Skopos and ideology in the rewriting of Su Manshu and Chen Duxiu's Chinese translation of Les Misérables

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2017

Tong, Q. (2017). Skopos and ideology in the rewriting of Su Manshu and Chen Duxiu's Chinese translation of Les Misérables. Master's thesis, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10356/72413>

<https://doi.org/10.32657/10356/72413>

NANYANG TECHNOLOGICAL UNIVERSITY
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**Skopos and Ideology in the Rewriting of Su Manshu and Chen Duxiu's Chinese
Translation of *Les Misérables***

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A thesis submitted to the Nanyang Technological University
in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of
Master of Arts

2017

Abstract

Literature translation culminated in late Qing dynasty in the early 20th century because of the novel revolution proposed by Liang Qichao for the purpose of enlightening Chinese and encouraging them to fight for a democracy republic against late Qing government. Novel translation emerged as characteristic of literary translation, shouldering the responsibility of conveying patriots and translators' ideology, political ideas, and skopos. Accordingly, translation at that time, also known as Haojie Yi, showed its unique "free translation" style and features, which have drawn quite a few discussions on it. Among the substantive work and studies that have been conducted on analyzing novel translation in late Qing dynasty from perspectives of ideology and functional theories, studies on how do translators choose and apply translation strategies and techniques to meet their potential readers' expectations, such as lessen the cultural heterogeneity in the source text so as to avoid readers' ostracism toward the book, and to deliver their political skopos remain underdeveloped.

This paper would discuss the Chinese translation of *Les Misérables* by Chen Duxiu and Su Manshu from perspectives of ideology and skopos. Moreover, instead of a traditional translator-oriented or text-oriented angle, a readers/audience-oriented comparative analysis would be carried out to probe into choices and adaptations that Chen and Su made to the translated part as well as the skopos they expect the translatum to convey. Conclusions and implications were drawn accordingly. First, translators place readers' preferences and taste over translational principles when certain translational skopos were considered. Second, adaptation of form and narrative style were made to minimize readers' ostracism toward novels. Third, rewriting content served as a miniature of social realities of early 20th century, which could be of great importance for relative studies. From the case study of *Les Misérables*, the translating process would be reconstructed to further facilitate in-depth translation studies as well as literary and social studies.

Key words: Ideology, Readers' expectation, Skopos, Rewriting

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my advisor Dr. Cui Feng for his guidance, patience, and support throughout my study in NTU and my dissertation writing process. Without his help, the completion of this paper would not be possible.

Second, I would like to extend my thanks to my dear friend Qianwen Li, who has encouraged, supported, and accompanied me during my stay in Singapore. My thanks also go to my dear friend and fellow student Qian Liu, Jiani Zheng, and Yi Huang who have been great companionship through my study of MTI program and gave me great suggestions on my topic. I am incredibly grateful for their help and support.

I would also like to give my heartfelt gratitude to my parents for their care and support. They have been my pillars of all time. Finally, I would like to thank my best friend and dearest husband Yukun Ma for his love and support, as always, for my study of MTI. For his wholehearted accompaniment and support all the time, I am extremely grateful.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1.	INTRODUCTION	1
2.	LITERATURE REVIEW	4
2.1	Studies from perspectives of ideology and manipulation	4
2.2	Studies from perspectives of skopos theory	6
3.	READERS-ORIENTED TEXT ANALYSIS	9
3.1	Genre and translators' visibility in the translatum	9
3.2	Application of amplification and reduction strategies (chapter 1 to 6, and chapter 14)	11
3.3	Domestication in translating places and names	15
4.	ANALYSIS OF REWRITING CHAPTERS	17
4.1	Gist content of chapter 7 to 13	18
4.2	Skopos in religion and Confucianism	19
4.3	Idealism in translation	21
4.3.1	<i>Reflections of social political status</i>	21
4.3.2	<i>The ideal concept in translatum</i>	23
5.	CONCLUSION	25
	REFERENCES	27

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Names and places that were traceable in the source language.....17

Table 2: Names and places that were invented in the new storyline.....17

1. INTRODUCTION

Surviving from the failure of the Yihetuan Movement (also known as the Boxer Rebellion)¹ and Siege of the International Legations², government of late Qing dynasty promulgated the New Policies, a series of political, economic, military, cultural and educational reforms from 1901 to 1911 to maintain its governance. Among numerous proposals of modernization, only a few were carried out in the early stage, including the abolition of the Imperial examination, establishment of western-style schools and sending students to study oversea. The flooding of foreign knowledge came together with people's discontentedness and their revolutionary thoughts toward the government. The younger generation, especially oversea students, firmly determined to overthrow the late Qing dynasty to build a new democratic nation. The public have suffered from previous wars and turbulences, were also in great discontentedness and opposition toward the government. Literature translation activities bloomed at that time as patriotic intellectuals' saw literature works as a weapon to call for people's arousal and uprising to save the country.

There were three acknowledged periods where translation activities surged in late Qing Dynasty: during the first and second Opium War, the westernization movement; and the revolution of 1911 (Tang, 2009: 145-146). Each translation climax was emerged along with important historical events. The first and second Opium War ended China's seclusion from the outside world, and forced Chinese to learn foreign technologies to compete with them. The westernization movement boosted the translation on natural science technology, machine manufacture, and military. It was not until the early 20th century and during the revolution of 1911 did novel translation or literary translation

¹ A violent anti-foreign and anti-Christian uprising that took place in China between 1899 and 1901. It was initiated by the Militia United in Righteousness (Yihetuan), known in English as the "Boxers", and was motivated by proto-nationalist sentiments and opposition to imperialist expansion and associated Christian missionary activity. Internet source:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Boxer_Rebellion

² Occurred in the summer of 1900 in Peking (today Beijing), the capital of the Qing Empire, during the Boxer Rebellion. Menaced by the Boxers, 900 soldiers, marines, and civilians, largely from Europe, Japan, and the United States, and about 2,800 Chinese Christians took refuge in the Peking Legation Quarter. The Qing government took the side of the Boxers. The foreigners and Chinese Christians in the Legation Quarter survived a 55-day siege by the Qing Army and Boxers. The siege was broken by an international military force which marched from the coast of China, defeated the Qing army, and occupied Beijing. Internet source:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Siege_of_the_International_Legations

had been laid emphasis on (Tang, 2009: 146). Translation of foreign works served as a way of enlightenment for Chinese. Novel translation, the most attractive and readable works for people as mentioned previously, can be so influential that they were used and spread mainly for political purposes, specifically, for purposes of people's uprising and revolting against the Qing dynasty.

In 1902, Liang Qichao proposed that a revolution of novels was imperative in order to educate and enlighten people, so as to achieve the ultimate goal of social revolution and realizing a democratic republic of China. He claimed that it is critical for people to know the world, specifically, the western world from reading novels since they were depicting people's daily lives and can inspire people with written words. Thus, writers and translators could translate western political novels first, and then incorporate novel creation in order that writers' own perspectives could be penetrated readers' mind and therefore influence them. As a matter of fact, the "novel revolution" posed great influence in the literature field, even though some literary works were not created or translated for only political purposes, the revolutionary calls greatly triggered and spurred the creation and translation of modern novel.

