclusion of local “re-readings” of Poe. A common practice is the inclusion of reviews of Poe’s achievement made by local writers, critics or scholars. For instance, in the 2005 repackaged volumes by Cao (Quinn, 1984/1995), several introductions to Poe, along with an editorial preface, are included. These introductory texts analyze literary elements in Poe’s tales, and discuss Poe’s literary status as the father of detective stories and his achievement in horror stories. They were written by three local literary scholars and writer—Yuxiu Liu, Yuhei Chen, Yiping Su. The repackaged volumes even feature a translation of Poe’s authorial preface from 1840. Yet, there is little mention of the translatorial or the translational achievement, except for the name of the translator on the book cover and copyright page.

Similarly, the comprehensiveness of these imported translations should have been highlighted, as ten out of the 61 translated tales of Poe introduced to Taiwan are present only in these imported seed translations. Such significance is neither addressed. Instead, the endorsement or validation from local literary producers is required to ascertain the value of the imported translations. Local mediation is made by featuring the classic literary status of Poe’s works introduced by local literary producers, adding local cultural capitals in the Bourdieusian sense (Bourdieu, 1992/1996). But such investment of cultural capital, however, is not necessarily derogative. In fact, in one case, a simplified Chinese rendition was republished in Taiwan by converting simplified Chinese to traditional Chinese without any further reprocessing effort (J. Wang, 2018). The observations on all repackaged imported translations suggest that the more esteemed the translators or the seed translations are, the more likely the repackaged volumes will include local literary endorsement. These endorsements can be seen as gestures of recognition of the imported seed translations from local publishers.

The above analysis shows the two different approaches to repackaging

translations: repurposing and validation. The dominance of repackaged translations of Poe's tales after the 2010s suggests that reprinting, though being a cost-effective way to extend the life of a translation, is no longer sufficient in the competitive landscape of translated works of Poe's. Repackaging becomes necessary to re-define existing translations—by either appealing to new target readership or by imposing local “authoritative” readings of Poe.

Conclusion

The identification of the four text production modes in the translations of Poe's tales highlights the dynamic nature in the reception of his works. These modes—fake translations, local translations, rewriting/adaptations and repackaged renditions—encompass a range of textual, para-textual and/or contextual reprocessing for varying purposes from censorship enforcement, value-enhancing, repurposing, readership-defining to endorsement. The “translations” of Poe's tales in Taiwan can hence be construed as the coexistence and interplay of translation and reprocessing, where Poe and his works are constantly re-positioned by the changing practices of reading and writing (i.e., translation as literary production).

The early dominance of fake translations implies the rewriting and overwriting of the seed translations by de-contextualizing and re-contextualizing them. Despite no or few translating acts are involved, fake translation still demonstrates a shaping process that defines and is defined by the censored and “legitimate” way of reading, which is best exemplified by the dominance of Jiao's work among all fake translations. Jiao's work is patronized by the right institution (i.e., USIS Hong Kong) with the proper availability and usability. All of which respond to the KMT's need to ally with the US, to build Mandarin as the national language and to perform its censorship on literary production. This shows that fake

translations, though plagiaristic in nature, present a contextual rewriting of how literary texts should (and should not) be read. The later variations of fake translation manipulations identified above may then be perceived as experimental attempts to break away from this highly institutionalized reading.

Early local translations, as mentioned, are often published in literary magazines or newspaper supplements that served specific literary or political purposes. Adapted tales of Poe by the 1990s also exhibit a strong pedagogical reading of Poe. Similar to fake translations, early local translations and adaptations are shaped by certain “legitimate” and didactic ways of reading, which are later replaced by the diversified and popularized ways of reading with the ease on literary production after the lift of the martial law.

To break away from the desired “legitimate” way of reading, later local translations, especially those after the 1990s, resort to the source texts and the author, presenting a fuller repertoire of Poe’s tales. Comprehensiveness of the Poe repertoire seems to stand for the authenticity, and hence, legitimacy of the translations. As the number of local translations increased, the repetitive anthologizing and packaging process seem to also popularize Poe, which may lead to some reduced or flattened presentations of Poe.¹⁹ Poe as a literary sign is embodied mostly by his arabesque, horror and dark tales whereas his scientific or ironic works are understated.

For adaptations, Poe as a classic author became a powerful literary sign. Even when his tales were largely abridged or rewritten, they could be utilized for various purposes. Adaptations, whether rewritten locally or abroad, use Poe’s works as a

¹⁹ The popularization of Poe is also evident in local reviews. The present researcher reviewed 67 newspaper articles, book reviews or introductions that mentioned Poe. Poe’s literary achievement is highly addressed and expounded before the 1990s. However, after the 1990s, few critical reviews on Poe can be found. Poe was mostly referred to in passing as a literary sign (i.e., detective/horror story writer) that inspires later writers.

vehicle to achieve different reading goals—from pedagogy, character-building, language-learning, test-preparation to simply entertainment. In these cases, Poe is regarded as a literary sign that can be further interpreted or appropriated for various readership.

Repackaged translation, on the other hand, presents the re-reading or meta-reading of how Poe can be read/translated. Local translations are repackaged with the aim to repurpose or extend the “afterlife” the seed translations. Imported seed translations are repackaged through local validation and endorsement. Both manipulations demonstrate that translations of Poe in the local context require constant redefinition and renewal.

From fake translations, local translations, adaptations to repackaged translations, what is observed in the reception of Poe’s tales in Taiwan is the constant repositioning of Poe, which results in layers of hybridity. Such hybridity is present in the four text production modes involved in the so-called “translation” of Poe’s tales. It is also present in how Poe is read and re-read in each mode. The hybridity, at the same time, may reflect a kind of “third space” (Bhabha, 1994), which is observed not just between the source language and target language, but, more importantly, within the practices of translation as literary production in the past seventy years. The long-lasting enthusiasm in translating Poe over the last seven decades reflects how the act of translation is negotiated, confronted, compromised along with the socio-political changes in the local context. Poe’s tales are firstly (fake-)translated and reprocessed into politically-correct texts. The proliferation and popularization of Poe’s tales in local renditions, adaptations and repackaged renditions since the 1990s may be construed, on the one hand, as the rejection to the highly charged and didactic reading of Poe. On the other hand, considering reduced and flattened interpretations of Poe, the constant and repetitive appropriation of Poe’s works in local new translations, adaptations and repackaged

volumes may at the same time paradoxically reinforce such ways of reading. In this sense, Poe made an “exceptional” case in the history of literary translation in Taiwan not only because he is “a writer whose texts in translation rescue, redeem, and redefine him” (Esplin & Vale de Gate, 2014, p. xi), but because the translational manipulations involved in introducing Poe’s tales in Taiwan present the irreducible hybridity that characterizes both his reception in Taiwan and the unique history of literary translation in this island nation as it underwent colonization and democratization.

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Ursula K. Le Guin's *Tao Te Ching*: An Interpretation Crossing Cultural Boundaries

Chih-hong Rudy Chen

The *Tao Te Ching* 《道德經》 (*TTC*) is one of the most-translated texts next to the Bible. More than just a Chinese religiophilosophical classic that only deserves scholarly translations, the *TTC* and its ever-growing acceptance as popular literature deserves more attention within the realm of translation studies both domestically and abroad. Despite knowing no Chinese, Ursula K. Le Guin, the legendary literary icon, published her popular yet gender-conscious *TTC* translation as a non-scholar in 1997. The present study traces her lineage of *TTC* interpretation across cultural boundaries to arrive at the overlooked implications of a *TTC* “translation” by a world-renowned “translator” who knows no Chinese, exploring her special case among myriad *TTC* translations in a renewed trend of *Lao Tzu* 《老子》 studies (*laoxue* 老學) that no longer sees historically and culturally significant or “serious” texts only through scholarly lenses, but also from the viewpoint of non-scholarly or “popular” literature. This is achieved by positing Le Guin’s unique case within the context of interpretive genealogy in the international extension of the Chinese study of *laoxue*.

Keywords: *Tao Te Ching*, Ursula K. Le Guin, interpretation, *Lao Tzu* studies, cross-cultural

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娥蘇拉·勒瑰恩《道德經》譯本： 跨越文化籬籬的詮釋現象

陳致宏

《道德經》（*Tao Te Ching*）是翻譯數量僅次於《聖經》的文本。《道德經》不僅是一部值得進行學術翻譯的中國宗教哲學經典，它做為通俗文學的日益普及，在國內外翻譯研究領域中應得更多關注。儘管不懂中文，科幻文學大師娥蘇拉·勒瑰恩（Ursula K. Le Guin）在1997年以非學者身分出版了她通俗的、具有性別意識的《道德經》譯本。本研究追溯她跨越文化籬籬的《道德經》詮釋傳承族譜脈絡，以得出一位不諳中文的世界知名作家做為「譯者」來「翻譯」《道德經》的背後意義，探索她在眾多《道德經》譯本當中的特殊案例，並透過《老子》研究（即老學）的新趨勢觀點，不再僅透過學術視角看待具有歷史和文化意義的「嚴肅」文本，而是從非學術「通俗」文學的角度，將勒瑰恩的特殊情況置於中文世界老學於其全球延伸的詮釋族譜背景下來看待。

關鍵詞：《道德經》、娥蘇拉·勒瑰恩、詮釋、《老子》研究、跨文化

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Introduction

As Penn sinologist Paul R. Goldin puts it, despite many of its “popular” translations “translated” by those who do not know Chinese, the *Tao Te Ching* 《道德經》 (hereafter *TTC*) is one of the most-translated texts next to the Bible, and notably, Americans consume more copies than its Western counterparts such as Aristotle (Goldin, 2002, p. 183). In one count of the most-translated texts in the world by languages, the *TTC*, among other works of religious and popular literature, ranks fourth (more than 250 languages) after the Bible (as of July 2020, 3,385 languages) (Wycliffe Global Alliance, n.d.), *The Little Prince* (as of April 2017, 300 languages) (CTV News, 2017), and *The Adventures of Pinocchio* (260 languages) (Associazione Nazionale Insegnanti Lingue Straniere, 2015; TranslateDay, 2023). The *TTC*, often understood as merely a Chinese philosophical classic, is now among the most widely read books the world over, owing to its uniquely interpretation-inspiring nature, and consequently to have been commentated and translated over 2,000 times (Tadd, 2022b, p. 1).

What if an acclaimed author of modern world literature becomes a “translator” of the ancient *TTC*, but knows no Chinese? Ursula K. Le Guin, the legendary American literary icon and winner of numerous literary awards mostly known for her fantasy and science fiction—many of which heavily influenced by the *TTC* actually—managed to publish her “jargon-free” and “rich, poetic and socially relevant version” of this ancient Chinese classic to popular acclaim in 1997 (Bookauthority, n.d.), notably for “perhaps the unmale reader” (*Lao Tzu*, 1997, p. x). Le Guin is the famed American author of novels, children’s books and short stores featuring genres of fantasy and science fiction as well as her concerns for gender, religion and environmentalism, most famously through her *The Earthsea Cycle* fantasy series (published 1968-2001). She has a broad range of influences,

including fantasy writers such as J. R. R. Tolkien, feminist writers such as Virginia Woolf, and Eastern religious works such as the *TTC*. In regard to Taoism, Le Guin stated in a radio interview that “[she’s] been a Taoist ever since [she] learned what it was” (as cited in Huang & Dai, 2017, p. 39). Clearly, we can see how much the *TTC* has influenced her since her youth to gradually motivate her to produce a translation of her own. What’s more important is Le Guin’s careful handling with the gender issue in her rendition, which corresponds to her feminist awakening apparent in her writing after the 1970s. She often mentions the impact of the Women’s Liberation Movement in the 1960s on her persona and her writing, claiming herself as a feminist: “I consider myself a feminist: I didn’t see how you could be a thinking woman and not be a feminist” (Le Guin, 1989, pp. 7-8). As is well known, the *TTC* features the all-encompassing, productive and procreative qualities attributable to the feminine gender. Contemporary feminist scholarship may seem like a modern Western phenomenon, but in fact its roots are traceable in masterpieces among Eastern classics from ancient times over the span of centuries by turning to Chinese religiophilosophical texts such as the *TTC* for supporting evidence of “ancient feminism” (Patt-Shamir, 2009, p. 408). As such, Le Guin’s feminist ideals go hand-in-hand with the femininity and tenderness as manifest in the *TTC*.