The emergence of large amount of translation works was corresponded to the social demand at that time when Chinese realized the need to learn from its enemies. People were complacent about traditional culture, while at the same time, they had to learn from foreigners. It was the contradictory attitude that made translation activities 'an act of violent (Hugo, 1865:18)', in other words, translation was expected to cause impact on traditional culture for the purpose of improving reform, but not too aggressive to result in strong aversion. (Wang, 2001: 99) Therefore, studies were conducted to examine the ideological reason of translators' choices on foreign literary works, and the strategies they have applied.

In the context of China, during two Opium Wars, pragmatism was proposed as the main stream ideology, which promoted a trend of learning from western technologies. As a result, a lot of western books were imported and translated to Chinese, including fields like geography, history, religion, philosophy etc. The dominant ideology in the early 20th century had become a reformative one, one that embraced western approach and urged a change in the public's mind. Therefore, novel translation was first introduced into China, hoping to be a way for Chinese to face the reality, to educate them, and to

invite them join hands to overthrow current government and build a new country. The intrinsic reason for the trend of novel translation is of course the interior status of Chinese novel, since it was considered that Chinese novels bared nothing noble, revolutionary, or positive values in them. Therefore, it is desperate for China to learn from Western novels and translation soon came into the picture.

Les Misérables is written by French writer Victor Hugo in 1862, translated by Su and Chen in 1903 and serialized on “國民日日報” (Daily News) from October 8th, 1903. In the following year, the book form was published, including fourteen chapters translated from the original first chapter, second volume. The newspaper was started when the country was under the siege of ignorant people, incompetent governors, foreign intrusion, and limited access to information. Its main duty was to propagate revolutionary thoughts and call for the public’s consciousness and patriotism so that people can join hands in fighting for a better country. However, the translated version was far from a loyal translation as more than half of the content was created by translators and can found no match in the source text, studies have been done on that issue, among which were some utilizing functional theories to explain translators’ strategies and activities since skopos theory focuses above all on the purpose of the translation, which determines the translation methods and strategies that are to be employed in order to produce a functionally adequate result. Moreover, as translation was not a well-recognized literary field of study and no precise rules of copyright or norms on translation activities were, translators were sometimes writers at the same time, and they wrote and translated for their own political purposes (Liu, 2010: 193).

However, before conveying writers’ manipulation or ideology to target language readers, we could not ignore the process of writers’ establishing connections with target language readers and resonating with them, which may be more of a communicative adaptive and audience-oriented approach, rather than merely an author-centered approach. Therefore, this paper is going to discuss the process of writers’ translational strategies from the perspective of skopos theory and an analysis of ideological influence on the translatum. Viewed from current translation theories or conventions, it is, by no means, a qualified nor an acceptable translation. However, if placing it under the late Qing dynasty’s social and political context, the translatum would be found to shoulder specific cultural and political purposes despite the “loyalty” that a translation usually aims to achieve. Plus, the original text was a legendary work, and translators of this

piece of work were quite influential in the early 20th century. Therefore, the study of their choice of work, the translation purposes, and translation processes like how do translators produce empathy with readers and then influence them with their underlying political views would be of great significance and for coetaneous researches. This paper will also probe into the reasons behind the translational choices in each stage of translation.

The research questions are as follows:

1. What is the reason and purpose of the translation?
2. What/Are there any strategies translators used to lessen the cultural heterogeneity in the source text so as to avoid readers' ostracism toward the book? Why?
3. What kind of/ Are there any changes or adaptations that translators made to meet readers' expectations? Why?
4. What kind of effect does translators want to pose on readers of translation?

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Among piles of studies on late Qing literature or translation activities, not much case studies were done on the first Chinese translation of *Les Misérables* by Su and Chen. Liu Yun's *Translation of Les Misérables: missing of enlightenment texts* (2010, my translation) and Zhong Yang's *From the translation of Les Misérables to Hei tian guo—studies of Chen Duxiu's novel writing* (1996, my translation) were two illuminating case studies that have shed some lights for further studies the translatum and left some discussions for future researches. Together with other relevant works, the following part would discuss the progress we have made on this topic as well as remaining questions and blind spots waiting to be solved in this field.

2.1 Studies from perspectives of ideology and manipulation

The ideological manipulation in translation could refer to "any interference with the text, be it cultural, religious, political or otherwise, imposing modifications that are not textual constraints, for the purpose of indoctrination" (Nitsa, 2000: 43). Zhong Yang's (1996) work did a thorough study on describing translators', especially Chen Duxiu's revolutionary thoughts and the way he presented in the translation. Firstly, Chen has

not only showed racial revanchism, but also criticism of people's ignorance and some patriots' duplicity in the *translatum*. Moreover, on the social level, Zhong proposed that the *translatum* has reflected both a traditional ideal world where people share affluence together, and a revolutionary vision which unprecedentedly cared the wellbeing of people living in the bottom of the world (1996: 58-59). The dominant ideology in the original text was generally a mild and reformative one which encourages people to abandon evil and do good, which was inconsistent with the aggressive and exhaustive ideology translators wanted to convey and spread. Therefore, translators made much adjustment in translated text in order to interfere with the ideology target language readers would be receiving (Zhong, 1996: 60). The study has clearly analyzed text from an ideological perspective, yet the analysis only stays in the surface, from which the translator-oriented perspective overlooked target language readers' role in the creation of a *translatum*. Moreover, Zhong's study contributed all translating and writing endeavors to Chen Duxiu, thus the whole analysis is centered in Chen, which not only disaccords with the prevailing belief, but may limit the research scope as well.

In the early 20th century, the poetics of translation literature was believed to be mobilizing, educating, and uniting people. If they chose books with poetics that were not in tune with theirs, they may arbitrarily make changes on the translated books. Translators were expecting their "manipulated *translatum*" to meet certain purposes, while the manipulation toward the text was hardly based on or faithful to the source text or source audience. Instead, most of the manipulation happened was made specifically for target language readers, and only for target readers' sake, despite the loyalty and consistency with source texts. (Wang, 2001: 100) Liu Yun discussed the motives of translators' adjustment, and how and what did those adjustments reflect the differences between target and source texts (2010: 192-200). Ideologically, the original text aimed at a personal intrinsic enlightenment like Jean Valjean did, while the adaptation made in *translatum* revealed that Su and Chen were looking forward an utter revolutionary enlightenment in society at large (Liu, 2010: 197-199). It is this conflict in the dominant ideology that promoted the writing of another story line in the *translatum* (Liu, 2010: 196). The influence of ideology shift on translator's manipulation toward original text and the delivery of *translatum* was profound and enormous. However, Liu's definition of ideology in the translation underlined much of the aggressiveness and thoroughness of enlightenment at society scale. However,

looking from a readers-oriented view, translators' endeavor in promoting a bottom-up enlightenment, especially people living at the bottom of society, like Fan Tong, Ke De and Meili in translatum. Therefore, the research angle should be diversified and diverted more often to complete studies on such topics.

The motives behind the translation culmination in the late Qing Dynasty were under sufficient researches, especially on ideology. Despite researches on the ideology of late Qing Dynasty, the research subjects have been focused on translators and even more generalized, social context, few researches probe into the research of translation strategies and their application in translated texts. Many questions still remain unattended: How did translators make adaptations to the target text in the way that target language readers can easily accept, in what aspects? Meanwhile, how did translators blend themselves and their own purposes in the translated texts? Those target language readers-oriented questions still require further exploration.

2.2 Studies from perspectives of skopos theory

Xiao Qi (2009: 27) discussed readers' expectation in his paper *Readers' Expectation and Translation Selection in Late Qing Period*, advocating that translators were negotiating between the foreign cultural invasion and readers cultural and aesthetical traditions. The reason that translators made strategic adaptations such as addition, deletion, and domestication to the text was because they had to comprise for readers' acceptance. Whereas, as Wang (2000: 2) put in the preface of *Translation and Creation: on early modern Chinese translation of foreign fiction* that when translators were translating foreign fiction, they did not intend to clarify the original text or author, so it is hard to even to specify the source language texts of many so-called translations. Their translational actions were with strong political intentions and were intentionally carried out with clear Skopos (purpose). Therefore, it may not be wise to claim all the translational choices writers and translators made and strategies they chose were forced to do. More importantly, translators, as trusted experts, are responsible for the final translatum (Vermeer, 2004: 282). It is thus up to him to decide, for instance, what role a source text plays in his translational action. The decisive factor here is the purpose, the skopos, of the communication in a given situation. (Nord, 1988: 9)

Zhong discussed features of traditional Chinese vernacular fictions that have been adopted and maintained in translation of *Les Misérables* *translatum*. To be specific, conventions were kept, such as using couplets as headings before each chapter, telling stories in the third person (1996: 62). Additionally, an ideological analysis was also conducted with explicit examples and description as mentioned in previous chapter. Whereas, the researches ceased with a comparative and descriptive study of translator-oriented study, without delving deeper into the potential *skopos*/purposes that determine translators' translation activities and thereafter, explanations for choices that translators made in the process of translation. As a result, more thorough and *translatum*-oriented researches and cases study on translators' role in translation process and their active translation changes made to their *translatum* according to their *skopos* are needed to supplement researches on late Qing's translation studies.

An aim is considered as the final result which an agent tries to achieve via an action; whereas purpose is a provisional stage in the process of achieving an aim (Delgado Reséndiz, & Hernández Vargas, 2015: 6-7). In this way, most recent studies paid their attention on the "aim" of the *translatum* rather than the "purpose", a progressive and gradual process. In Liu's research on the translated version of *Les Misérables*, a translational *skopos* was defined clearly as "to enlighten" and examples were used as illustration (Liu, 2010: 196). Although the fact that defining a *skopos* and then justify translational choices was of great significance, it could not take readers' preferences and habits into consideration. In doing so, a more precise backward negotiation process would be presented where translators would make changes in accordance with readers' preferences.

Skopos theory assumes every translation is based on certain commission, which is given by translator himself or by someone else, may be his patron or the press. Translator, the expert in translational action (Vermeer, 2004: 228), need to decide what is functionally communicative for the target language reader and make sure his purpose is transplanted satisfactorily. As interlingual translation is described as "translational action from a source text" and as a communicative process involving a series of roles and players: the initiator; the commissioner; the source text producer; the target text producer; the target text user; the target text receiver (Nord, 1988: 31). In late Qing Dynasty, translation studies were not a well-defined area in the early 20th century, the

boundary between translation and literature or creation was obscure, so translators were less bounded to translation norms and freer to make adjustments in texts. From 1902-1918, 4,362 kinds of foreign novels were translated (Zunben, & Wang, 2000: 157). If we try to define the translation situation in the early 20th century with Nord's description, the source text producer would not be involved. The initiator and commissioner of most literary political novel translations were patriotic intellectuals and organizations who were willing to make a change in the country. Translation organizations are owned by different organizations, including government-administered, church-owned, and private ones. Among which most influential ones were Tong Wen Guan (the Imperial College of Translators), The Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge, and the Chinese and Jiangnan Manufacture General Bureau. (Xiong, & Wang, 2000: 35) The target text producers should be translators and writers, some excelled in foreign language, some translated via interpretations. As the dominant ideology was to reform, translators' skopos were evident in most of their translated works. After the production of target text, the user and receiver would be Chinese readers. They were expected to receive the message that translators put into the texts.

In the case of Chinese translation of *Les Misérables*, it was first published on the newspaper “國民日日報” (Daily News). Many researches have been conducted to define the proportion of translating this work and it has been commonly believed that Su translated and created the first eleven and a half chapters of the translation, and Chen finished the last two and a half chapters and polished the writing of the whole book (Zhong, 1996: 57). This paper would not discuss issues according to the author nor commenting on the writing styles of each author, but will discuss questions based on merely the translated work as a collaboration.

As target text producers, Su Manshu and Chen Duxiu were both writers of and together created this masterpiece. Therefore, with no doubt, the skopos of the translation was commissioned or negotiated and thus was consistent with the newspaper. The users and receivers of this translatum was meant to be the public. Thus, they have translated and rewritten the source text into one that contains their skopos. However, as much as Su and Chen were of great importance in the history and were influential in literary, translation and political realm, no in-depth researches have been undertaken to study “慘世界” (the title of Su and Chen's translation of *Les Misérables*) and how did it

reflect authors' choice of work, translation strategies, and how did authors make it to meet readers' expectations and impose their skopos at the same time.

3. READERS-ORIENTED TEXT ANALYSIS

The translatum this paper would be focusing on was translated by Su Manshu and Chen Duxiu in 1903. The original text was called *Les Misérables*, written by French writer Victor Hugo in 1862. Su and Chen translated volume one, book second—The Fall, all together 13 chapters. The chapters in translated text were rearranged into 14 chapters with couplets for each chapter³, summarizing the gist content of every chapter. It is important to mention that only chapter 1 to 6 and chapter 14 were translated from source text, although with a great amount of adaptations including addition, subtraction and domestication. Chapter 7 to 13 were rewritings of two translators, based on no source texts. In the rewrote story, translators created another storyline of Ming Nande, a down-and-out but still being ambitious of changing the country. Traditionally speaking, it is certainly a violation of translational principles. Zhang Shizhao believed that translation should follow the principle of “faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance”. However, when Chen was asked why did he chose not to follow such principles, Chen answered that the priority now is to wake the country up from asleep. The matter of faithfulness, expressiveness and elegance should be concerned later when a peaceful world has been realized. (Zhu, 2004: 18-19) The whole narration, plot, and names of characters were full of insinuations of the society, which will be discussed later in this paper. The following part will mainly cover the adaptations that translators made on the form and narrative style of the translated novel, in accordance with their translation skopos, to meet target language readers' reading preferences.