As a matter of fact, feminist and Taoist ideals also often go hand-in-hand in Le Guin’s thought as well as fictitious works. For example, the book title as well as seven out of 11 chapter headings in *The Lathe of Heaven* (published 1971), Le Guin’s most explicitly Taoist novel, are actually quotations taken from the *Lao Tzu* 《老子》 and the *Chuang Tzu* 《莊子》. Furthermore, in mentioning the modeling of an imaginary androgynous planet Gethen (as appears in her famous novel *The Left Hand of Darkness*) after numerous Taoist ideals in her essay collection of her literary works *The Language of the Night* (published 1979), she states that, when

compared to the male-centric sides of ancient China, Taoist ideals such as “circularity” (as opposed to the male “linearity,” i.e., the phallus/uterus pair), “the valuing of patience” and “balance” seem to possess more feminist potential and thus more beneficial to the world (Le Guin, 1992, pp. 164-165). Androgyny is certainly a nod to the creative tension and reconciliation of opposites in Taoism. As is widely known, *The Left Hand of Darkness* (published 1969) is among the first works of gender-based science fiction to gain critical success, in which a “‘thought experiment’ that examined gender stereotypes” and the theme of Taoist light/darkness balance are featured (Higgins, 2009, p. 77). Also, feminist themes such as adaptation to nature’s rhythm (as opposed to conquering) are found in the novel’s characters, which are traceable to Taoist philosophy (Reid, 1997, pp. 3-8). Ethan Mills, a scholar at the conjunction of science fiction and philosophy, went so far as to call her version of creatively reinterpreted Taoist insights as a kind of “science fictional feminist [T]aoism” by a “philosophical author” who seeks “new ways of seeing the world” (Mills, 2020, pp. 11, 21). He sees that Le Guin’s reimagined Taoism in the context of science fiction is the product of fusing premodern Taoism and modern feminism as a kind of philosophy crossing cultures that “encourages a transformation of both [T]aoism and feminism—a feminist rethinking of [T]aoism and a [T]aoist rethinking of feminism” (Mills, 2020, p. 12).

What is Le Guin’s feminist vision in regard to femininity in the *TTC*? She revealed in an interview that when asked of her motivation behind creating her *TTC* version that does not limit wisdom solely to males, she states:

When you gender the philosopher and when you talk only about Kings and Sages—though technically that word is non-gender—I do believe that most readers immediately see an ancient person with a beard. A bit like God. And [since] I had taken this book to my heart as a teenage girl, it obviously is a book that speaks to women. Lao Tzu feminized mysteries in a different way

from anybody else. These are not “feminine mysteries,” but he makes mystery itself a woman. This is profound, this goes deep. And the most mystical passages in the book are the most feminine. This is something women need, I think, and long for, often without knowing it. That’s undoubtedly one reason why all my life I’ve found the *Tao [Te] Ching* so refreshing and empowering. (Peterson, n.d., para. 4)

In relation to this Taoist solution to gendering, elsewhere Le Guin reflects on her own feminist view on gendering:

The deepest foundation of the order of oppression is gendering, which names the male normal, dominant, active, and the female Other, subject, passive. To begin to imagine freedom, the myths of gender, like the myths of race, have to be exploded and discarded. (as cited in Miller, 2023, p. 75)

In this manner, Le Guin sees the basis of oppression in the cultural and societal constructs of gender, and hence criticizes the traditional view of masculinity and femininity, or “antiessentialist feminism”; her vision of feminism, on the other hand, sees that oppositional gender constructs are meaningless and only work in (antagonizing) relation to each other (Lothian, 2006, p. 383). This is reminiscent of the Taoist ideal of relativity and mutual interdependence. It is argued that from her self-stated viewpoint that Taoist philosophy has been a major personal influence permeating all of her works, so much so that she could live with Lao Tzu’s book her “whole life long” (*Lao Tzu*, 1997, p. ix), Le Guin’s works would not take shape “without the structuring principle of Taoist philosophy” (Lothian, 2006, p. 383). Her brand of feminism as appears in her *Earthsea* and *Hainish* series as well as *The Left Hand of Darkness* takes on the particular manifestation of the reconciliation of darkness and light, and of the “mutual interdependence of male and female, visually depicted in the yin-yang symbol of interlocking dark and light semicircles” (Spivack, 1984, p. 7). For these reasons, naturally Le Guin’s affinity to “ancient

feminism” as appears in her *TTC* translation is undoubted.

Regarding her *TTC* translation, despite previous studies pointing out the great divide between scholarly and “popular” translations of the *TTC* (Goldin, 2002; Kirkland, 1997), Le Guin’s translation stands in the middle ground between the two camps, as she is certainly no scholar, but she also received external scholarly assistance during translation, thus contributing a special case among *TTC* translations. After having studied the original *TTC* text for more than 40 years, Le Guin consulted other renowned translations and worked with scholars to arrive at her personal version that speaks to modern readership while preserving the poetic beauty of the original, full of her personal commentaries and notes. This paper attempts to trace Le Guin’s hidden lineage of *TTC* exegesis from the perspective of *Lao Tzu* studies (*laoxue* 老學) via her translation of gender-aware elements in the *TTC*, with the hope of arriving at some implications to understand the astonishing phenomenon behind unceasing chains of *TTC* translations and retranslations that deserve the attention of translation studies: A special case of “translation” by a world-renowned “translator” who does not know the source text language, and where this case stands within the context of *TTC* translations in the West, i.e., the Western branch of the Chinese study of *laoxue*.

Literature Review

In this section, the timeline and notable publications on gender-related and popular *TTC* translations are reviewed as follows.

Gender Awareness in *TTC* Translations

There exist basically three periods in *TTC* translations in the West: the first characterized by comparisons with the Christian doctrine in the 18th and 19th

centuries, followed by its usage in criticizing Western ideas and values since the beginning to the middle of the 20th century, and lastly, followed by recent scholarship from the late 1970s onwards (Hardy, 1998, p. 165). In another relevant study, a similar three-stage division is also suggested, namely the first covering the 18th and 19th centuries and primarily concerned with the comparison of the *TTC* with doctrines in Christianity, the second beginning around 1915 and participated by scholarly contributions to criticize Western thoughts and values, and the third from the late 1970s characterized by attempts to avoid appropriation and producing translations based on Chinese sources (Hardy, 1998, p. 165). The latter is colored by multiplicity and multivocality, during which an unprecedented number of *TTC* translations were produced, resulting in unprecedented input from influential women translators, or translators from both genders with a distinct awareness of feminist concerns in the West (Wang, 2015b, p. 96). One proposed connection is perhaps of the Women's Liberation Movement in the late 1960s and "a more gender—emphasized society, where 'social gender' was unprecedentedly focused on" (Wang, 2015b, p. 96). The first woman involved English translation of the *TTC* was published by Feng and English (*Tao Te Ching*, 1972), after which there were several versions translated by women translators on their own, for example, Chen (*The Tao Te Ching*, 1989) and Le Guin (*Lao Tzu*, 1997). Feng and English stated that the notion of *ci* 雌 (female) in the *TTC* has triggered the interest among present-day cultural scholars, with its affirmation of the feminine qualities that seems to provide solutions to today's social and political problems in the midst of the Women's Liberation Movement, in the sense that it arouses the awareness that women are not simply passive or submissive, but rather forms and shapes our society with the male counterpart in harmony (*Tao Te Ching*, 1972, p. xxi).

As a matter of fact, Le Guin's gender-aware *TTC* translation is neither alone nor the first. In the latter half of the 20th century to the present, other gender-aware

popular and scholarly translated versions of the *TTC* have emerged, including the aforementioned Ellen M. Chen, Ursula K. Le Guin, Kohn (1989), as well as male translators such as Mitchell (*Tao Te Ching*, 1988), Mair (*Tao Te Ching*, 1990), and Hinton (*Tao Te Ching*, 2002). Of special mention is Anderson, whose book title explicitly states as *The Divine Feminine Tao Te Ching*, owing to her discovery that “Tao was profoundly *feminine*” and thus constituting a guideline in her translation (*The Divine Feminine*, 2021, p. 3). These translations have, albeit in different degrees, highlighted the female gender in their translations, so as to put the issue of the gender in translation in consideration. For example, Chen (1969) attributes the formation of the *TTC* having originated in matrilineal societies of ancient China, and also that there exists a strong link to early Chinese religions and philosophies that concepts in the *TTC* such as *wu* 無, *ruo* 弱, *xuan* 玄, *xu* 虛 perhaps have derived via the worship of maternal procreativity (pp. 401, 403). In discussing Le Guin’s *TTC* translation, gender elements such as these are examined.

Popular *TTC* Translations

Some of the most studied “popular” translations (i.e., non-scholarly renditions or versions) include those by Stephen Mitchell, whose highly popular *TTC* translation sold over a million copies, and Ursula K. Le Guin. For instance, Bebell and Fera (2000) examined Mitchell’s version among others, and found it representing “a more recent wave of interest” and helpful for understanding the *TTC* among first-time Western readers (p. 137). Solska (2008) studied both Mitchell’s and Le Guin’s translations under a relevance-theoretical perspective, and concludes that these personal and even controversial *TTC* renditions are now highly popular due to their current relevance to present-day global audiences gradually diminishing the ancient text’s cultural specificity, that is, now less merely “Eastern” or “Chinese” (p. 242). Wang studied Le Guin’s translation among others, albeit

under the frameworks of systemic functional linguistics (SFL) and corpus-critical translation studies (Wang, 2015a, 2015b, 2018). Jiang (2019) studied Le Guin's translation while expressly designating Le Guin's translation as representative among female translators (pp. 688-694).

In these previous studies on exemplary “popular” *TTC* translations, however, a possibly overlooked problem surrounding the linguistic capabilities of the said “translators” exists: Whether they do know Chinese or not. Motives behind the publication of a *TTC* translation by a “translator” who does not know Chinese are manifold. In the case of Mitchell's popular yet controversial version, he confounds his 14-year-long Zen training with *TTC* exegesis, takes excessive liberties such as ignoring certain keywords or phrases in the source text or replacing them with modern clichés, and receives a six-digit advance for it (Goldin, 2002, pp. 184, 187-188, 192). In an attempt to correct such a problem, literary scholar Eoyang (1999) criticizes Mitchell's “compositely borrowed renderings of the *Tao Te Ching*” as a form of “plagiarism, where one translation pretends to be a different and original translation”, as “Mr. Mitchell does not read or speak Chinese” (pp. 269-270, 281). Similarly, Kirkland (1997) also regards Mitchell's and Le Guin's “translations” as “Taoism of the Western imagination” (p. 1). Also, Fan and Yu (2020) see that Mitchell's “version” is “not a scholarly faithful translation but a spiritual interpretation that is heavily improvised,” (p. 486) risking its contents devoid of the original Chinese sociocultural context while misguiding the readership by confounding non-Taoist (i.e., Buddhist and Christian) teachings with that of the *TTC*. In addition, Goldin (2002) fears that “English translations of the [*Tao Te Ching*] by people who do not know Chinese... rely heavily on earlier translations, fail any basic test of accuracy, and distort and simplify the philosophy of the original,” (pp. 183-184) and considers Mitchell's and Le Guin's “translations” to be problematic. However, despite viewing Le Guin's “translation” as somewhat

problematic, Goldin also acknowledges that among the Chinese-incompetent “translators” selected for his study (Witter Bynner, Stephen Mitchell, Thomas H. Miles, and Ursula K. Le Guin, who all admit that they have no adequate command in Chinese), only Le Guin stays true to the original by having received assistance from Jerome P. Seaton. Seaton is a translator of classical Chinese and Professor Emeritus of Chinese and Asian studies at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Seaton is hailed as a respected sinologist as well as an excellent translator and explicator of Chinese poetry who translated the works of Tu Fu 杜甫, Ou-yang Hsiu 歐陽修, Yuan Mei 袁枚, and notably Chuang Tzu (Bradbury, 2005, p. 33), and is thus a linguistically competent authority. Also, her translation reworks upon earlier translations with “more care and integrity” on the grounds that she provides chapter-by-chapter explanations for such reworkings into her own words while avoiding merely copying earlier translations, and is thus the best among the four (Goldin, 2002, pp. 183-185). Also, in coming up with her own rendition of the *TTC*, Le Guin herself found Mitchell’s version not useful among her consulted translations, some scholarly, some popular (*Lao Tzu*, 1997, pp. 121-123). For these reasons, in deciding which “popular” translation to be incorporated for investigation, a decision is made in this paper to exclude Mitchell’s and enlist Le Guin’s translation in examining an exemplary “popular” *TTC* translation.