3.1 Genre and translators' visibility in the translatum

Vernacular fiction in Qing dynasty was a typical type of tradition Chinese novels with captions, usually couplets, for each chapter.⁴ This particular type of fiction was evolved from storytelling in Song dynasty, matured and becoming a standard form of fiction in Qing dynasty. The storytelling was first about history or folk legend, while when evolving till Ming and Qing dynasty, the content was no longer confined to

⁴ <https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E7%AB%A0%E5%9B%9E%E5%B0%8F%E8%AA%AA>

historical, but the framework and the style were kept. The beginning and ending part of each chapter is always constant “話說” (a close relative of ‘well’, to draw audience’s attention in the beginning of each chapter) and “欲知後事如何，且聽下回分解” (But as to what happened thereafter, that will be disclosed in the ensuing chapter), like the conventional lines of “once upon a time...” and “they live happily ever after.” in fairy tales. In addition, the quatrain in the end of the whole story was also characteristic of traditional vernacular fiction in Qing dynasty. These conventions were familiar to Chinese readers. However, the original text is written French, therefore, the conventions were completely different. Considering the attitude toward western cultures and the influence of traditional vernacular fictions could pose on Chinese (Chen, 1989: 12), translators transformed the form and conventions to fit in the Chinese novel style to gain the acceptance of native readers. It was also the mixture of a traditional narrative style and the new ideas and plots in the content that helped literature translation to move gradually from a peripheral place toward the center of late Qing dynasty’s literature (Chen, 1989: 18).

Another distinct feature of the translatum is the “translators’ visibility”. In other words, translators acted as storytellers in the storyline all the time and sometimes can guide readers, engage them or express opinions on characters or events happened in the story, as most traditional Chinese novels in Qing dynasty did. As on chapter 2, translators inserted a sentence that “看官你想這時候的華賤是什麼味道，現出了什麼光景。若是請一位看相的先生來把他看看相，他到底是個什麼相呢。” (Liu, 1985: 79) [What kind of look do you think that Hua Jian now have on his face? If there is a fortune teller, what kind of fortune do you think does Hua Jian have] (my translation). This is a domestication strategy which, as Lawrence Venuti put it, “is an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target-language cultural values, bring the author back home”. In this way, the novel would be presented to target language readers with minimized strangeness and provide them an easier way to understand the text. Above all, the purpose of reading was not supposed to be learning western culture and languages. Therefore, writers’ choosing to adopt the traditional Chinese novel form made sense.

In addition to the genre transform, the heterogeneity or exotic feelings were minimized to the point that translators were transplanting the whole Chinese reading habit and

preferences into a foreign nutshell where even though it was a translated foreign novel, people would not actually have the sense of foreignness or strangeness in the process of reading. For instance, all names of characters in the originate text were also adopting Chinese names, which though taking the original pronunciation into account, are quite common Chinese people's names. Names in the rewriting part are also Chinese names, with implied meanings, more importantly. What is more, the currency unit was also changed from "francs and sous" (French currency units)⁵ to "silver and copper" (Qing currency units) (The English translated version kept the French francs and sous) (Trans. By Isabel F., 1887: 130). Later in discussion, more changes and strategies be talked about. These are cases to show that in the process of translation, translators had been trying hard living up to readers' reading habits and so as to attract more readers and increase the influence of this book.

3.2 Application of amplification and reduction strategies (chapter 1 to 6, and chapter 14)

This part focuses only on the 7 chapters which were translated based on the source text, not created by translators. Due to translators' skopos and their ideologies, they had edited the content a lot, sometimes exaggerating or amplifying emotions, omitting irrelevant descriptions, or adding sentences to try to plant their message in the translated passages. Examples will be cited for illustration and explanation.

In the chapter one when the hero Jin Huajian (translated from Jean Valjean) first made his appearance, the original novel described his appearance with every detail, including every piece of his outfit, his facial expression, and a guess of his background to intrigue readers. Whereas, in the translated version, Su and Chen deleted most of them and only gave readers a simply description of his shabby dress, the descriptions were shorted a lot. Also, translators deliberately omitted the food description in the chapter one, and the appearance description of another character, a man who Huajian turned to for help. In chapter four of the translated text, when the Bishop, his sister and maid made their entrances, translators also omitted the detailed description of those two women, along with the introduction of the Bishop's mundane duties. Writing of which, the deletion of the Bishop's duty was made in accordance with the omission and rewriting of

⁵ quoted from English translation, which also kept the currency unit. one hundred and nine francs fifteen sous

relevant information about Christianity, which would be discussed later in the following chapters.

Judging from the more source text-oriented or a fidelity view, these kinds of translational actions should be taken as unqualified, or even could be unacceptable. However, as mentioned before, this novel was published and serialized on a newspaper in the style of the traditional Chinese vernacular fiction. Therefore, the space was limited, yet writers should keep readers' interests on the story. The plot needed to be compacted, with limited developments on descriptions of appearances, settings, and trivial matters that do not directly promote the plot development. Plus, putting the translational actions in the social context of early 20th century, it is evident that no formal translational norms were established to restrict translators' choices. In the period when publicizing function was valued more than artistic quality of literature (Li, 2005: 35), and political purposes overrode literary ones, translators would choose to translate in a way that enables the translation to function in the situation (Nord, 1997: 29), in this case, to sacrifice the fidelity for readers' recognition and their own purposes. What is more, too detailed description of a foreigner's outfit or food they eat may bring readers strangeness and emphasized the heterogeneity of the novel, and narration of landscape or emotions are seldom used in traditional Chinese fiction (Qiao, 2007: 182), as a result, they would be all deleted by translators for the purpose of meeting readers' expectation. On the contrary, if translators still use the strategy of domestication and rewrote them as what Chinese people accustomed to, it would not be less strange for readers to see a foreigner dressing and eating like a Chinese. In this way, translators chose to omit them could be a deliberated decision.

Amplification technique is usually adopted by translators to clarify an elliptic expression, to avoid ambiguity in the target language, to change a grammatical category, to amplify implicit elements, to add connectors (Molina, & Albir, 2002: 502, Nida, 1964). As for the case of the translation of Su and Chen, some minor additions were made to highlight some features of characters. At the end of the first chapter, when Jean Valjean was kicked out of the Cross of Colbas, the original text read, "*L'homme baissa la tête, ramassa le sac qu'il avait déposé à terre, et s'en alla.*" [the man dropped his head, picked up the knapsack which he had deposited on the ground, and took his departure.] (Hugo, 1884: 163) In the Chinese Translation, there were two expressions

added in the text, which were “連忙” (at once) before picked up, and “獨自傷心去了” (left with grief) in the end. In chapter two, when Jean Valjean headed to the Rue de Chaffaut, the original expression was “*Il y alla*” (translated as *He proceeded thither* in the English translation, pp.112), while the Chinese translation translated as “飛奔前去” (gallop/run). Similar cases are numerous in the translatum. These minor changes were not following the list that Nida gave, nor did they change the meaning of the original sentences. As a matter of fact, it seems that they were made for Chinese readers, to highlight character’s personality and to make the emotions more obvious, and most importantly, to grasp readers’ attention.