As Seaton himself puts it, his collaboration with Le Guin was “the greatest, the most intense, intellectual fun [he] ever had . . . it was a great thrill to watch a great literary mind like hers at work” (Bradbury, 2005, p. 41). In the aforementioned interview, Seaton revealed several points worthy of attention as follows. Firstly, Seaton is hailed by the feminist poet and Pulitzer winner Carolyn Kizer for being “a genius for interpretation and impeccable scholarship” that can “magically transcend intuition and learning: he is a poet” (as cited in Bradbury, 2005, p. 33). Secondly, as a scholar, Seaton states that actually he translates “for

people who don't want footnotes" (Bradbury, 2005, p. 43), when many ancient works require annotation when rendered into English—that is, he writes for the layman, and thus fits well with Le Guin's popular rendition of the *TTC*. Thirdly, Seaton chooses to teach nature poems in Chinese poetry courses about field botany or bird watching besides introducing students to Taoism, and Le Guin, as is widely known, is also an ecologically-minded writer.¹ Fourthly, as a scholar, Seaton discovered that actually Le Guin, a non-scholar, knows more about *Lao Tzu* than he does, teaches him “not just technical stuff, everything” about *Lao Tzu*, challenges him to do his best scholarship on this project, and, most importantly, she herself “read all the [*TTC*] translations and kept up with the scholarship” during her fifty years engaging with the *TTC* (Bradbury, 2005, p. 42). All these point to a natural affinity between Seaton's poetical inclination and Le Guin's self-stated “poetical” translation (*Lao Tzu*, 1997, p. 121) to produce their particular version of the *TTC* that shows depth and quality, defying the traditional view that Le Guin knows no Chinese and is thus incompetent.

Le Guin's Translation of Gender-Aware Elements in the *TTC*

If Le Guin knows no Chinese, how could she “translate” the *TTC*? In order to unveil Le Guin's *TTC* exegetical lineage, some background concerning how Le Guin arrived at her own translation throughout the years should be briefly mentioned here, particularly, in terms of *laoxue*, which previous *TTC* exegeses she consulted upon and what assistance she received, evident in the appended materials next to the main body of translated text in her 1997 publication. In this publication, she clearly states in her Concerning This Version section that she knows no Chinese

¹ Le Guin went so far as to refuse to attend a Harvard conference on “Taoism and the Environment” unless Seaton is also invited (Bradbury, 2005, p. 42). Also, it is noted that themes on ecology are also at the core of Taoist philosophy as well as the *TTC*, and are featured in Le Guin's fictional works.

and thus received help from the aforementioned sinologist Jerome P. Seaton, which is followed by the Sources section, in which she mentions that she also consulted a few other established *TTC* translations by renowned scholar-translators, ranked in the order of usefulness, of which the topmost is the famed American philosopher and orientalist Paul Carus's translation. When she was young, she found Carus's contents very fascinating. Elsewhere it is stated that when Le Guin encountered it as her first copy of the *TTC* at 12 and immediately loved it, and found her cultural anthropologist and "strongly anti-religious" father Alfred L. Kroeber reading it often and enjoying it as a "religious belief" and "lifelong pleasure" (McCaffery & Gregory, 1984, pp. 83-84). Seaton, in the aforementioned interview featured in the journal *Translation Review*, states that Le Guin almost memorized Carus's entire text (Bradbury, 2005, p. 42). Back to her appended materials, in her Introduction section she hails it as a lucky discovery of a foundational text for her personal rendition of the *TTC*, lucky in the sense that she discovered it at a young age (*Lao Tzu*, 1997, p. ix). Further, in her Concerning This Version section, Le Guin states with "unending gratitude" that her rendition is made possible "only because" of Carus's transliterated edition she encountered very young, and again hailing it in her Sources section as "endlessly valuable" (*Lao Tzu*, 1997, pp. 119-120). With these clues, in the spirit of *laoxue*, it would be necessary to trace the exegetical lineage of her consulted *TTC* translations, since translations and commentaries are also forms of textual interpretation. Consequently, for the reason that Carus's translation is the foundation of her personal *TTC* rendering, naturally it would be ideal to compare Carus's and Le Guin's translations, which form the comparative basis of research materials for investigation in this paper.

A second rationale in the selection of materials is as follows. Firstly, in dealing with a gender-aware writer such as Le Guin, the importance of the *TTC* among feminist scholars cannot be overlooked. Modern feminism has turned to ancient

religiophilosophical texts such as the *TTC* for evidence supporting what one has termed “proto-feminist” (Chen & Ji, 2015, p. 4). Hence, it is natural that Le Guin should turn to *TTC* for inspiration for many of her gender-aware literary works, and now “translating” the *TTC*. In terms of the feminine gender, the *TTC* is known to be rich in its images and allusions, celebrating the productive and procreative and qualities attributable to the all-encompassing feminine body and psyche, and by extension, mother nature.

Secondly, in order to discuss the translation of religiophilosophical texts such as the *TTC*, one cannot ignore translation as a “translator-driven activity” as well as a “process of communication” (Solska, 2008, p. 233), in which, as Sperber and Wilson put it, “the communicator is communicating her presumption of relevance to whoever is willing to entertain it” (as cited in Solska, 2008, p. 233). Counting the uniquely numerous translations of the *TTC* emerging every year, we see that the international *TTC* translation phenomenon is bound to retranslations, or, in other words, an unceasing chain of re-interpretations and re-contextualizations. Even Le Guin herself is amused at how many “*TTCs* have appeared or reappeared” and wonders if “Lao Tzu has more translators than he has readers” (*Lao Tzu*, 1997, p. 123). Under a relevance-theoretical perspective, Solska (2008) sees that the *TTC* translation phenomenon could be viewed as whether the numerous translators are at times mediators of meaning between the ST writer and the TT reader, in the sense that the choices made by the *TTC* translators are “determined by their potential target audiences” (pp. 233-234). In Le Guin’s case, this rings true in that she, in her Introduction section before her main translated *TTC* text, clearly defines her potential target audience by wanting her translation accessible to a “present-day, unwise, unpowerful, and perhaps *unmale* [emphasis added] reader” who listens “for a voice that speaks to the soul” (*Lao Tzu*, 1997, p. x). As such, with her potentially female readers defined, then comes Le Guin’s various translatorial

choices of words according to her potentially female or gender-conscious readership's expectation. To this end, what to compare between Le Guin's and Carus's translations in this research paper could be defined here: The gender-conscious elements in the *TTC*, of which two exemplary ones frequently studied are *ci* and *pin* 牝.

Non-action (*wuwei* 無為), a central philosophy of the *TTC*, is embodied by gentleness or pliancy (*rou* 柔), as Paul Carus's translation of Chapter 36 states: *rouruo sheng gangqiang* 柔弱勝剛強, or, "the tender and the weak conquer the hard and the strong" (*Lao-Tze's*, 1898, p. 115). Gentleness, pliancy, tenderness and weakness are some of the prominent attributes of femininity, one of the main themes in the *TTC*. As noted in many other studies on the *TTC* such as Ma (2009) and Wang (2018), the discussion of a gender-conscious translation of the *TTC* cannot begin without examining the various linguistic elements of femininity in the ancient text, most notably the conceptual metaphors of *ci* (lit. female) and *pin* (female body; female animal), whose occurrences in the *TTC* far exceed that of their counterparts *xiong* 雄 (lit. male) and *mu* 牡 (male body; male animal), and also exceeding that of pre-Qin Chinese classics as well as of ancient philosophical treatises from other regions of the world.

Conceptual Metaphors of Femininity: The Case of Ci

First, let us take a look at *ci*. *Ci* occurs twice in the *TTC*, notably in Chapter 10 and also Chapter 28, in which *xiong* makes its only occurrence in the entire text once. These chapters are also the ones frequently studied by feminist scholars and translators. Let us turn to Le Guin's translation of *ci* in Chapter 10, on cultivating femininity:

[Source text:]

tianmen kaihe, nengwei ci hu

...

wei er bu shi, zhang er bu zai, shi wei xuande

天門開闔，能為雌乎

...

為而不恃，長而不宰，是謂玄德

[Translated text:]

Opening, closing the Gate of Heaven,

can you be like a bird with her nestlings?

...

to act and not lay claim,

to lead and not to rule:

this is mysterious power. (*Lao Tzu*, 1997, p. 16)

Before further comparisons of the first verse, let us compare Le Guin with the aforementioned Rosemarie Anderson's "divine feminine" *TTC* translation: "can you receive like a woman as fate opens and closes its doors?" (*The Divine Feminine*, 2021, p. 42). Firstly, *ci* is rendered straightforwardly as "woman." On the other hand, here we see that Le Guin differs from Anderson and renders *ci* according to the ancient meaning of the character as appears in the Han-period dictionary *Showen Jiezi* 《說文解字》, in which it is expounded as *niaomu* 鳥母, a female bird (Kawaguchi, 2013, p. 159). In her notes below the translated text, Le Guin provides no explanation to her rendering of *ci*, except to comment that contrary to common belief that it is about meditation, this chapter is actually "profoundly mystical, the images are charged, rich in implications" (*Lao Tzu*, 1997, p. 16). Since Le Guin expressly states that her translation is based on the 1898 translation by Paul Carus, the rendering of this verse can also be compared to Carus's translated text: "Opening and closing the gates of heaven, he will be like a mother-bird / ... He acts but claims not. He excels but rules not. This is called profound virtue" (*Lao-Tze's*, 1898, p. 159). Here we see that Carus uses prose in his

translation. In Carus's Transliteration of the Text section after his main translated text, *ci* is transliterated accordingly as "[like] a mother-bird" (*Lao-Tze's*, 1898, p. 159). Moreover, in his Notes and Comments section, Carus states that he consulted two earlier Japanese translations as well as that of Stanislas Julien's famous 1842 French translation, all of which rendered as "mother-bird" to confirm his personal interpretation (*Lao-Tze's*, 1898, p. 291). Here we see that in Le Guin's translation, Carus's "mother-bird" element is being featured, yet it is rewritten to a different form as "bird with her nestlings" to highlight the mother-to-child nature (*muzi* 母子) of maternity, via an international lineage of co-exegesis of *TTC* translations: Japanese, French, and American. Here it should be noted that the mother image is actually featured in Le Guin's translation of Chapter 1 (often regarded as most pivotal chapter in the *TTC*) as the following: *youming wanwu zhi mu* 有名萬物之母 "name's the mother of the ten thousand things" (*Lao Tzu*, 1997, p. 2). In the *TTC*, *mu* 母 is regarded as the primacy of the feminine in the philosophy of *Lao Tzu* (Ma, 2009, p. 272), hence a valid interpretation here.