Another crucial adaptation that cannot be neglected is the rewrote personality of M. l’évêque (The Bishop Myriel). The Bishop was described in the source text as “*a just man*” (the title of book first, a book of the story of the Bishop), who used love and inclusiveness to help Jean Valjean overcome his inner struggle with the evil. Whereas, in the translation, though the Bishop was not a main character, he turned into a greedy and selfish person. Delving deeper into the reasons of this adaptation, two explanations can be drawn, the religious tendency of translators and the skopos of translation. The co-author and translator Sun Manshu was a Buddhist, Manshu was his Dharma name, a name one acquires during a Buddhist initiation ritual, given by a Buddhist monastic.⁶ The relation between Christianity and Chinese was intense in the early 20th century. As early as the failure of the first Opium War in 1842 and the Treaty of Nanking⁷ (Hoe, & Roebuck, 2013: 203), Chinese government had ratified a series of unequal treaties that not only lost great amount of money, ceded territory, but also comprised greatly in terms of international trade and religion tolerance. In the Treaty of Whampoa signed by Qing dynasty and France in 1844⁸, the Yongzheng Emperor’s prohibition of Christianity from 1724 was put into rescission, which soon caused a lot of anti-Christian cases (Wu, 2001). The reasons for the defiance to Christianity can be boiled down into two reasons, partly because people were considering that western religions were a

⁶ The definition of Dharma name is obtained from Wikipedia.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dharma_name

⁷ Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Commerce between Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and the Emperor of China. Between Qing dynasty of China and United Kingdom. It was the first of what the Chinese later called the unequal treaties on the ground that Britain had no obligations in return

⁸ information obtained from Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Whampoa

means of controlling public thoughts, and the aim of this mind control is to invade. Besides, the cultural difference between Qing dynasty of China and Western world is also causing a cultural gap, preventing people from getting to know more about foreign religions.

In addition, translators were taking the advantage of public's antipathy against western religions to incite readers by presenting the negative impression of the Bishop Myriel. The motive of rewriting was clearly discussed above, and the presentation of the "new Bishop" could be seen from the description of what the Bishop said and behaved being with Jean Valjean. In chapter 3 of the translated novel, when Jean Valjean was accommodated in the church, he asked the Bishop whether he need to pay for his accommodation, and the response was, "No, keep your money." (Trans. By Isabel F., 1887: 133) Whereas, in Su and Chen's translation, a narrative was added with the rewrote answer, "那曉得在這個悲慘世界沒有一個人不是見錢眼開，那有真正行善的人呢。孟主教果急忙答道，不然不然。一定要算飯錢的。"⁹ [There is nowhere on earth can we find a truly selfless and righteous man. The Bishop said, 'of course, you have to pay for the meal and room.'] (Liu, 1985: 107. My translation). Later, the sentence "While he was speaking, the Bishop had gone and shut the door, which had remained wide open" was translated as "孟主教聽得華賤說一聲現在錢還在身邊，即忙把門和窗戶閉上。" [When the Bishop heard that Huajian had one hundred and nine francs fifteen sous with him, he closed the door and window at once.] (Liu, 1985: 108. My translation). The rewriting can also be seen in the following case, the sentence "Monsieur to a convict is like a glass of water to one of the shipwrecked of the Medusa. Ignominy thirsts for consideration." was supposed to be a compliment for the Bishop's benevolence, yet Su and Chen's translation interpreted in the opposite way, especially the saying "Ignominy thirsts for consideration." was translated into "你想他把先生二字稱呼罪人，好像行海的時候把壹杯冷水送給要渴死的人。不過是不化本錢的假人情罷了。" [Giving a glass of water to one of the shipwrecked of the Medusa was no more than hypocrisy.] (Liu, 1985: 108. My translation). The rewriting behavior of the Bishop could be justified by translators' skopoi, with which, the translators were

⁹ all the citations of source text were cited from and kept the same as the source text, even though when there are wrongly written characters or characters that have changed in their use and meaning.

allowed to apply any transfer procedure that leads to a functional target text, that is, cultural adaptation, paraphrase, expansion, reduction, modulation, transposition, substitution, loanword, calque, literal translation or even omission (Nord, 1994; Hermans 1991: 166). It is also necessary to take the writers' and the society's dominant ideologies into account while explaining the rewriting actions about the Bishop, since it provides a perspective for researchers to see the communicative function of the *translatum*, which can not only help to achieve the *skopos* of translators, but to examine the social political context in which the translational actions were taking place.

3.3 Domestication in translating places and names

The names of main characters and places in the translated text and the meaning of translated names in the target language are listed below in the tables for later discussion.

Table 1: Names and places that were traceable in the source language

French name and places (source language)	Chinese translation (target language)	Meaning of Chinese translation
Digne	太尼城	A city name(transliteration)
Croix-de-Colbas	苦巴館	Name of an inn
Rue de Chaffaut	爐茶福	Name of an inn
L'évêque	孟主教	The Bishop
Mademoiselle Baptistine	寶姑娘	Mademoiselle Baptistine
Madame Magloire	凡媽媽	Madame Magloire
Jean Valjean	金華賤(Jin Huajian)	Transliteration, but adding the meaning of lowly Chinese

Table 2: Names and places that were invented in the new storyline

Name/place in Chinese	Character/Setting	Meaning of name
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無賴村	Place name	Rogue Village
尚海	A pioneer city	Shanghai as the city in China
非弱土村	A village	Not weak
色利棧	An inn in Shanghai	Beauty and Gold
孔美麗(Kong Meili)	Name of a young lady	Beauty
明男德(Ming Nande)	Hero of the story	Seldom gets clear-headed
項仁傑 (Xiang Renjie)	Alias of Ming Nande	Looks like a hero
吳齒小人(Wu Chi)	Friend of the hero	Impudicity
范桶(Fan Tong)	Friend of Nande	One who accomplishes nothing
滿周苟(M)	Man Zhougou	Traitor, people who work for Qing government
明頑	Ming Wan	Stubborn

Table 1 and table 2 have clearly showed the main characters, places and their translation. In many cases, translators would choose to transliterate the names and places. When translating the main character Jean Valjean into Chinese, Su and Chen did transliterate the pronunciation to some extent. However, as Chinese is an ideogram, a graphic symbol that represents an idea or concept, while transliterating the pronunciation, Su and Chen chose the particular characters “华贱” (Jin Huajian) as his name in that “华” (Hua) means “Chinese” and “贱” (jian) means “lowly”. Therefore, readers can easily tell the implicit information that translators wanted to convey, especially in the rewriting part where writers were creating the story under a revolutionary ideology and wanted to see people standing out to fight against the authorities. To be more specifically, writers take advantage of the ideographic feature of Chinese and implant

certain personalities or metaphoric description in the naming of each character and place.

Despite the fact that the story happened in France, every character and incident were alluding to Qing dynasty and every character's name represented a kind of people then. Ming Nande was the hero of the story who also wanted to be a hero in the novel to start a reform or revolution and to save the country. He, therefore, represented people, only a small number of them, who were clear-headed (as his name meant) in turbulent days. One of Nande's friend Fan Tong was a young man who was born and raised in a rich family but later being put in distress because of his father's death. He who accomplished nothing, and knew nothing about outside world was also a miniature of bunches of people who were not aware of the real situation, following the trend all the time. Another friend Wu Chi, as written in the fiction and in his name, was a despicable man, thinking only about himself and did not care about others at all. He stands for those who live only for themselves and did not have normal moral values. Those three categories can be representatives of most people at that time, namely, the innocent, the self-protective, and the revolutionary. Plus, the name Man Zhougou was full of contempt, since Man Zhou stands means Qing dynasty and Gou means traitor. Therefore, Man Zhougou, the village official killed by Nande in the novel, was also bearing writers' hatred toward those who did not fight for their own people and work for the authorities to keep their own lives. Finally, Ming Wan, father of Ming Nande, is not an important character in the novel, but he drew a lot of readers' attention by being snobbish, coward and conservative. To recap, the translation and creation of these terms and names have clearly been infused with writers' *skopoi* and becoming a way to penetrate readers' mind.

4. ANALYSIS OF REWRITING CHAPTERS

Andre Lefevere proposed that translation is a rewriting of an original text with a set of ideological and political constraints within the target language cultural system. It is also the most recognizable type of rewriting and potentially the most influential because it can project the image of an author and/or those works beyond the boundaries of their culture of origin. (Lefevere, 1992b: 9) The translation of chapter 7 to 13 of *Les Misérables* were, needless to say, rewriting or creation of Su and Chen. Since the rewriting was conducted based on no source text, it is therefore worthwhile

to “take a closer look at them, not just to damn them but to try to account for their appearance.” (Hermans, 1999: 4) Any text produced on the basis of another has the intention of adapting that other text to a certain ideology or to a certain poetics, and usually to both. The rewriting in translation also carried a certain ideology and poetics that may shed lights for contemporary translation studies. “On every level of the translation process, it can be shown that, if linguistic considerations conflict with considerations of an ideological and/or poet logic nature, the latter considerations tend to win out.” (Lefevere, 1992b: 46-47) Whereas, since rewriting from chapter 7 to 13 was another story which did not involve in the “adaptation” or “linguistics gave way to poetics”, this part would focus on “trying to account for their appearance” matter as Hermans put it (1999).

4.1 Gist content of chapter 7 to 13

The new story line begins after the night that Jean Valjean was accommodating at the Bishop Myriel’s church. Translators still used part of the family background of Jean Valjean that he was born in a peasant family with his widow sister who was too poor to raise her kids. The new hero Ming Nande showed up as a patriotic young man who wanted to rescue Jean Valjean from prison but was set up and robbed by Jean Valjean.

Nande was depicted as a brave and righteous man who wanted to change the world, where people were innocent, selfish and impersonal about the society into a democratic and equal society. His heroism was in striking and sharp contrast to the selfishness, greediness, ignorance, and cowardice of other characters in the novel. The main story was triggered by the incident of hearing Jean Valjean’s imprisonment. Thinking of that one can never only cares about his own life (Liu, 1985: 142)¹⁰, Nande left home to rescue Jean Valjean, yet as mentioned above, being robbed and lost his money. He saved a young woman from her aunt’s place and then killed a greedy county leader Man Zhougou who destroyed a women’s family for his lust for money. However, once again, under the lure of money and a strong sense of self-protection, Nande was prosecuted by the woman he killed county leader for. Therefore, he left the place and went to Shanghai, where he met his friend Fan Tong who was defrauded by relatives and friends

¹⁰ Paraphrased from chapter 8 “我的身體雖是由父母所育，但是我父母我祖宗不仗著世上種種人的維持那能獨自一人活在世上。就是我到這世上以後，不仗著世上種種人的養育教訓也那能到了今日。難道我只好報父母的恩就把世上眾人的恩丟在一旁不去報答麼。”

for his father's legacy and left penniless in a foreign country. Nande provided Fan Tong with new clothes and brought him back to hometown. Unfortunately, Fan Tong was poisoned to death, and Nande also died of attempting to kill the president then. The story ended with Jean Valjean's kneeling on a stone and preying, as the source text wrote.

4.2 Skopos in religion and Confucianism

Chen published an article called “亡国篇” (A State Perishes) in 1904, claiming that China was perishing because the territory, economic rights, and sovereignty were deprived by foreigners. The root causes were concluded as people's ignorance, cowardice, and superstition. People cared only about their own family and minded their own business. They did not even have the sense of a nation, or a country. What was worse, as stated in the article, believing in destiny had become a so ineradicable faith that people shifted the responsibility of guarding the country to fate or destiny. In stead of uniting together and fighting against enemies, people became superstitious and hoping some supernatural power would come to help. Chen regarded those as the reason of China's perishing, and strongly denounced this phenomenon in public. The translatum of *Les Misérables* clearly embodied his political and religious perspectives in the description of Nande, a man who did not believe in God, nor any other religion. In Chapter nine, when Kong Meili asked Nande to worship god for helping them escape from her aunt's place,¹¹ Nande responded, “你還是這樣愚蠢，我平生不知道什麼叫做上帝。” (Liu, 1985: 181) [You are stupid, I never know what is God.] (My translation). Further in Chapter 9, he explained to Meili that,

這世上的人天天說什麼上帝。你以為真有什麼上帝麼。不過因為上古野蠻時代，人人無知無識無論什麼事都要去做，所以有些明白的人就不得已胡亂撿個他們所最敬重的東西說些善惡的報果來治理他們，免得肆行無忌。那裏真有個上帝的道理呢……即或就是有一個全知全能的上帝，管理人間的萬般事體。我也不必天天去對他燒香磕頭。譬如地方上有一位明白正直的君子，我也是一個正直明白的人。但是我不送些錢財禮物把他又不天天去巴結他，難道那明白的正直君子就說我是惡人不成麼。世界上那班無惡不作的東西到天天去拜上帝，一出禮拜堂便捉殺人刀。難道上帝受了他的恭維就恕過他的罪惡嗎？我想那裏有這種卑鄙無恥的上帝呢？ (Liu, 1985: 183)

¹¹俗界悲歡莫非妄念，還是定了心快在此拜謝上帝的恩吧。

The meaning could be translated as “there is no “God” existing on earth. God was created by ancient people who wanted to use something people fear the most to warn those savage people and to prevent their devilry. Even though God did exist, people did not have to worship him every day, since a God should be righteous no matter what. If an evil man who worshiped god every day but picked up a killing knife as soon as he walked out of church got blessed by god, then god is shameless and hypocritic.” (my translation)