Moreover, though highly allusive, the "Gate of Heaven" (*tianmen* 天門) imagery has been substantial in a feminist discussion of the *TTC*. On the surface, the "Gate of Heaven" was commonly understood as the orifices of the body through which air enters and exits in various Taoist meditative practices. However, the famed sinologist Liu Xiaogan 劉笑敢 states that beginning with Heshang Gong 河上公 and Wang Bi 王弼, the void of the gate actually denotes *tiandi zhi men* 天地之門, from which all phenomena of the world appears, since emptiness and openness is central to femininity (as in the uterus), and also that the human body as a microcosm is the projection of the cosmos as a macrocosm (Liu, 2003, p. 183). Here we see that Anderson renders *tianmen kaihe* 天門開闔 as "fate opens and closes its doors" (*The Divine Feminine*, 2021, p. 42), thus equating *tian* 天 as "fate," which leaves the doubt whether "fate" denotes *tian*, usually translated as

“heaven.” Based on available sources, it is argued elsewhere that, via a later conceptual shift in the Taoist “heaven” as *taiyi* 太一 (“the great one,” as appears in the famous *Guodian* 郭店 version of the *TTC* unearthed in 1993) found in the *Huainanzi* 《淮南子》, *taiyi*, though predating the *Huainanzi*, may denote a “celestial ruler over a court which includes numinal beings such as the Arbiter of Fate [*Siming* 司命]” (Littlejohn, 2016, p. 175), thus validating Anderson’s translation. This allusive reading is also validated elsewhere in stating that the gate’s opening and closing functions as a “nominative for a numinal or ontological reality from which the adept, if receptive (*feminine*) [emphasis added] either through ritual activity or meditation” (Littlejohn, 2016, p. 166), hence immediately followed by *nengwei ci hu* 能為雌乎 in the verse. On the other hand, the “Gate of Heaven” in Le Guin’s translation may denote several varying ideas in ancient Chinese thought (e.g., concepts in meditation and inner alchemy); as a matter of fact, Le Guin acknowledges that “most of the scholars think this chapter is about meditation... the language is profoundly mystical, the images are charged, rich in its implications” (*Lao Tzu*, 1997, p. 16). This gives a hint of Le Guin’s translatorial liberty to extend the limits beyond merely describing this chapter as meditation. To this interpretation, modern exegeses by Chung (2013) and Hsieh (2015) see a parallel to Carus’s translation of *zhongmiao zhi men* 眾妙之門 as “of all spirituality it is the door,” (*Lao-Tze’s*, 1898, p. 97), again referring to Chapter 1 of the *TTC*: It may denote the gate from which the myriad phenomena of the world begin, or, “origin of all things,” which in turn denotes the “mother.” Putting together the above, this idea certainly points to the all-yielding, productive power of the universe, in which creation is seen as feminine in nature, here depicted with the imagery of the “mother” figure (with her nestlings) in Le Guin’s translation. Also, returning to the core concept of *wuwei*, the central issue in Chapter 10 is the idea of softness and pliancy, which is in turn embodied through *ci* or femininity, where the

expression *nengwei ci hu* conveys the idea of feminine values in Lao Tzu's philosophy, and highlights the importance of feminine characteristics in the *TTC*. This is supported by eminent sinologist Benjamin Schwartz's view that the "mother" metaphor is the "exaltation of the feminine as the symbol of the principles of nonaction (*wu-wei* 無為) and 'spontaneity' (*tzu-jan* 自然)" (Schwartz, 1998, p. 194). As such, whether Le Guin's translation does justice to the source text is up to every reader's judgment, but one of the criteria for judging is to see if her translation meets such central idea for exegesis based on Carus's translation, while in turn Carus's interpretation is based on earlier Japanese translations and Julien's French translation. Now we turn to Le Guin's translation of *pin* below.

Conceptual Metaphors of Femininity: The Case of Pin

The other gender element in the *TTC* frequently studied is *pin* (female body, female animal), which occurs twice in Chapter 6, once in Chapter 55, and twice in Chapter 61, totaling five occurrences and exceeding that of its counterpart *mu* by three in the entirety of the *TTC*. Of these, the most crucial occurrences are that of Chapter 61:

[Source text:]

daguo zhe xialiu, tianxia zhi jiao, tianxia zhi pin

大國者下流，天下之交，天下之牝

pin changyi jing sheng mu, yi jing weixia

牝常以靜勝牡，以靜為下

gu daguo yixia xiaoguo, zequ xiaoguo

故大國以下小國，則取小國

xiaoguo yixia daguo, zequ daguo

小國以下大國，則取大國

gu huoxia yiqu, huoxia erqu

故或下以取，或下而取

[Translated text:]

The polity of greatness
runs downhill like a river to the sea,
joining with everything,
woman to everything.

By stillness the woman
may always dominate the man,
lying quiet underneath him.

So a great country
submitting to small ones, dominates them;
so small countries,
submitting to a great one, dominate it.

Lie low to be on top,
be on top by lying low. (*Lao Tzu*, 1997, p. 89)

We can compare the first two stanzas with that of Carus's:

A great state, one that lowly flows, becomes the empire's union, and the empire's wife. The wife always through quietude conquers her husband, and by quietude renders herself lowly. Thus a great state through lowliness toward small states will conquer the small states, and small states through lowliness toward great states will conquer great states.

Therefore some render themselves lowly for the purpose of conquering; others are lowly and therefore conquer. (*Lao-Tze's*, 1898, p. 128)

Firstly, we see in the present paper that Carus alternates between poetry and prose in his *TTC* translation. Secondly, some issues of clarity in Carus's translation occur here: What is a "great state that lowly flows," and why is it "the empire's union, and the empire's wife"? Or even, what exactly is "the empire's union" and "the empire's wife"? The closest rendering to mend Carus's unclear translation is that of American Buddhist scholar Dwight Goddard and Dutch sinologist Henri Borel: "A great state that is useful is like a bond of unity within the Empire; it is the Empire's wife" (Goddard & Borel, 1919, p. 42). Best-selling author Tom Butler-Bowdon calls this translation a "rendering" since Goddard and Borel saw the European translations at that time as too scholarly and wanted to "capture the essence" of *Lao Tzu* instead of producing a "pedantically correct translation" (Butler-Bowdon, 2012, p. xxii). Linguistically, Carus's translation is problematic for Le Guin's usage as exegetical basis, and thus we actually see a guided rendering in Le Guin, just like Goddard and Borel. In her Notes on the Chapters section after the translated text, Le Guin expounds on the fact that the lines in this chapter denote the themes of assimilation and "'being woman,' 'being water,' the uses of yin" (*Lao Tzu*, 1997, p. 140). Accordingly, womanhood and water both belong to *yin* 陰, the feminine principle in Taoist philosophy, which has a dual significance here. For comparison, Anderson's "divine feminine" translation renders the second stanza as "The female ever conquers the male through stillness / In stillness / She acts the lower" (*The Divine Feminine*, 2021, p. 96). Here Le Guin and Anderson are in unison in rendering *jing* 靜 as "stillness." The dual metaphor of the woman's stillness in "lying quiet underneath" and "[lying] low to be on top" of the man and "may always dominate" is firstly hinting to the sexual and productive roles of the woman, which in turn guides how social acts ought to be conducted, projecting from

interpersonal to international: There exists a way of harmony between nations in the sense that stronger ones need not use force to conquer weaker ones whilst embracing the feminine principle of tolerance towards them. Thirdly, the feminine metaphor of water as a concrete symbol of Tao “that gives birth to all yet does not try to own them” is at work. Just like water in mother nature being low-key, nurturing all while asking nothing in return, the feminine quality of water is embodied in such a harmony between nations through the imagery of a woman’s grace flowing downwards from a stronger nation to a weaker nation, hence the “woman to everything” running “downhill like a river to the sea” in the first stanza in depicting mutual benefit. Weaker nations, on the other hand, have nothing to lose in surviving by adhering to a stronger nation who embraces the feminine principle of tolerance and acceptance, not forceful means of conquer. At the same time, note Le Guin’s word usage in translating *guo* 國 (state): “Polity” is followed by “country.” The latter is more or less neutral, whereas the former seems to be marked with deliberate diction by semantic addition. In Taoist cosmology, Tao is ontologically not only the source of the universe, it is also the model of human affairs if axiologically embodied in real-life practice. Since this chapter deals with the application of the embodiment of Tao in political affairs, Le Guin’s exegetical addition to the neutral “state” in “polity” sees a state as a politically organized unit, highlighting the aspect of political science and is thus grounded and valid. Lastly, in comparing Le Guin’s final verse “Lie low to be on top, / be on top by lying low” (*Lao Tzu*, 1997, p. 89) with Carus’s “[t]herefore some render themselves lowly for the purpose of conquering; others are lowly and therefore conquer” (*Lao-Tze’s*, 1898, p. 128), basically the two agree in meaning, but Le Guin is much more concise. Carus provides a lengthy note by mentioning that actually John Chalmers and Charles de Harlez agree on his rendering, whilst providing evidence from earlier authoritative French translation notes by Stanislas Julien, and also that

Julien in turn heavily follows Sin-Kie-Fou (misspelled; actually Lü Huiqing 吕惠卿, a Song-dynasty *TTC* commentator), and, in turn, the famous German translator Victor von Strauss follows Julien, thus forming an intriguing chain of exegetical lineage.

“Translators” Who Know No Chinese: Exegetical Lineages

In tracing Le Guin's exegetical lineage, recall that in the aforementioned discussion on Le Guin's and Carus's translations of Chapter 10, Carus (*Lao-Tze's*, 1898) mentions in his translator notes that he consulted two earlier Japanese translations as well as that of Julien's famous 1842 French translation, the first complete translation in both French and Western sinology. Carus makes it clearer in his Introduction section that he actually listed four Japanese *TTC* commentaries in addition to Julien (*Lao-Tze's*, 1898, p. 43), and states that he has “freely availed myself of the labors of my predecessors . . . most valuable of all has proved to be Prof. Stanislas Julien's work” (*Lao-Tze's*, 1898, p. 45). Moreover, in discussing Le Guin's Chapter 61, we see that Carus agrees in his chapter notes with the first complete English translation by John Chalmers (published 1868) and a French translation by Charles de Harlez (published 1891) in their earlier respective interpretations, notes that Chalmers agrees closely with Julien, and Julien follows a person whose name is misspelled as Sin-Kie-Fou (*Lao-Tze's*, 1898, p. 314). Upon verification, the “Sin-Kie-Fou” that Carus refers to is actually a misprint of what Julien indicated in his French translation as Liu-Kie-Fou, who is in fact more widely known as the Song scholar and politician Lü Huiqing (1032–1111 CE, style 字 Jifu 吉甫, hence “Kie-Fou”), the famous ally to Wang Anshi 王安石 who helped establishing the proto-welfare state for peasantry under Emperor Shenzong's 宋神宗 reign (1067-1085). Lü produced a famed *TTC* commentary, the

four-volume *Daode Zhenjing Zhuan* 《道德真經傳》, which Julien indicated as *Lao tseu tch'ouen* (*Laozi Zhuan* 《老子傳》), issued in 1078 CE and now incorporated into the *Daozang* 《道藏》. It can be seen that Lü's commentaries is heavily featured in Julien's *TTC* translation in the form of notes, occurring 47 times in the entire work.

Then, in addition to primarily using Carus's translation as basis, Le Guin goes further back in history. Her in-text notes point to the possibly layered structure of the source text in seeing that there is a change of tone, a flattening from the fourth verse onwards, and compares the received text (that is, *textus receptus*) with the Mawangdui variant from Han dynasty (c. 168 BCE) to observe a noticeable difference between the two, stating that the latter is actually a corruption (*Lao Tzu*, 1997, p. 140). Moreover, in an interview listed as the sole entry of supplementary reading on the official website of Le Guin's *TTC* publication (hence a primary *epitext*), it is revealed that Le Guin actually prefers Arthur Waley's translation that "is never going to be equaled for what it does" (Peterson, n.d., para. 6), thus providing a clue to Le Guin's knowledge of consulted translations that serve various purposes. Sometimes side-by-side with that of Carus's or even adding that of other renowned sinologist such as Robert G. Henricks and D. C. Lau 劉殿爵, in many notes after her translation she quotes Waley's translation and comments that his interpretation is "never to be ignored" (*Lao Tzu*, 1997, p. 129) or is her guide to a particular verse (*Lao Tzu*, 1997, pp. 86, 141). Matter of fact, her frequency of consulting Waley's translation as seen in her notes ranks second to Carus's throughout the entire text, and in the Sources section she ranks Waley's translation second place in a list of consulted translations ordered by their usefulness (*Lao Tzu*, 1997, p. 121).