Chen’s view on religion was conveyed through text by Nande’s words that “照我看來，為人在世，總要當時問著良心就是了，不要去理會什麼上帝什麼天地什麼神佛什麼禮義什麼道德什麼名譽什麼聖人什麼古訓這般道理，一定要心地明白真理脫除世上種種俗見的人方才懂的。” (Liu, 1985: 184) [There is nothing matters more than self-consciousness, not god, heaven, Buddha, morality, reputation, saint, nor old maxims. Only those who are clear-minded and free of secularity can understand the truth] (my translation). Su and Chen wished people can no longer be bounded by religions or superstitions and not be able to see the truth happening around. They also use the story and the France-based context to express their anger and discontentment toward Qing dynasty of China. Meili talked about Chinese customs by claiming them “barbarism” later in the same chapter. She said that,

東方亞洲有個地方叫做支那的，那支那的風俗極其野蠻。人人花費許多銀錢焚化許多香紙去崇拜那些泥塑木雕的菩薩，更有可笑的事，他們女子將那天生的一雙好腳用白布包裹起來，尖嶮嶮的好像那豬蹄子壹樣，連路都不能走了。你說可笑不可笑呢。（Liu, 1985: 185）

[There is a place called Shina (a derogatory way of addressing China) in the Eastern Asia. It has the most barbaric customs. People spend a lot of money on worshipping the wooden and clay Bodhisattva. Moreover, women there would use white cloth to bind their feet, making those feet look like pigs’ feet and the women were even unable to walk. What a ridiculous thing!] (my translation). The foot-binding custom was a typical symbol of the feudal society which is also writers like Su and Chen tried hard to overthrow, including the Confucianism that had governed China for thousands of years. Nande once said, “那支那國孔子的奴隸教訓，只有那般支那賤種奉作金科玉律；難道我們法蘭西貴重的國民，也要聽他那些狗屁

嗎？ ” (Liu, 1985: 67) [Only the Shina would follow those slavish Confucius rules. Why would our noble French people listen to the nonsense?] (my translation).

Their critical view toward Confucianism could be found as early as their oversea studies in 1901 when Chen Duxiu first went to Japan and was inspired by French enlightenment thoughts like Social contract theory¹² which entitled human natural rights. Those enlightenment thoughts motivated Chen to gradually draw a line with royalists (Fu, 2015: 10). When the Hundred Days' Reform failed in 1898, Chen was disappointed at Qing government and firmly believed in enlightening people's patriotic awareness is of the essence in building a new social order. It is therefore obvious that Su and Chen were speaking their mind through Nande's words and the French shell that people should no longer treat Confucianism as the rule of thumb and to obey it blindly. In times like then, late Qing dynasty, people should abandon the persistence on Confucianism, as well as traditional Chinese culture, to adopt the more advanced western system to save this country from feudal regime. That translatum was their horn, from a storytelling way, to mobilize or wake up more people after reading.

4.3 Idealism in translation

4.3.1 *Reflections of social political status*

As the political skopos of the translatum was clear, the message delivering process and ways are crucial. Su and Chen took the advantage of the widely-adopted novel-reading interests and blended their skopoi in the storyline, where each character reflects certain kind of people and their attitude toward the revolution or the society. First, most ordinary were stereotyped by the old values and came to terms with their place, never thought about the possibility to fight for their rights, or they never thought the poor had any rights. When Nande was complaining about the unfair treatment that Huajian (Jean Valjean) received, his father Ming Wan blamed him that the poor did not have the right to speak out about the fairness of the world.¹³ People's selfishness and greediness were

¹² The Social Contract, or Of the Social Contract, or Principles of Political Right (1762) by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, is a book in which Rousseau theorized about the best way to establish a political community in the face of the problems of commercial society, which he had already identified in his Discourse on Inequality (1754).

¹³ 你這小孩子，也應該講什麼為世界上不平的話嗎？你莫羞死我罷。那世界上的事體是你們

also highlighted in the fictional world. Even after being saved by Nande, Huajian still chose to protect himself better and stole all his life-saver's money. The way he justified his behaviors is the belief that “世界熙熙皆為利往，天下攘攘皆為利來。” (Liu, 1985:149) [The whole world comes for profits.] (my translation). Also, the place Nande stayed in Shanghai was called “色利棧” (place of beauty and gold), implying the materialism people are chasing after, and people are well-aware of the fact since the doorman said, “你看這世界上的人那一個不做這兩個字的走狗呢。就是這尚海的人罷，還不是這樣嗎。” (Liu, 1985: 211) [Look around, everyone is led by those two things, even those people in Shanghai] (my translation).

The doorman mentioned even people in Shanghai could not get rid of those two things. Shanghai (尚海) in fact referred to Shanghai (上海) city of China. It is the most modernized and developed city where revolutionary forces gathered. However, Nande felt quite anxious that many so-called patriots were only speaking fine words, but never got into actions. After novel revolution, the literature and literature translation was blooming and culminating nationwide, especially in Shanghai. However, the prosperity in literature did not immediately triggered any social movement. And people were gradually shift their focus to foreign translated literature works, so the revolutionary political purpose was not accomplished. Nande commented that

尚海那個地方曾有許多出名的愛國誌士，但是那班誌士我也都見過，不過嘴裏說得好，實在沒有用處。一天二十四點鐘沒有壹分鐘把亡國滅種的慘事放在心裏，只知道穿些狠好看的衣服，坐馬車吃花酒。還有一般這些遊蕩的事到不去做，外面卻裝著很老成，開個什麼書局什麼報館，口裏說的是借此運動到了經濟才好辦利群救國的事，其實也是孜孜為利，不過飽了自己的荷包，真是到了利群救國的事，他還是一毛不拔。哎，這種口是心非的愛國誌士是在比頑固人的罪惡還要大幾萬倍。(Liu, 1985: 141)

The text could be interpreted as there were a lot of famous patriots in Shanghai, and I have met them all. However, they were talking without taking real actions, so they are useless in the end. They spend the whole day dressing up, eating, drinking, or wandering around, completely forgot about the mission of saving the country. Those who run book stores or newspapers are also looking for profits. When it really comes to the life-and-death matter, they become skinflints. Their crime is thousand times bigger than the bullheads (my translation). Also, when Nande knew about the death of

這樣貧窮的人講得的麼？(Liu, 1985:139)

Kede's father, he promised to help him revenge for his father. Moreover, he transferred the anger to Chinese, claiming Chinese as people who treat their enemies as the wisest Kings.¹⁴ Writers have injected their thoughts into each aspect of the new story, expecting it to be an alarm call for all Chinese.