Yet another exegetical lineage found in Le Guin's translation, though loosely related to femininity, is one of technological progress. In her translation notes on

the utopian Chapter 80 of the *TTC*, she sees that although we think we use “labor-saving machinery, ships and land vehicles, weapons of offense and defense” for our benefit, we are actually “used . . . shaped and controlled by our machines, cars, planes, weaponry, bulldozers, computers” (*Lao Tzu*, 1997, p. 143). Rather than being merely anti-technological, she actually corresponds to the British Chinese science giant Joseph Needham’s view that Taoists are not against technology for its own sake, but only when used by centralizing military states (such as the Zhou) against the people (Rapp, 2012, p. 54). It should be noted that apart from Holmes H. Welch, another major source of information about Taoism consulted by Le Guin is Needham’s monumental series *Science and Civilisation in China* (Spivack, 1984, p. 163), notably the chapter on Taoists and Taoism in *Volume 2: History of Scientific Thought* (published 1956). In comparison to the Western roots of science and democracy as “masculine, managing, hard, dominating, aggressive, rational and donative,” Needham (1956) sees the solution to these ailments is the Taoist embrace of the “feminine, tolerant, yielding, permissive, withdrawing, mystical and receptive” (p. 59). Needham (1956) also states that nature respects nobody, not even a state ruler; and a ruler’s controlling force is useless, for “neither kings nor sages can withstand or reverse the Tao of Nature” (pp. 130-131). In a sense, the opposite of authority, domination and progress as masculinity is, in fact, the following of the ways the universe works, or as Needham (1956) puts it, the “Order of Nature” (p. 33). This finds affirmation in present-day ecofeminism when “radical feminist analyses of the psychodynamic underlying patriarchal social relations . . . return to the symbolic killing of mother/nature/woman as the root cause of the ‘masculine’ will to objectify and control other forms of being” (Salleh, 1993, p. 228), and is echoed in Le Guin’s feminist vision in stating “when you gender the philosopher and when you talk only about Kings and Sages” in the previous section.

In sum, throughout her translation, we see Le Guin, despite not knowing Chinese, exercises her writerly yet reasoned subjective judgment in taking her liberty to interpret the original message according to each of the stated agendas in her appended materials before and after the main body of translated text, with external assistance from a scholarly translator such as Seaton as well as other scholarly translations such as Carus and Waley, and Carus likewise receiving exegetical assistance from previous Japanese translations and the famous French translation by Julien, who in turn follows Lü Huiqing's Song-dynasty commentarial exegesis, thus forming an intricate interweaving of exegetical lineage. In terms of *Lao Tzu* studies (*laoxue*), this hidden international lineage of co-exegesis of *TTC* translations (Chinese, Japanese, French, British, and American) actually spans four cultures and almost two centuries, a notable phenomenon in the realm of translation studies as revealed in Le Guin's *TTC* translation from a *laoxue* perspective, deserving attention among *TTC* circles both domestically and abroad.

Le Guin Knows No Chinese: Is She a “Translator,” or an Alternate View?

Does the work of someone not knowing Chinese count as “translation”? Is knowing Chinese an absolute prerequisite in her efforts? At the outset of the present discussion, it should be noted that Le Guin openly states that her version of the *TTC* “is a rendition, not a translation,” for she “do[es] not know any Chinese” (*Lao Tzu*, 1997, p. 119). One issue of interest, however, is whether a “translator” like Le Guin be denied of qualification for translating the ancient Chinese text based on her incompetency in Chinese, as in the case of Goldin's designation of her as a “pseudo-translator,” or could we take a look at her methodologies, or in what

other ways she has to offer?

Recall that from the previous section on popular *TTC* translations, it is stated that Le Guin found Mitchell's version not useful among her consulted translations, some scholarly, and others popular. Besides Carus's, the scholarly translations Le Guin consulted include those of Waley, Henricks, Lau, and Welch, all of which are accountable translations to help her translate, since she herself knows no Chinese. Perhaps some may even doubt whether Le Guin merely copied from them, but Seaton revealed that Le Guin knows more about the *TTC* than himself. Seaton, a sinologist who had never met her previously, knew through a friend that Le Guin was working on bits of a new version of the *TTC*, wrote her and requested to view them (Bradbury, 2005, p. 41). Seaton encouraged her to publish her version after reading them in bits at first, and subsequently asked her for more (*Lao Tzu*, 1997, p. 120). She agreed and proceeded to work on the whole translation, and in turn Seaton recommended himself to her aid (Bradbury, 2005, p. 41). When asked whether Le Guin reads Chinese, Seaton replied "not really, but she certainly knew this book verse, line, and sinker" (Bradbury, 2005, p. 42), besides having nearly memorized Carus's version and "really did her homework" by keeping up with relevant scholarship in her 50 years engaging with the text, so much so that he only "helped her in a few places, but the work was largely hers" (Bradbury, 2005, p. 42). On the back cover of her rendition, it says that she worked with Seaton "to develop a version that lets the ancient text speak in a fresh way to modern people, while remaining faithful to the original Chinese," and also that her translation is a "personal and poetic meditation" done through "her own careful study of these ancient teachings" (*Lao Tzu*, 1997, back cover page). Furthermore, she states that most translations merely capture meanings, but let the beauty of the language slip through, for "in poetry, beauty is no ornament; it is the meaning" and "it is the

truth” (*Lao Tzu*, 1997, p. x). Perhaps some may argue that the kind of Chinese language we use today is now different from that of the ancient times, and thus the ability to read contemporary Chinese is irrelevant in her efforts. But to her, it could be reasoned that her lifelong engagement with the *TTC* escapes superficial discussions on whether she knows ancient Chinese, modern Chinese, or any Chinese at all. One can always argue for the importance in knowing Chinese (as in the case of Goldin), but for Le Guin, as a world-renowned poet, we may speculate from the aforementioned statements that it is the depth of the ideas of the *Lao Tzu* that she is after wholeheartedly, while the linguistic fidelity is guaranteed in receiving help from an authoritative sinologist. It is to this that Goldin dismisses Mitchell but actually praises Le Guin to consider her as caring for fidelity.

Furthermore, recall that Le Guin, who knows no Chinese, still wishes to “translate” the *TTC* for, in her own words, the “present-day, unwise, unpowerful, and perhaps unmale reader” who listens “for a voice that speaks to the soul,” because earlier scholarly *TTC* translations use a vocabulary that emphasize the masculinity and authority of “the Taoist ‘sage,’” which should be “degraded in most popular versions” (*Lao Tzu*, 1997, p. x). Methodologically, in achieving so, Le Guin consults reliable translations as seen in this study for assistance in addition to coauthoring with Seaton, but employs these translations “with more care and integrity” than other popular *TTC* “translators” who know no Chinese by “reworking each passage in her own words rather than simply copying convenient phrases” from them (Goldin, 2002, p. 185). In her own words, she compares these earlier interpretations to observe their varying wordings to discover “several English meanings might lead [her] back to the same Chinese word,” coupled with her “intuition of the style, the gait and cadence, of the original . . . if [she] was to try to reproduce it in English” (*Lao Tzu*, 1997, p. 119). In terms of *Lao Tzu* studies in the international arena today, firstly there are the Chinese-knowing scholarly

translators who seek the meaning of the “original” text, and secondly the often dismissed camp of *TTC* interpreters who know no Chinese but still wish to engage in the “widespread, popular practice of subjectively reading a text for contemporary relevance” (Carmichael, 2017, pp. 42-43), to which Le Guin belongs. What is crucial here is that “both are acknowledged as possible ways of reading” (Carmichael, 2017, p. 43). What’s more, lest we ignore the fact that the latter camp is and probably will still be “the dominant one among the majority of readers” (LaFargue, 1998, p. 255), and also that *TTC* reinterpretations by authors who do not know Chinese occupy “more than half of the dozen versions of the [*TTC*] that sell among the top 1% of all books on Amazon.com” and may collectively “outsell all other English versions combined,” illustrating how unnoticedly popular these renditions are (Carmichael, 2017, p. 132). For these reasons, perhaps it may be stated whether Le Guin knows Chinese or not is of lesser importance than, say, the consequential international phenomenon of cross-cultural *TTC* transmission and dissemination resultant to re-interpreted versions and renditions of the *TTC* by Le Guin and similarly-minded authors. Under this perspective, being considered a good or bad translation is surpassed by the status quo resultant to Le Guin’s efforts in the international reception of the *TTC*. This phenomenon has now been termed “Western [T]aoism” (Komjathy, 2004, p. 6), in which the *TTC* is received as an “American” scripture (Carmichael, 2017, p. 17). Instead of merely deploring Le Guin’s *TTC* rendition as amateur translation under the rubric of traditional sinological scholarship, Le Guin’s cross-cultural exegetical phenomenon, seen in the light of an internationally concerted effort in *Lao Tzu* studies (*laoxue*), should perhaps be even more treasured in interdisciplinary fields such as translation studies and world literature as opening up to the reality of a modern international participation of the reception and transmission of a perplexing text of Chinese antiquity.

Traditionally, mainstream academia has focused on the “original” *TTC*, as in the case of Goldin’s criticism of “pseudo-translators” who “rely heavily on earlier translations,” “fail any basic test of accuracy,” and “distort and simplify the philosophy of the *original* [emphasis added]” (Goldin, 2002, p. 183). There is nothing wrong with pursuing the “original” text or “original” meaning of the *TTC*; matter of fact, this has been widely practiced in established scholarly communities and is the standard. Goldin is certainly right in examining the accuracy of dubious translations by “translators” who know no Chinese, for it is certainly unidealistic for the reader if Lao Tzu’s philosophy becomes distorted via improper translation. Yet, in Le Guin’s case, although she edits passages (none of which are discussed in the present paper) that do not resonate with her “spiritual sense” (*Lao Tzu*, 1997, p. 125), she provides explanations to her editing in the notes after the translation, thus demonstrating a more genuine concern for fidelity to the original than Mitchell. In the other cases of pseudo-translation discussed by Goldin, for example, Stephen Mitchell freely appropriates or even outright ignores crucial elements, taking his liberties and making the translated text original in its “own right” (Goldin, 2002, pp. 187-188). Also, as the present paper has examined Le Guin’s translation and her gender-conscious methodologies in the sections above, if, for example, we conversely view how Goldin pointed out that her translation of Chapters 10 is not without errors or groundless additions, if her gender-aware translation on the discussed chapters pass the tests of exegetical accuracy with grounded additions, then there is something in her translation to offer.

Throughout modern history, various well-known writers or professionals other than scholar-translators of the *TTC* have been fascinated by the thoughts of Lao Tzu, just like Le Guin. For example, Zhang (2021) observes the “astonishing cross-cultural enigma” resultant to Franz Kafka’s mental dialogue with Lao Tzu as well as other Taoist philosophers such as Chuang Tzu and Lie Tzu 列子 —what she

terms “Kafka’s [T]ao” (p. 113). This particular brand of Tao by the well-known novelist has it that Kafka is “spellbound” by Lao Tzu’s aphorisms in the *TTC* and felt they are “adamantine nuts” whose “kernel remains concealed” to him (as cited in Zhang, 2021, p. 113). Tadd (2022a) notes how Leo Tolstoy was drawn to the *TTC* and actually went on to produce his very own “translation” of the Chinese classic, interestingly also after having read Carus’s English translation, just like Le Guin (p. 101). Note that both Kafka and Tolstoy have no command in the Chinese language. In the former case, Tadd reminds us that one of the crucial questions to ask is what philosophical vision is embedded in which text of the *TTC* Kafka was interested in, namely the influential German translation by Richard Wilhelm (*Tao Te King*, 1911). In the latter case, Tadd (2022a) again reminds us that Tolstoy also read Victor von Strauss’ German translation and was particularly drawn to Stanislas Julien’s French, immanence-influenced interpretation and the first complete European-language translation of the text (1842), which was influenced by Lü Huiqing, the aforementioned Song-dynasty *TTC* commentator from home soil, and, in turn, strongly influenced Tolstoy’s translation (p. 101). At the same time, Carus, a comparative theologian by training and a monist thinker, whose translation influenced both Tolstoy and Le Guin actually has its interpretive leaning towards monism suited to a “scientific” understanding of the world, for he, as a monist, believed that “all religions are ultimately expressions of the same fundamental truths,” and also stressing “the compatibility of religion and science” (Carmichael, 2017, p. 21). In turn, though Le Guin expresses unending gratitude towards Carus’s translation as her personal exegetical basis, she found it unsatisfactory at times and improved them with her personal interpretive leaning towards feminist ideals, as seen in the present paper. However, regarding her usage of Carus’s translation among others, she states:

To have the text thus made accessible was not only to have a Rosetta Stone

for the book itself, but also to have a touchstone for comparing other English translations one with another. If I could focus on which word the translators were interpreting, I could begin to understand why they made the choice they did. I could compare various interpretations and see why they varied so tremendously; could see how much explanation, sometimes how much bias, was included in the translation; could discover for myself that several English meanings might lead me back to the same Chinese word . . . Without the access to the text that the Carus edition gave me, I would have been defeated by the differences among the translations, and could never have thought of following them as guides towards a version of my own. As it was, working from Carus's text, I learned how to let them lead me into it, always using their knowledge, their scholarship, their decisions, as my light in darkness. (*Lao Tzu*, 1997, p. 119)

We can clearly see just how much the Carus's translation has influenced her to the extent to use it as the basis of her own translation, at the same time acknowledging its flaws and wanting to amend them in her own translation. Moreover, here we have a web of chains of influences of exegeses, and thus of translations, across space and time and across languages and cultures, a phenomenon Tadd (2022a) terms "interpretive lineage" (p. 88). Viewed from this angle, is it still strictly necessary to reject Le Guin's translation as incongruent to the "original" *TTC*, simply owing to her Chinese incapacities? Another example is expounded below.

Another line of Le Guin's exegetical lineage is that, in the Sources section of her translation, she recommends readers who want to know more about Taoism to read a prominent work of *TTC* interpretation entitled *Taoism: The Parting of the Way* (published 1957) by the famed sinologist Holmes H. Welch for guidance in understanding the *TTC*, for it is the "best, soundest, clearest introduction and

guide” (*Lao Tzu*, 1997, p. 123). Recall that she states that all her literary works are deeply influenced by the *TTC*, and she makes a reference to the idea of “spirit journey” in her *Earthsea* series, which is mentioned in Welch’s book: “journeys of the soul are one of the themes of the philosophical Taoists” (Welch, 1957, p. 94). To add even more details to the intricate interweaving of exegetical lineages in the present paper, Le Guin actually received assistance from Jerome P. Seaton, an authoritative sinologist and thus an expert, during the production of her *TTC* rendition. In the front matter of her *TTC* translation (*Lao Tzu*, 1997), particularly in the publisher data and copyright section, the authors are stated as “Ursula K. Le Guin, with J. P. Seaton.” In the U.S. Library of Congress catalogue information section, we also see Seaton listed as second author after Le Guin’s name (II. Seaton, Jerome P.). With this, we can see that Seaton, despite being a second author, still holds authorship to Le Guin’s translation, thus establishing its credibility as a work of translation. Then, counting Goldin’s mention that she exhibits more concerns than Witter Bynner and Stephen Mitchell in translatorial fidelity, and also that she is just like other exegetes of the *TTC* who inevitably possess a personal interpretive stance, we could probably say that her rendition is worthwhile in joining the international discussion of sacred texts of world religions, just like the numerous commentators and translators of the *TTC* before her. In building a comprehensive understanding of the increasingly growing international *TTC* translation phenomenon, we need to capture its web-like nature by looking at the genealogy of Le Guin’s translations among other consulted translators and their works. Through this web, we are allowed the opportunity to look into the “intricate interconnections” between different *TTC* translations, in which the “interpretive lineages” or “conceptions of the text transmitted by whom and to whom” are revealed (Tadd, 2022b, p. 11).

Conclusion

In this paper, we have seen that by tracing Le Guin's translation of gender-aware elements in the *TTC*, actually her lineage of *TTC* interpretation across cultural boundaries (Chinese, Japanese, French, British, and American) are revealed to arrive at a novel perspective on *TTC* translation by seeing it as, firstly, translated by a non-Chinese-competent "translator" receiving external aid to yield a valid interpretation, and secondly, the plurality of allowing cross-cultural interpretation that includes non-scholarly translations, where scholarly ones previously emphasized the "original" or "most accurate" *TTC* interpretation, which overlooks the complex nature of the text itself ever since its formation in ancient times, counting its earliest oral tradition. In the ranks of other widespread texts such as the Bible and *The Little Prince*, the *TTC* no longer sits on a pedestal of its own and steps down from it for worldwide consumption, now made popular by an extremely popular sci-fi writer who happens to "translate" it with a gender-aware stance to her rendition, as evident in her interpretation of *ci* and *pin*, contributing a special case among many a *TTC* translation.

Through the *TTC*, ancient feminine modes of being are recaptured in modern times and foreign soils by "philosophical" writers such as Le Guin to respond to issues arising from social and cultural constructs of gender. We have also seen that the *TTC* is yet again interpreted by Anderson and accordingly titled *The Divine Feminine Tao Te Ching*. In an advocacy for global scholarship on the *Lao Tzu*, it is seen that the ancient text now takes form in its many modern-day transformations (namely, a "mystical," "naturalist," "anarchist," or "liberalist" *TTC*, among others), and that Anderson's translation could be considered as a "feminist" *TTC* (Tadd, 2022b, p. 9). With hope we look forward to the interpretation-inviting nature of the *TTC* that it could further feminist thinking in Western philosophy with

opportunities to reflect upon itself through its Other, that is, Eastern philosophy, thereby crossing cultures to arrive at a fuller picture for the global good. It has been argued that there exists a “transcultural trend in which issues about gender intersect with [T]aoism,” at a time when feminist scholarship on Taoism “illustrates the diversity of feminist scholarship regarding Chinese traditions” (Dai, 2022, p. 136) by going beyond the traditionally dominant or even patriarchal Confucianism. In this manner, the Taoist “deconstruction” of a binary, opposing pair of genders to expose methods of domination may provide insights in contemporary feminist theory, for example. Within the realm of translation studies, however, a discussion on the ever-growing popularity of the *TTC* as “popular” literature and the international *TTC* translation phenomenon deserves more attention, for instance, among writers, translators and scholars who pursue gender studies or favor feminist translation strategies, or even publishers to create spaces where these transnational discussions may take place, including that of subdisciplines of feminism such as intersectionality (with emphasis on the Third World), a booming area in interdisciplinary translation studies. Given the attention the *TTC* receives in a wide array of humanities-related disciplines, this marvelous 5,000-word piece of literary work should not be regarded only as ancient Chinese philosophy, but in a “larger context as a classic of world literature with keen contemporary relevance” (Chan, 2018, para. 22). It is in this regard that this paper hopes to illuminate that *Lao Tzu* studies or *laoxue* is actually beyond Chinese soil and is now an international phenomenon. Lastly, novelists who write sci-fi/fantasy such as Kazuo Ishiguro and Le Guin are now among the ranks of Nobel laureates and Library of America authors. Given this enormous cross-cultural richness, it is hoped that the *TTC* may disseminate further globally in even fresher ways with Le Guin’s special case.

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國家教育研究院編譯論叢徵稿辦法

100年1月17日第1次編輯委員會議修正
 100年5月9日第1次諮詢委員與編輯委員聯席會議修正
 101年7月3日第1次諮詢委員與編輯委員聯席會議修正
 103年6月13日諮詢委員與編輯委員聯席會議修正
 104年5月18日諮詢委員與編輯委員聯席會議修正
 105年5月26日諮詢委員與編輯委員聯席會議修正
 107年5月18日諮詢委員與編輯委員聯席會議修正
 108年5月22日諮詢委員與編輯委員聯席會議修正
 109年7月3日109年第2次編輯會修正
 110年6月24日110年第1次編輯會修正
 111年6月2日諮詢委員與編輯委員聯席會議修正
 111年12月2日111年第2次編輯會修正
 112年11月30日112年第2次編輯會修正

一、本刊為一結合理論與實務之學術性半年刊，以促進國內編譯研究之發展為宗旨，於每年三月、九月中旬出刊，隨到隨審，歡迎各界賜稿。

二、本刊接受中文及英文稿件，主要收稿範圍如下：

稿件類別	文章性質	主題	建議字數 ^(註1)
研究論文	具原創性或發展性之學術論文，目的、方法、結論明確具體	編譯研究、翻譯培訓、翻譯產業、翻譯與文化及其他與編譯相關之研究（如語文教育政策等）	中文以不超過20,000字、英文以不超過12,000字為原則
評論	以既有研究之評介及分析比較為主，有助於實務推廣或學術研究，例如：編譯及語文教育政策評論、翻譯教學心得、審稿或編輯之經驗交流、翻譯流派之介紹、編譯產業之發展、專有名詞譯名討論等		3,000—5,000字
書評 ^(註2)	評論、引介	三年內出版之翻譯學領域重要著作	3,000—5,000字

譯評	翻譯評論	各專業領域之譯著	3,000—5,000字
特殊稿件	如：譯註、人物專訪、論壇 ^(註3) 等	以上相關主題	中文以不超過20,000字、英文以不超過12,000字為原則

註 1：本刊編輯會得依需要調整建議字數，中文篇名最多 30 字，英文篇名最多 12 字為原則；請作者提供欄外標題（Running head），中文 20 字／英文 50 字元以內。

註 2：本類型文章僅由編輯會邀稿。

註 3：論壇文章僅由編輯會提供。

三、來稿請用中文正體字，所引用之外國人名、地名、書名等，請用中文譯名，並於第一次出現時附上原文，學術名詞譯成中文時，請參據本院樂詞網（<https://terms.naer.edu.tw/>），稿件如有插圖或特別符號，敬請繪製清晰，或附上數位檔案；如有彩色圖片或照片，請盡量附上高解析度的數位檔案。

四、來稿以未在其他刊物發表過之內容為限，其內容物若涉及第三者之著作權（如圖、表及長引文等），作者應依著作權法相關規定向原著作權人取得授權。

五、來稿須遵守本刊出版倫理，凡有違反學術倫理情事或一稿多投者，將予以退稿，一年內不再接受投稿。來稿如使用生成式人工智慧技術（如 ChatGPT），作者應在其稿件中披露生成式人工智慧技術的使用，並依照 APA 格式引用（請參閱本刊撰稿格式說明）。

六、來稿請以 *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* 最新版格式撰寫，未符格式稿件將逕退請調整格式。同時務請自留底稿資料一份。符合本刊主題之稿件須送請相關領域學者專家匿名審查（double-blind review），再經本刊編輯會決定通過後，始得刊登，本刊編輯會對稿件有刪改權，如作者不願刪改內容，請事先聲明。

七、來稿請備齊：

- (一) 作者通訊資料表一份；(請至本院期刊資訊網<https://ctr.naer.edu.tw/>下載)
- (二) 著作利用授權書一份；(請至本院期刊資訊網<https://ctr.naer.edu.tw/>下載)
- (三) 書面稿件二份，請依稿件性質備妥資料：