4.3.2 *The ideal concept in translatum*

As chapter 7 to 13 were complete fictional, so the purpose and the connection that two writers wanted to build with readers were explicitly and implicitly conveyed in the text. Despite Yanfu's (1986) three principles of translation activities, the rule of thumb in Chen's translation guidelines is that translation should serve to promote revolutionary ideas (Han, 2007: 40). In response to the social problems and dilemma reflected in text, Su and Chen also expressed their expectations and drafted an ideal society through the translatum. In chapter 8, when Huajian took Nande's possessions and left, Nande lamented that “這樁事也沒有什麼奇怪，在這種慘世界上，那壹個人不和華賤一般，我想是非用狠辣的手段破壞了這腐敗的舊世界，另在壹種公道的新世界是難救這場大劫了。” (Liu, 1985: 153) [No wonder, in such a miserable world, everyone is like Huajian. I see the only way to save us from this misfortune is to destroy this corrupted old world in some extreme ways and build another new world] (my translation).

In chapter 11, Nande condemned French literature for only translating from English books and lacked originality. But later he attributed people's ignorance to the dominance of feudal government, which he was implying Qing dynasty's rule in China.

…到了好幾家書局，看了一些兒的書，卻都是從英國書譯出來的，沒有一部是法國人自己做的。譯的文筆還有些不甚通順。男德尋思道，我法國人被歷代的昏君欺壓已久，不許平民習此治國救民的實學，所以百姓的智慧就難以長進。目下曾是革了命，正當思想進步的時光。但是受病已久才智不廣，不能自出心裁，只知道羨慕英國人的制度學問，這卻也難怪。 (Liu, 1985: 225)

He blamed Qing dynasty's governance for inhibiting people's enlightenment. Thanks to the revolution, people can have access to western advanced knowledge and political systems. The text can be translated as, “they went to several book stores, but they are all translated from English books, none of them are originally written by French. The

¹⁴況且我們法蘭西人比不得那東方支那賤種的人，把殺害他祖宗的仇人當做聖主仁君看待。 (Liu, 1985:243)

translation was not even coherent. Nande thought, ‘because our people were oppressed by fatuous emperors for such a long time and were not allowed to learn practical and helpful knowledge, so our wisdom was quite limited. Now it is time of revolution, people are gaining progressive thoughts. However, one who has been ill for long time does not have broad wisdom, so no wonder we can only envy British system and its knowledge and not be able to create our own literature.’” (my translation).

In the depiction of an ideal world, people living in the bottom could be treated equally and have been seriously taken into consideration, which worked in a similar way with Kang Youwei’s “大同书” (an Ideal World) (1901) (Zhong, 1996: 60). In chapter 7, Nande talked about Huajian’s bread-stealing case and believed that things in the world should be for public use, nothing should be privately owned by one person. In this case, Huajian should not be taken as a thief and be sent into prison for taking a piece of public-owned bread.¹⁵

In Chapter, Nande explained the French parties—conservatives and reformers—and their political position after French revolution, which coincided with the situation in Qing dynasty after the reform movement in 1898. The reformers were fighting for democratic republic politics with great determination and set rules for members, which reflected Su and Chen’s concept of an ideal country very well. The general rules focused mainly on freedom and equality, including equally distribute properties and share lands, protecting descendants of those who died for freedom, and penalties for people who betrayed freedom. Referential translation is as follows:

- 第一條 取來富戶的財產當分給盡力自由之人以及窮苦的同胞; [Properties taken from the rich should be distributed to the poor and those who are fighting for freedom;]
- 第二條 凡是能做工的人，都有到那背叛自由人的家裏居住和占奪他財產的權利； [People who work diligently all have the right to take the house and possessions of those who betrayed freedom;]
- 第三條 全國的人，從前已經賣出去的房屋田地以及各種物件都可以任意取回； [All sold items, lands and houses could be freely taken back;]
- 第四條 凡是為自由而死的遺族需要盡心保護； [Descendants of free fighters should be carefully protected;]
- 第五條 法國的土地應當為法國的人民的公產，無論何人都可以隨意占有，不準一人多占土地。 [French land should be public-owned properties, every citizen could

¹⁵ Content extracted from chapter 7. The original complete text is, “世界上物件應為世界人公用，那註定應該是那一人的私產嗎？金華賤不過拿世界上壹塊面包吃了，怎麼算是賊呢？” (Liu, 1985: 133)

own them at will, but nobody is allowed to own more than others.] (Liu, 1985: 239-240. My translation)

5. CONCLUSION

The translation of *Les Misérables* was completed in a special historical period when the translation literature was widely introduced in China and accepted by more and more people from different classes. The calls from novel revolution set the goal for most foreign translation works, which was to inspire people to join the war of social revolution. Su Manshu and Chen Duxiu were both great translators, writers, and revolutionists who adopted the story of *Les Misérables* to convey their political views with translation in a way that could communicate well with target language readers and gain their acceptance. Late Qing period was the budding stage of petty bourgeoisie. It was also the time that attempts of social reform failure. Therefore, as reflected in the translatum, people's disappointment at Qing dynasty yet stepping back when confronted with troubles, Patriots' anger and governments' oppression were all intertwined together, forming a Miserable world, as the title suggested.

This paper discussed the Chinese translation of *Les Misérables* by Chen Duxiu and Su Manshu from perspectives of ideology and skopos. With the application of readers/audience-oriented comparative analysis, conclusions come as follows:

First, at the time when translation literature came as a peripheral literary style and do not have well-designed principles for translators to conform to, translation activities took place out of translators' skopos, namely, purposes of translation. As in the case of Su and Chen's translation of *Les Misérables*, the purpose of enlightenment was clearly delivered through translatum alone with a revolutionary ideology.

Second, considering the perspective of readers and their reading habits, translators need to make adjustment on their own initiatives for the sake of achieving translational skopos. In this case, Su and Chen adopted certain domestication strategies like amplification, deduction, and conversion of literary forms to minimize exotic and strange feelings while reading. The backward analytical method took readers' preference and their expectations as first priorities and probe into the process of constructing a target text could help better explain translators' behaviors and choices.

Third, when the original text could no longer bear translators' skopos, they chose to rewrite the text and present it to target language readers. The rewriting content served as a miniature of social realities of early 20th century, conveying not only democratic ideas of translators, but also social conflicts between reformers and the authorities, reformers and ignorant ordinary people, normal people and Qing dynasty and so forth, could be of great importance for relative social studies and did great help in understanding translators' position and their interpretation of social situations.

In-depth studies, especially English studies, on this translatum were not done yet since the translatum was not a full translation of Hugo's masterpiece *Les Misérables* and the rewrote part does not have comparable original text for comparative studies. What is more, most studies on related topic lay emphasis on the overall studies of literary translation in Qing dynasty and set *Les Misérables* as examples of arguments, causing lack of detailed and thorough case studies of the translatum. Due to the length of article and research emphases, comparative studies of contemporary relative researches were not done adequately. However, as influential as the source text is, it is of great importance that through this study, more relevant studies on translation works of Late Qing dynasty as well as on Chen and Su could be carried out for further researches on the translating process and communicative methods between translators and readers in order to achieve skopos in translation.

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Submission Date	01/MAR/2017

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