1. 「研究論文」稿件，含：

(1) 首頁：

- a. 篇名(中、英文)；
- b. 作者姓名(中、英文)；
- c. 其他：可提供該著作之相關說明。

(2) 中文及英文摘要(中文 500 字、英文 300 字為上限)；中文及英文關鍵詞。

(3) 正文。

(4) 參考書目及附錄。

2. 「評論」稿件，含：

(1) 首頁：

- a. 篇名(中、英文)；
- b. 作者姓名(中、英文)；
- c. 其他：可提供該著作之相關說明。

(2) 正文。

(3) 參考書目及附錄。

3. 「譯評」稿件，含：

(1) 首頁：

- a. 篇名(中、英文)；
- b. 作者姓名(中、英文)；
- c. 譯評之書名、原書名；
- d. 譯者、原作者(編者)；
- e. 書籍出版資料(含出版地、出版社與出版日期)；

- f. 總頁數；
- g. ISBN；
- h. 售價；
- i. 其他：可提供該著作之相關說明。

(2) 正文。

(3) 參考書目及附錄。

4. 「特殊稿件」，含：

(1) 首頁：

- a. 篇名（中、英文）；
- b. 作者姓名（中、英文）；
- c. 其他：可提供該著作之相關說明。

(2) 正文。

(3) 參考書目及附錄。

(四) 稿件之全文電子檔案（以電子郵件附加檔案）及相關圖表照片等。

八、來稿請寄：

國家教育研究院編譯論叢編輯會

地址：106011 臺北市大安區和平東路一段 179 號

電話：02-7740-7803

傳真：02-7740-7849

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九、歡迎自本刊網站（<https://ctr.naer.edu.tw/>）下載相關資料。

《編譯論叢》撰稿格式說明

本刊撰稿格式除依照一般學術文章撰寫注意事項和格式外，內文、註腳和參考文獻一律採用 APA 格式第七版手冊（*Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association, 7th edition, 2020*），其他西洋語文引用或參考文獻比照英文格式。

一、摘要

中文摘要字數以 500 字為限，英文摘要則以 300 字為限。關鍵詞皆為三一五組、中英關鍵詞互相對應。

二、正文文字

（一）中文使用 Word「新細明體」12 號字體，英文則使用 Times New Roman 12 號字體。中文之括號、引號等標點符號須以全形呈現，英文則以半形的格式為之，如下：

	中文稿件	英文稿件
括號	（）	()
引號	「」	“ ”
刪節號	……	…
破折號	——	—

中文稿件範例：

……老人打算以租賃的方式，於是說：「我亦不欲買此童子，請定每年十圓之契約，賃我可耳……（頁 40），……

英文稿件範例：

... This subtle shift is evident in the broadening scope of reference of the word “we”: In the sentence that begins “In China, we bribe . . .,” the pronoun “we” plainly refers only to Chinese people.

(二) 字詞的使用一律依據「教育部頒布之《國字標準字體》」之規定為之。如公「布」(非「佈」)、「教」師(非「老」師,除非冠上姓氏)、「占」20%(非「佔」)、「了」解(非「瞭」解)以及「臺」灣(非「台」灣)。

(三) 正文文字出現數目時,十以下使用國字(一、二、三、……十),英文使用文字(one, two, three, . . . ten),數目超過十(ten)則使用阿拉伯數字,特殊情形則視情況處理。圖、表的編號都使用阿拉伯數字。如以下範例：

……有效問卷 16 份(全班 20 位同學)。表 7、8、9 乃是該三個領域之意見統計。……毫無疑問的是多數學生(87.5%)皆同意翻譯語料庫可提供一個反思及認知學習的平臺。……

(四) 英文稿件中出現中文時,原則如下:字、詞需以先漢語拼音(需斜體)後中文呈現,必要時再以括弧解釋;句子或段落則視情況處理。

三、文中段落標號格式

壹、(置中,不用空位元,粗體,前後行距一行)

一、(置左,不用空位元,前後行距為 0.5 行)

(一)(置左,不用空位元)

1. (置左, 不用空位元)
- (1) (置左, 不用空位元)

四、文中使用之表、圖

表、圖之標號及標題須置於上方且靠左對齊。表、圖與正文前後各空一行，如為引用須於下方註明如參考文獻般詳細的資料來源（含篇名、作者、年代、書名、頁碼等）。表格若跨頁須在跨頁前註明「續下頁」，跨頁表標題需再註明「表標題（續）」。中英文表、圖之格式如下：

	表	圖
中文稿件	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 表標號及標題之中文文字使用標楷體 10號字、粗體；表標題另起一行。 • 表標號及標題之英文文字及數字使用 Calibri、粗體。 • 表內中文文字使用標楷體；表內英文文字及數字用 Calibri。 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 圖標號及標題之中文文字使用標楷體 11號字、粗體；圖標題另起一行。 • 圖標號及標題之英文文字及數字使用 Calibri、粗體。 • 圖內中文文字用標楷體；圖內英文文字及數字使用 Calibri。
英文稿件	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 表標號用 Calibri 10號字、粗體；表標題另起一行，Calibri 10號字且須斜體。 • 表內文字用 Calibri。表下方若有說明文字用 Calibri 10號字。 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 圖標號用 Calibri 11號字、粗體；圖標題另起一行，Calibri 11號字且須斜體。 • 圖內文字用 Calibri。圖下方若有說明文字用 Calibri 10號字。

中文稿件範例：

表範例

表 1

日治初期出版的臺語教本

	編著者	書名	發行或經銷所	發行日期
1	侯野保和	《臺灣語集》或 《臺灣日用土語集》	民友社	1895年7月18日
2	岩永六一	《臺灣言語集》	中村鍾美堂	1895年8月29日

(續下頁)

表 1

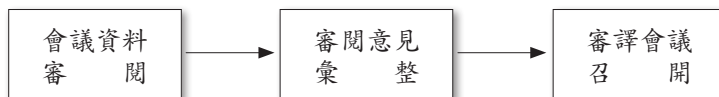
日治初期出版的臺語教本（續）

編著者	書名	發行或經銷所	發行日期
3 坂井釵五郎	《臺灣會話編》	嵩山房	1895年9月15日
4 加藤由太郎	《大日本新領地臺灣語學案內》	東洋堂書店	1895年9月22日
5 田內八百久萬	《臺灣語》	太田組事務所	1895年12月5日
6 佐野直記	《臺灣土語》	中西虎彦	1895年12月28日
7 水上梅彦	《日臺會話大全》	民友社	1896年2月17日
8 木原千楯	《獨習自在臺灣語全集》	松村九兵衛	1896年3月2日
9 辻清藏、三矢重松	《臺灣會話篇》	明法堂	1896年3月15日
10 御幡雅文	《警務必攜臺灣散語集》	總督府民政局 警保課	1896年3月下旬

圖範例

圖 2

學術名詞審譯委員會加開之作法



英文稿件範例：

表範例

Table 4

Summary of the Participants' Listening Difficulties

Statements	Yes (%)	No (%)
(1) I feel very nervous.	42.86	57.14
(2) I am not familiar with grammar.	54.29	45.71
(3) I have insufficient vocabulary.	97.14	2.86

(continued)

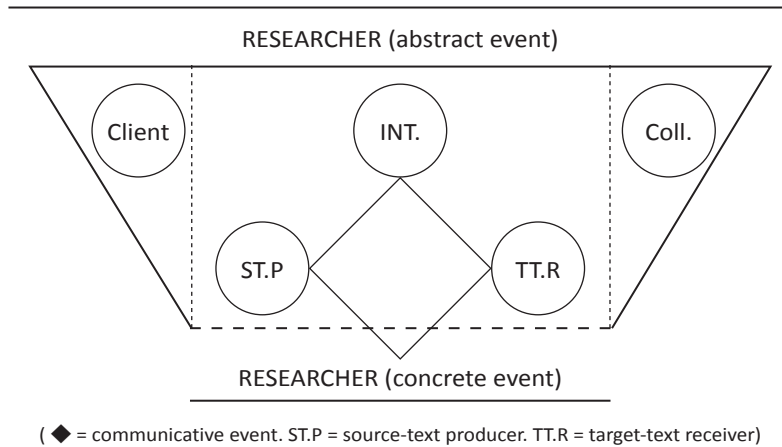
Table 4*Summary of the Participants' Listening Difficulties (continued)*

Statements	Yes (%)	No (%)
(4) I cannot make a distinction between words.	14.29	85.71
(5) I cannot recognize the stress of words.	31.43	68.57
(6) I can make a distinction between words, but fail to chunk them meaningfully.	60.00	40.00
(7) I am familiar with the words, but fail to recall them.	94.29	5.71
(8) I have difficulty concentrating.	35.71	64.29
(9) I have difficulty concentrating at first, so I miss the first listening section.	51.43	48.57
(10) I concentrate too much on the first listening section, so I miss the listening later.	55.71	44.29
(11) I cannot understand the first section, so I miss the listening later.	41.43	58.57
(12) I cannot keep in mind what I have just heard.	30.00	70.00
(13) I feel that the listening text is too long.	74.29	25.71
(14) I feel that the listening text has no sufficient pause.	72.86	27.14
(15) I feel that the listening text is too short to develop main ideas.	28.57	71.43
(16) I am not familiar with the listening subject.	78.57	21.43
(17) I am not interested in the listening subject.	45.71	54.29
(18) I fail to keep up with the speech rate.	70.00	30.00
(19) I am not used to the speaker's enunciation.	62.86	37.14
(20) I am not used to the speaker's intonation.	30.00	70.00
(21) I am not used to the speaker's accent.	62.86	
(22) I have no chance to listen again.	42.86	57.14
(23) I count on listening only, without any visual aids.	41.43	58.57
(24) I have limited exposure to English listening.	68.57	31.43

圖範例

Figure 11

Perspectives on Quality Assessment in Interpretation



Note. From “Quality Assessment in Conference and Community Interpreting,” by F. Pöchhacker, 2001, *Meta*, 46(2), p. 412 (<https://doi.org/10.7202/003847ar>).

五、文中引用其他說明

佐證或直接引用超過中文 65 字、英文 40 字時，均須將引文內縮六個位元，中文以「標楷體」11 號字體呈現。中文年代後用逗號「，」，以「頁」帶出頁碼；英文年分後用逗點「.」，以「p.」帶出頁碼。年分一律統一以西元呈現。

中文稿件範例：

……《紅樓夢大辭典》詞條：

抱廈廳：在房屋正面或背面接出有獨立屋頂的建築稱抱廈。廳是指用於居住以外的接待、集會或是其他公共活動的房屋。抱廈廳即為用作廳房的抱廈。（馮其庸、李希凡，1990，頁 190）

英文稿件範例：

... Vermeer states:

Any form of translational action, including therefore translation itself, may be conceived as an action, as the name implies. Any action has an aim, a purpose. ... The word *skopos*, then, is a technical term to represent the aim or purpose of a translation. (Nord, 1997, p. 12)

六、附註

需於標點之後，並以上標為之；附註之說明請於同一頁下方區隔線下說明，說明文字第二行起應和第一行的文字對齊。簡而言之，附註應以「當頁註」之方式呈現，亦即 Word 中「插入註腳」之功能。註腳第二行以下文字須縮排，註腳所使用之中文字體為標楷體。

七、正文引註

(一) 正文引註之作者為一個人時，格式為：

	作者（年代）或（作者，年代）
中文	範例 謝天振（2002）或（謝天振，2002）
	Author (Year) 或 (Author, Year)
英文	範例 Chern (2002) 或 (Chern, 2002)

(二) 正文引註之作者為兩個人時，作者的姓名（中文）或姓氏（英文）於文中以「與」（中文）和「and」（英文）連接，括弧中則以「、」（中文）和「&」（英文）連接：

作者一與作者二（年代）或（作者一、作者二，年代）

範例一

中文 莫言與王堯（2003）或（莫言、王堯，2003）

範例二（中文論文引用英文文獻）

Wassertein 與 Rosen（1994）或（Wassertein & Rosen, 1994）

Author 1 and Author 2 (Year) 或 (Author 1 & Author 2, Year)

英文 範例

Hayati and Jalilifar (2009) 或 (Hayati & Jalilifar, 2009)

（三）正文引註之作者為三人以上時，寫出第一位作者並加「等」（中文）和「et al.」（英文）即可。

作者一等（年代）或（作者一等，年代）

中文 範例

謝文全等（1985）或（謝文全等，1985）

Author 1 et al. (Year) 或 (Author 1 et al., Year)

英文 範例

Piolat et al. (2005) 或 (Piolat et al., 2005)

（四）括弧內同時包含多筆文獻時，依筆畫（中文）／姓氏字母（英文）及年代優先順序排列，不同作者間以分號分開，相同作者不同年代之文獻則以逗號分開。

中文 （吳清山、林天祐，1994，1995a，1995b；劉春榮，1995）

英文 (Pautler, 1992; Razik & Swanson, 1993a, 1993b)

(五) 部分引用文獻時，要逐一標明特定出處，若引用原文獻語句40字以內，所引用文字需加雙引號（「」或“”）並加註頁碼。

中文	1. (陳明終，1994，第八章) 2. 「……」(徐鑄成，2009，頁302)
英文	1. (Shujaa, 1992, Chapter 8) 2. “. . .”(Bourdieu, 1990, p. 54)

(六) 正文引註翻譯書，年代請列明：原著出版年／譯本出版年。

八、參考文獻

「參考文獻」之括號，中文以全形（）、英文以半形()為之：第二行起縮排四個半形位元。此外，中文文獻應與外文文獻分開，中文文獻在前，外文文獻在後。不同類型文獻之所求格式如下：

(一) 期刊類格式包括作者、出版年、文章名稱、期刊名稱、卷期數、起迄頁碼、DOI 或 URL（非紙本資料）等均須齊全。中文文章名稱加〈〉，中文期刊名稱加《》；英文期刊名稱及卷號為斜體。僅有期數者則僅列明期數，無須加括號，並自第二行起空四個字元。亦即：

中文期刊格式：

作者一、作者二、作者三(年)。〈文章名稱〉。《期刊名稱》，卷別(期別)，頁碼。DOI 或 URL

範例

林慶隆、劉欣宜、吳培若、丁彥平(2011)。〈臺灣翻譯發展相關議題之探討〉。《編譯論叢》，4(2)，181-200。https://doi.org/10.29912/CTR.201109.0007

英文期刊格式：

Author, A. A., Author, B. B., & Author, C. C. (Year). Title of article. *Title of Periodical*, xx(xx), xx-xx. DOI or URL

範例

Aspy, D. J., & Proeve, M. (2017). Mindfulness and loving-kindness meditation: Effects on connectedness to humanity and to the natural world. *Psychological Reports*, 120(1), 102-117. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0033294116685867>

(二) 書籍類格式包括作者、出版年、書名（第二版以上須註明版別）、出版單位等均須齊全，且中文書名加《》，英文書名為斜體，並自第二行起空四個位元。

中文書籍格式：

作者（年代）。《書名》（版別）。出版單位。

範例

宋新娟（2005）。《書籍裝幀設計》（第二版）。武漢大學。

英文書籍格式：

Author, A. A. (Year). *Book title*. Publisher.

範例

Jauss, H. R. (1982). *Toward an aesthetic of reception*. University of Minnesota Press.

(三) 書籍篇章格式包括篇章作者、出版年、篇章名、編者、書名（第二版以上須註明版別）、起迄頁碼、出版單位等均須齊全，且中文篇章名前後加〈〉，中文書名前後加《》，英文書名為斜體，並自第二行起空四個位元。

中文書籍篇章格式：

作者（年代）。〈章名〉。載於編者（主編），《書名》（版別，頁碼）。
出版單位。

範例

單德興（2019）。〈冷戰時代的美國文學中譯：今日世界出版社之文學翻譯與文化政治〉。載於賴慈芸（主編），《臺灣翻譯史：殖民、國族與認同》（頁 467-514）。聯經。

英文書籍篇章格式：

Author, A. A. (Year). Chapter title. In B. B. Author & C. C. Author (Eds.), *Book title* (x ed., pp. xx-xx). Publisher.

範例

Weinstock, R., Leong, G. B., & Silva, J. A. (2003). Defining forensic psychiatry: Roles and responsibilities. In R. Rosner (Ed.), *Principles and practice of forensic psychiatry* (2nd ed., pp. 7-13). CRC Press.

（四）翻譯書籍格式包括原作者中文譯名、原作者原文名、譯本出版年、翻譯書名、譯者、版別（第二版以上須註明版別）、譯本出版單位、原著出版年等均須齊全，且中文書名加《》，英文書名為斜體，並自第二行起空四個位元。

中文翻譯書格式：

原作者中文譯名（原作者原文名）（譯本出版年）。《翻譯書名》（譯者譯；版別）。譯本出版單位。（原著出版年）

範例

喬伊斯（Joyce, J.）（1995）。《尤利西斯》（蕭乾、文潔若譯）。時報文化。
（原著出版年：1984）

英文翻譯書格式：

Author, A. A. (Year). *Book title* (B. Author, Trans.; x ed.). Publisher. (Original work published year)

範例

Piaget, J., & Inhelder, B. (1969). *The psychology of the child* (H. Weaver, Trans.; 2nd ed.). Basic Books. (Original work published 1966)

(五) 國內、外會議之研討會發表／論文發表皆須列出作者、會議舉辦日期、發表題目／文章篇名、發表類型、會議名稱及會議地點、DOI 或 URL（網路資料需列）等，且中文發表題目／文章篇名加〈〉、英文發表題目／文章篇名為斜體，自第二行起空四個位元。

中文研討會發表／論文發表格式：

作者（年月日）。〈發表題目／文章篇名〉（類型）。研討會名稱，舉行地點。
DOI 或 URL

範例

劉康怡（2019年9月27日）。〈經典俄國文學作品翻譯中譯注之探討——以《地下室手記》之中譯本為例〉（論文發表）。2019 臺灣翻譯研討會——語文教育與翻譯，臺北市，中華民國（臺灣）。

英文研討會發表／論文發表格式：

Author, A. A., & Author, B. B. (Date). *Title of contribution* [Type of contribution].
Conference Name, Location. DOI or URL

範例

Fistek, A., Jester, E., & Sonnenberg, K. (2017, July 12-15). *Everybody's got a little music in them: Using music therapy to connect, engage, and motivate*

[Conference session]. Autism Society National Conference, Milwaukee, WI, United States. <https://asa.confex.com/asa/2017/webprogramarchives/Session9517.html>

- (六) 網路訊息格式包括作者、發表日期(若有顯示)、訊息標題、網站名稱、URL 等均須齊全，且中文訊息標題前後加〈〉、英文訊息標題為斜體。第二行起空四個位元。(會持續更新且無保存變更紀錄的網頁/網站訊息才須註明擷取日期)

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作者(年月日)。〈訊息標題〉。網站名稱。URL

範例

潘乃欣(2020年6月10日)。〈名字沒有龜也值得去！教部鼓勵登龜山島認識海洋〉。聯合新聞網。https://udn.com/news/story/6885/4625731?from=udn-catebreaknews_ch2

英文網路訊息格式：

Author, A. A. (Date). *Title of work*. Site Name. URL

範例

Peterson, S. M. (2017, October 27). *Why aromatherapy is showing up in hospital surgical units*. Mayo Clinic. <https://www.mayoclinic.org/healthy-lifestyle/stress-management/in-depth/why-aromatherapy-is-showing-up-in-hospital-surgical-units/art-20342126>

- (七) 生成式人工智慧訊息格式包括作者、年分、標題、引用版本發布日期、URL。

中文生成式人工智慧訊息格式：

作者（年）。標題（引用版本發布日期）[大語言模型]。URL

範例

開放人工智慧研究中心（2023）。聊天生成預訓練轉換器（10月2日版本）[大語言模型]。https://chat.openai.com/chat

英文生成式人工智慧訊息格式：

Author. (year). Title of work (month day version) [Large language model]. URL

範例

OpenAI. (2023). ChatGPT (Mar 14 version) [Large language model]. https://chat.openai.com/chat

（八）學位論文格式包括作者、年分、論文標題、出版狀況與學位類型、學校名稱、資料庫／檔案庫名稱及 URL 等均須齊全，中文論文標題加《》，英文論文標題為斜體，自第二行起空四個位元。

中文學位論文格式：

博士／碩士論文：

作者（年）。《論文標題》（博／碩士論文）。校名。

範例

白立平（2004）。《詩學、意識形態及贊助人與翻譯：梁實秋翻譯研究》（博士論文）。香港中文大學。

英文學位論文格式：

1. 未出版學位論文：

Author, A. A. (Year). *Title of dissertation or thesis* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation or master's thesis]. Name of Institution.

範例

Wilfley, D. E. (1989). *Interpersonal analyses of bulimia: Normal weight and obese* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of Missouri.

2. 已出版學位論文：

Author, A. A. (Year). *Title of dissertation or thesis* [Doctoral dissertation or Master's thesis, Name of Institution]. Database or Archive Name. URL

範例

Lui, T. T. F. (2013). *Experiences in the bubble: Assimilation and acculturative stress of Chinese heritage students in Silicon Valley* [Master's thesis, Stanford University]. Graduate School of Education International Comparative Education Master's Monographs Digital Collection. <https://searchworks.stanford.edu/view/10325276>

中文參考文獻英譯說明

中文稿件經初審後請作者修改時，作者須加列中文參考文獻之英譯。相關說明如下：

1. 每一筆英譯請置於【】內，並各自列於該筆中文參考文獻下方。
2. 若中文參考文獻本身已有英譯，以該英譯為準，若本身並無英譯則以漢語拼音逐詞音譯方式處理，斷詞標準參考國教院分詞系統，網址為 <https://coct.naer.edu.tw/Segmentor/>。
3. 英譯之後的參考文獻格式，請參考美國心理學會（American Psychological Association, APA）之寫作格式（第七版）。

中文參考文獻英譯範例：

潘少瑜（2011）。〈想像西方：論周瘦鵑的「偽翻譯」小說〉。《編譯論叢》，4（2），1-23。 <https://doi.org/10.29912/CTR.201109.0001>

【Pan, S. Y. (2011). Imagining the West: Zhou Shoujuan's pseudotranslations. *Compilation and Translation Review*, 4(2), 1-23. <https://doi.org/10.29912/CTR.201109.0001>】

劉仲康（2011）。〈趕流行的流行性感冒〉。載於羅時成（主編），《流感病毒，變變變》（頁 20-29）。臺灣商務印書館。

【Liu, C. K. (2011). Ganliuxing de liuxingxing ganmao. In S. C. Lo (Ed.), *Liugan bingdu, bianbian bian* (pp. 20-29). Commercial Press.】

劉康怡（2019 年 9 月 27 日）。〈經典俄國文學作品翻譯中譯注之探討——以《地下室手記》之中譯本為例〉（論文發表）。2019 臺灣翻譯研討會——語文教育與翻譯，臺北市，中華民國（臺灣）。

【Liu, K. Y. (2019, September 27). *Jingdian Eguo wenxue zuopin fanyi zhong yizhu zhi tantao: Yi Dixiashi Shouji zhi zhongyiben wei li* [Paper presentation]. 2019 Taiwan International Conference on Translation and Interpreting, Taipei, Taiwan.】

潘乃欣（2020年6月10日）。〈名字沒有龜也值得去！教部鼓勵登龜山島認識海洋〉。聯合新聞網。 https://udn.com/news/story/6885/4625731?from=udn-catebreaknews_ch2

【Pan, N. H. (2020, June 10). *Mingzi meiyou gui ye zhide qu! Jiaobu guli deng Guishandao renshi haiyang*. United Daily News. https://udn.com/news/story/6885/4625731?from=udn-catebreaknews_ch2】

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